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A

SANSKRIT GRAMMAR,

INCLUDING BOTH THE CLASSICAL LANGUAGE, AND THE OLDER DIALECTS, OF VEDA AND BRAHMANA.

 \mathbf{BY}

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THIRD EDITION.

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PREFACE

TO THE FIRST EDITION.

It was in June, 1875, as I chanced to be for a day or two in Leipzig, that I was unexpectedly invited to prepare the Sanskrit grammar for the Indo-European series projected by Messrs. Breitkopf and Härtel. After some consideration, and consultation with friends, I accepted the task, and have since devoted to it what time could be spared from regular duties, after the satisfaction of engagements earlier formed. If the delay seems a long one, it was nevertheless unavoidable; and I would gladly, in the interest of the work itself, have made it still longer. In every such case, it is necessary to make a compromise between measurably satisfying a present pressing need, and doing the subject fuller justice at the cost of more time; and it seemed as if the call for a Sanskrit grammar on a somewhat different plan from those already in use - excellent as some of these in many respects are - was urgent enough to recommend a speedy completion of the work begun.

The objects had especially in view in the preparation of this grammar have been the following:

1. To make a presentation of the facts of the language primarily as they show themselves in use in the literature, and only secondarily as they are laid down by the native grammarians. The earliest European grammars were by the necessity of the case chiefly founded on their native prede-

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cessors; and a traditional method was thus established which has been perhaps somewhat too closely adhered to, at the expense of clearness and of proportion, as well as of scientific truth. Accordingly, my attention has not been directed toward a profounder study of the grammatical science of the Hindu schools: their teachings I have been contented to take as already reported to Western learners in the existing Western grammars.

- 2. To include also in the presentation the forms and constructions of the older language, as exhibited in the Veda and the Brāhmaṇa. Grassmann's excellent Index-Vocabulary to the Rig-Veda, and my own manuscript one to the Atharva-Veda (which I hope soon to be able to make public*), gave me in full detail the great mass of Vedic material; and this, with some assistance from pupils and friends, I have sought to complete, as far as the circumstances permitted, from the other Vedic texts and from the various works of the Brahmaṇa period, both printed and manuscript.
- 3. To treat the language throughout as an accented one, omitting nothing of what is known respecting the nature of the Sanskrit accent, its changes in combination and inflection, and the tone of individual words being, in all this, necessarily dependent especially upon the material presented by the older accentuated texts.
- 4. To cast all statements, classifications, and so on, into a form consistent with the teachings of linguistic science. In doing this, it has been necessary to discard a few of the long-used and familiar divisions and terms of Sanskrit grammar for example, the classification and nomenclature of "special tenses" and "general tenses" (which is so indefensible that one can only wonder at its having maintained itself so long), the order and terminology of the conjugation-classes, the separation in treatment of the facts of internal and ex-

^{**}It was published, as vol. XII. of the Journal of the American Oriental Society, in 1851.

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ternal cuphonic combination, and the like. But care has been taken to facilitate the transition from the old to the new; and the changes, it is believed, will commend themselves to unqualified acceptance. It has been sought also to help an appreciation of the character of the language by putting its facts as far as possible into a statistical form. In this respect the native grammar is especially deficient and misleading.

Regard has been constantly had to the practical needs of the learner of the language, and it has been attempted, by due arrangement and by the use of different sizes of type, to make the work as usable by one whose object it is to acquire a knowledge of the classical Sanskrit alone as those are in which the earlier forms are not included. The custom of transliterating all Sanskrit words into European characters, which has become usual in European Sanskrit grammars, is, as a matter of course, retained throughout; and, because of the difficulty of setting even a small Sanskrit type with anything but a large European, it is practiced alone in the smaller sizes.

While the treatment of the facts of the language has thus been made a historical one, within the limits of the language itself, I have not ventured to make it comparative, by bringing in the analogous forms and processes of other related languages. To do this, in addition to all that was attempted beside, would have extended the work, both in content and in time of preparation, far beyond the limits assigned to it. And, having decided to leave out this element, I have done so consistently throughout. Explanations of the origin of forms have also been avoided, for the same reason and for others, which hardly call for statement.

A grammar is necessarily in great part founded on its predecessors, and it would be in vain to attempt an acknowledgment in detail of all the aid received from other scholars. I have had at hand always especially the very scholarly and reliable brief summary of Kielhorn, the full and

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excellent work of Monier Williams, the smaller grammar of Bopp (a wonder of learning and method for the time when it was prepared), and the volumes of Benfey and Müller. As regards the material of the language, no other aid, of course, has been at all comparable with the great Petersburg lexicon of Böhtlingk and Roth, the existence of which gives by itself a new character to all investigations of the Sanskrit language. What I have not found there or in the special collections made by myself or by others for me, I have called below "not quotable" - a provisional designation, necessarily liable to correction in detail by the results of further researches. For what concerns the verb, its forms and their classification and uses, I have had, as every one must have, by far the most aid from Delbrück, in his Altindisches Verbum and his various syntactical contribu-Former pupils of my own, Professors Avery and Edgren, have also helped me, in connection with this subject and with others, in a way and measure that calls for public acknowledgment. In respect to the important matter of the declension in the earliest language, I have made great use of the elaborate paper in the Journ. Am. Or. Soc. (printed contemporaneously with this work, and used by me almost, but not quite, to the end of the subject) by my former pupil Prof. Lanman; my treatment of it is founded on his. My manifold obligatious to my own teacher, Prof. Weber of Berlin, also require to be mentioned: among other things, I owe to him the use of his copies of certain unpublished texts of the Brahmana period, not otherwise accessible to me; and he was kind enough to look through with me my work in its inchoate condition, favoring me with valuable suggestions. For this last favor I have likewise to thank Prof. Delbrück - who, moreover, has taken the trouble to glance over for a like purpose the greater part of the proof-sheets of the grammar, as they came from the press. To Dr. L. von Schröder is due whatever use I have been

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able to make (unfortunately a very imperfect one) of the important Maitrayanī-Samhitā.*

Of the deficiencies of my mork I am, I think, not less fully aware than any critic of it, even the severest, is likely to be. Should it be found to answer its intended purpose well enough to come to another edition, my endeavor will be to improve and complete it; and I shall be grateful for any corrections or suggestions which may aid me in making it a more efficient help to the study of the Sanskrit language and literature.

GOTHA, July 1879.

W. D. W.

PREFACE

TO THE SECOND EDITION.

In preparing a new edition of this grammar, I have made use of the new material gathered by myself during the intervening years,** and also of that gathered by others, so far as it was accessible to me and fitted into my plan;*** and I have had the benefit of kind suggestions from various quarters — for all of which I desire to return a grateful acknowledgment. By such help, I have been able not only to correct and repair certain errors and omissions of the first edition, but also to speak with more definiteness upon

^{*} Since published in full by him, 1881-6.

^{**} A part of this new material was published by myself in 1885. as a Supplement to the grammar, under the title "Roots, Verb-Forms, and Primary Derivatives of the Sanskrit Language".

^{***} Especially deserving of mention is Holtzmann's collection of material from the Mahābhārata, also published (1884) in the ferm of a Supplement to this work; also Bühtlingk's similar collection from the larger half of the Rāmāyana.

very many points relating to the material and usages of the language.

In order not to impair the applicability of the references already made to the work by various authors, its paragraphing has been retained unchanged throughout; for increased convenience of further reference, the subdivisions of paragraphs have been more thoroughly marked, by letters (now and then changing a former lettering); and the paragraph-numbers have been set at the outer instead of the inner edge of the upper margin.

My remoteness from the place of publication has forbidden me the reading of more than one proof; but the kindness of Professor Lanman in adding his revision (accompanied by other timely suggestions) to mine, and the care of the printers, will be found, I trust, to have aided in securing a text disfigured by few errors of the press.

Circumstances beyond my control have delayed for a year or two the completion of this revision, and have made it in some parts less complete than I should have desired.

NEW-HAVEN, Sept. 1888.

W. D. W.

INTRODUCTION.

BRIEF ACCOUNT OF THE INDIAN LITERATURE.

It seems desirable to give here such a sketch of the history of Indian literature as shall show the relation to one another of the different periods and forms of the language treated in the following grammar, and the position of the works there quoted.

The name "Sanskrit" (samskrta, 1087 d, adorned, elaborated, perfected), which is popularly applied to the whole ancient and sacred language of India, belongs more properly only to that dialect which, regulated and established by the labors of the native grammarians, has led for the last two thousand years or more an artificial life, like that of the Latin during most of the same period in Europe, as the written and spoken means of communication of the learned and priestly caste; and which even at the present day fills that office. It is thus distinguished, on the one hand, from the later and derived dialects - as the Prakrit, forms of language which have datable monuments from as early as the third century before Christ, and which are represented by inscriptions and coins, by the speech of the uneducated characters in the Sanskrit dramas (see below), and by a limited literature; the Pali, a Prakritic dialect which became the sacred language of Buddhism in Ceylon and Farther India, and is

still in service there as such; and yet later and more altered tongues forming the transition to the languages of modern India. And, on the other hand, it is distinguished, but very much less sharply and widely, from the older dialects or forms of speech presented in the canonical literature, the Veda and Brāhmaṇa.

This fact, of the fixation by learned treatment of an authorized mode of expression, which should thenceforth be used according to rule in the intercourse of the educated, is the cardinal one in Indian linguistic history; and as the native grammatical literature has determined the form of the language, so it has also to a large extent determined the grammatical treatment of the language by European scholars.

Much in the history of the learned movement is still obscurse, and opinions are at variance even as to points of prime consequence Only the concluding works in the development of the gramatical science have been preserved to us; and though they are evidently the perfected fruits of a long series of learned labors, the records of the latter are lost beyond recovery. The time and the place of the creation of Sanskrit are unknown; and as to its occasion, we have only our inferences and conjectures to rely upon. It seems, however, altogether likely that the grammatical sense of the ancient Hindus was awakened in great measure by their study of the traditional sacred texts, and by their comparison of its different language with that of contemporary It is certain that the grammatical study of those texts (çākhās, lit'ly branches), phonetic and other, was zealously and effectively followed in the Brahmanic schools; this is attested by our possession of a number of phonetico-grammatical treatises, prātiçākhyas (prati çākhām belonging to each several text), each having for subject one principal Vedic text, and noting all its peculiarities of form; these. both by the depth and exactness of their own researches and by the number of authorities which they quote, speak plainly of a lively scientific activity continued during a long time. What part, on the other hand, the notice of differcences between the correct speech of the learned and the altered dialects of the vulgar may have borne in the same movement is not easy to determine; but it is not customary that a language has its proper usages fixed by rule until the danger is distinctly felt of its undergoing corruption.

The labors of the general school of Sanskrit grammar feached a climax in the grammarian Pānini, whose text-book, containing the facts of the language cast into the highly artful and difficult form of about four thousand algebraicformula-like rules (in the statement and arrangement of which brevity alone is had in view, at the cost of distinctness and unambiguousness), became for all after time the authoritative, almost sacred, norm of correct speech. Respecting his period, nothing really definite and trustworthy is known; but he is with much probability held to have lived some time (two to four centuries) before the Christian era. He has had commentators in abundance, and has undergone at their hands some measure of amendment and completion; but he has not been overthrown or superseded. The chief and most authoritative commentary on his work is that called the Mahābhāshya great comment, by Patanjali.

A language, even if not a vernacular one which is in tolerably wide and constant use for writing and speaking, is, of course, kept in life principally by direct tradition, by communication from teacher to scholar and the study and imitation of existing texts, and not by the learning of grammatical rules; yet the existence of grammatical authority, and especially of a single one, deemed infallible and of prescriptive value, could not fail to exert a strong regulative influence, leading to the avoidance more and more of what was, even if lingering in use, inconsistent with his teachings, and also, in the constant reproduction of texts, to the gradual effacement of whatever they might contain that was unapproved. Thus the whole more modern literature of India has been Paninized, so to speak, pressed into the mould prepared by him and his school. What are' the limits of the artificiality of this process is not yet known.

The attention of special students of the Hindu grammar (and the subject is so intricate and difficult that the number is exceedingly small of those who have mastered it sufficiently to have a competent opinion on such general matters) has been hitherto mainly directed toward determining what the Sanskrit according to Panini really is, toward explaining the language from the grammar. And, naturally enough, in India, or wherever else the leading object is to learn to speak and write the language correctly - that is, as authorized by the grammarians — that is the proper course to pursue. This, however, is not the way really to understand the language. The time must soon come, or it has come already, when the endeavor shall be instead to explain the grammar from the language: to test in all details, so far as shall be found possible, the reason of Panini's rules (which contain not a little that seems problematical, or even sometimes perverse); to determine what and how much genuine usage he had everywhere as foundation, and what traces may be left in the literature of usages possessing an inherently authorized character, though unratified by him.

By the term "classical" or "later" language, then, as constantly used below in the grammar, is meant the language of those literary monuments which are written in conformity with the rules of the native grammar: virtually, the whole proper Sanskrit literature. For although parts of this are doubtless earlier than Panini, it is impossible to tell just what parts, or how far they have escaped in their style the leveling influence of the grammar. The whole, too, may be called so far an artificial literature as it is written in a phonetic form (see grammar, 101 a) which never can have been a truly vernacular and living one. Nearly all of it is metrical: not poetic works only, but narratives, histories (so far as anything deserving that name can be said to exist', and scientific treatises of every variety, are done into verse; a prose and a prose literature hardly has an existence (the principal exceptions, aside from the voluminous commentaries, are a few stories, as the Daçakumāracarita and the Vāsavadattā). Of linguistic history there is next to nothing

in it all; but only a history of style, and this for the most part showing a gradual depravation, an increase of artificiality and an intensification of certain more undesirable features of the language — such as the use of passive constructions and of participles instead of verbs, and the substitution of compounds for sentences.

This being the condition of the later literature, it is of so much the higher consequence that there is an earlier literature, to which the suspicion of artificiality does not attach, or attaches at least only in a minimal degree, which has a truly vernacular character, and abounds in prose as well as verse.

The results of the very earliest literary productiveness of the Indian people are the hymns with which, when they had only crossed the threshold of the country, and when their geographical horizon was still limited to the riverbasin of the Indus with its tributaries, they praised their gods, the deified powers of nature, and accompanied the rites of their comparatively simple worship. At what period these were made and sung cannot be determined with any approach to accuracy: it may have been as early as 2000 B. C. They were long handed down by oral tradition, preserved by the care, and increased by the additions and imitations, of succeeding generations; the mass was ever growing, and, with the change of habits and beliefs and religious practices, was becoming variously applied - sung in chosen extracts, mixed with other material into liturgies, adapted with more or less of distortion to help the needs of a ceremonial which was coming to be of immense elaboration and intricacy. And, at some time in the course of this history, there was made for preservation a great collection of the hymn-material, mainly its oldest and most genuine part, to the extent of over a thousand hymns and ten thousand verses, arranged according to traditional authorship and to subject and length and metre of hymn: this collection is the Rig-Veda Veda of verses (rc) or of hymns. Other collections were made also out of the same general mass of traditional material: doubtless later, although the inter-

relations of this period are as yet too unclear to allow of our speaking with entire confidence as to anything concerning them. Thus, the Sama-Veda Veda of chants (saman), containing only about a sixth as much, its verses nearly all found in the Rig-Veda also, but appearing here with numerous differences of reading: these were passages put together for chanting at the soma-sacrifices. Again, collections called by the comprehensive name of Yajur-Veda Veda of sacrificial formulas (yajus): these contained not verses alone, but also numerous prose utterances, mingled with the former, in the order in which they were practically employed in the ceremonies; they were strictly liturgical collections. Of these, there are in existence several texts, which have their mutual differences: the Vājasaneyi-Samhitā (in two slightly discordant versions, Mādhyandina and Kāņva), sometimes also called the White Yajur-Veda; and the various and considerably differing texts of the Black Yajur-Veda, namely the Taittirīya-Samhitā, the Maitrayanī-Samhitā, the Kapisthala-Samhita, and the Kathaka (the two last not yet published). Finally, another historical collection, like the Rig-Veda, but made up mainly of later and less accepted material, and called (among other less current names) the Atharva-Veda Veda of the Atharvans (a legendary priestly family); it is somewhat more than half as bulky as the Rig-Veda, and contains a certain amount of material corresponding to that of the latter, and also a number of brief prose passages. To this last collection is very generally refused in the orthodox literature the Name of Veda; but for us it is the most interesting of all, after the Rig-Veda, because it contains the largest amount of hymn-material (or mantra, as it is called, in distinction from the prose brahmana), and in a language which, though distinctly less antique than that of the other, is nevertheless truly Vedic. Two versions of it are extant, one of them in only a single known, manuscript.

A not insignificant body of like material, and of various period (although doubtless in the main belonging to the latest time of Vedic productiveness, and in part perhaps the imitative work of a yet more modern time), is scattered through the texts to be later described, the Brāhmaṇas and the Sūtras. To assemble and sift and compare it is now one of the pressing needs of Vedic study.

The fundamental divisions of the Vedic literature here mentioned have all had their various schools of sectaries, each of these with a text of its own, showing some differences from those of the other schools; but those mentioned above are all that are now known to be in existence; and the chance of the discovery of others grows every year smaller.

The labor of the schools in the conservation of their sacred texts was extraordinary, and has been crowned with such success that the text of each school, whatever may be its differences from those of other schools, is virtually without various readings, preserved with all its peculiarities of dialect, and its smallest and most exceptional traits of phonetic form, pure and unobscured. It is not the place here to describe the means by which, in addition to the religious care of the sectaries, this accuracy was secured: forms of texts, lists of peculiarities and treatises upon them, and so on. When this kind of care began in the case of each text, and what of original character may have been effaced before it, or lost in spite of it, cannot be told. But it is certain that the Vedic records furnish, on the whole, a wonderfully accurate and trustworthy picture of a form of ancient Indian language (as well as ancient Indian beliefs and institutions) which was a natural and undistorted one. and which goes back a good way behind the classical Sanskrit. Its differences from the latter the following treatise endeavors to show in detail.

Along with the verses and sacrificial formulas and phrases in the text of the Black Yajur-Veda are given long prose sections, in which the ceremonics are described, their meaning and the reason of the details and the accompanying utterances are discussed and explained, illustrative legends are reported of fabricated, and various speculations, etymological and other, are indulged in. Such matter comes

to be called brahmana (apparently relating to the brahman or worship). In the White Yajur-Veda, it is separated into a work by itself, beside the samhita or text of verses and formulas, and is called the Catapatha-Brahmana Brahmana of a hundred ways. Other similar collections are found, belonging to various other schools of Vedic study, and they bear the common name of Brahmana, with the name of the school, or some other distinctive title, prefixed. Thus, the Aitareya and Kāuṣītaki-Brāhmaṇas, belonging to the schools of the Rig-Veda, the Pañcavinça and Sadvinça-Brāhmaņas and other minor works, to the Sama-Veda; the Gopatha-Brāhmaņa, to the Atharva-Veda; and a Jāiminīya- or Talavakāra-Brāhmaņa, to the Sama-Veda, has recently (Burnell) been discovered in India; the Tāittirīya-Brāhmaņa is a collection of mingled mantra and brahmana, like the samhita of the same name, but supplementary and later. These works are likewise regarded as canonical by the schools. and are learned by their sectaries with the same extreme care which is devoted to the samhitas, and their condition of textual preservation is of a kindred excellence. To a certain extent, there is among them the possession of common material: a fact the bearings of which are not yet fully understood.

Notwithstanding the inanity of no small part of their contents, the Brahmanas are of a high order of interest in their bearings on the history of Indian institutions; and philologically they are not less important, since they represent a form of language in most respects intermediate between the classical and that of the Vedas, and offer specimens on a large scale of a prose style, and of one which is in the main a natural and freely developed one — the oldest and most primitive Indo-European prose.

Beside the Brahmanas are sometimes found later appendices, of a similar character, called Aranyakas (forest-sections): as the Aitaroya-Aranyaka, Tāittirīya-Aranyaka, Brhad-Āranyaka, and so on. And from some of these, or even from the Brahmanas, are extracted the earliest Upanisads (sittings, lectures on sacred subjects) — which,

however, are continued and added to down to a comparatively modern time. The Upanishads are one of the lines by which the Brāhmaṇa literature passes over into the later theological literature.

Another line of transition is shown in the Sūtras (lines, The works thus named are analogous with the Brahmanas in that they belong to the schools of Vedic study and are named from them, and that they deal with the religious ceremonies: treating them, however, in the way of prescription, not of dogmatic explanation. They. too, contain some mantra or hymn-material, not found to occur elsewhere. In part (çrāuta or kalpa-sūtras), they take up the great sacrificial ceremonics, with which the Brāhmanas have to do; in part (grhya-sūtras), they teach the minor duties of a pious householder; in some cases (samayācārika-sūtras) they lay down the general obligations of one whose life is in accordance with prescribed duty. And out of the last two, or especially the last, come by natural development the law-books (dharma-çāstras), which make a conspicuous figure in the later literature: the oldest and most noted of them being that called by the name of Manu (an outgrowth, it is believed by many, of the Manava Vedic school); to which are added that of Yājñavalkya, and many others.

Respecting the chronology of this development, or the date of any class of writings, still more of any individual work, the less that is said the better. All dates given in Indian literary history are pins set up to be bowled down again. Every important work has undergone so many more or less transforming changes before reaching the form in which it comes to us, that the question of original construction is complicated with that of final redaction. It is so with the law-book of Manu, just mentioned, which has well-founded claims to being regarded as one of the very oldest works of the proper Sanskrit literature, if not the oldest (it has been variously assigned, to periods from six centuries before Christ to four after Christ). It is so, again, in a still more striking degree, with the great legendary

The ground-work of this is epic of the Mahābhārata. doubtless of very early date; but it has served as a text into which materials of various character and period have been inwoven, until it has become a heterogeneous mass, a kind of evelopedia for the warrior-caste, hard to separate into its constituent parts. The story of Nala, and the philosophical poem Bhagavad-Gītā, are two of the most noted of its episodes. The Rāmāyaņa, the other most famous epic, is a work of another kind: though also worked over and more or less altered in its transmission to our time, it is the production, in the main, of a single author (Valmiki); and it is generally believed to be in part allegorical, representing the introduction of Aryan culture and dominion into Southern India. By its side stand a number of minor epics, of various authorship and period, as the Raghuvança (ascribed to the dramatist Kalidasa), the Maghakavya, the Bhattikāvya (the last, written chiefly with the grammatical intent of illustrating by use as many as possible of the numerous formations which, though taught by the grammarians, find no place in the literature).

The Purāṇas, a large class of works mostly of immense extent, are best mentioned in connection with the epics. They are pseudo-historical and prophetic in character, of modern date, and of inferior value. Real history finds no place in Sanskrit literature, nor is there any conscious historical element in any of the works composing it.

Lyric poetry is represented by many works, some of which, as the Meghadūta and Gītogovinda, are of no mean order of merit.

The drama is a still more noteworthy and important branch. The first indications of dramatical inclination and capacity on the part of the Hindus are seen in certain hymns of the Veda, where a mythological or legendary situation is conceived dramatically, and set forth in the form of a dialogue — well-known examples are the dialogue of Sarama and the Panis, that of Yama and his sister Yami, that of Vasishtha and the rivers, that of Agni and the other gods — but there are no extant intermediaries between these

and the standard drama. The beginnings of the latter date from a period when in actual life the higher and educated characters used Sanskrit, and the lower and uneducated used the popular dialects derived from it, the Prakrits; and their dialogue reflects this condition of things. Then, however learning (not to call it pedantry) intervened, and stereotyped the new element; a Prakrit grammar grew up beside the Sanskrit grammar, according to the rules of which Prakrit could be made indefinitely on a substrate of Sanskrit; and none of the existing dramas need to date from the time of vernacular use of Prakrit, while most or all of them are undoubtedly much later. Among the dramatic authors, Kālidasa is incomparably the chief, and his Çakuntalā is distinctly his masterpiece. His date has been a matter of much inquiry and controversy; it is doubtless some centuries later than our era. The only other work deserving to be mentioned along with Kālidāsa's is the Mrcchakaţikā of Cudraka, also of questionable period, but believed to be the oldest of the extant dramas.

A partly dramatic character belongs also to the fable, in which animals are represented as acting and speaking. The most noted works in this department are the Pañcatantra, which through Persian and Semitic versions has made its way all over the world, and contributes a considerable quota to the fable-literature of every European language, and, partly founded on it, the comparatively recent and popular Hitopadega (salutary instruction).

Two of the leading departments of Sanskrit scientific literature, the legal and the grammatical, have been already sufficiently noticed; of those remaining, the most important by far is the philosophical. The beginnings of philosophical speculation are seen already in some of the later hymns of the Veda, more abundantly in the Brahmanas and Āranyakas, and then especially in the Upanishads. The evolution and historic relation of the systems of philosophy, and the age of their text-books, are matters on which much obscurity still rests. There are six systems of primary rank, and reckoned as orthodox, although really standing in no

accordance with approved religious doctrines. All of them seek the same end, the emancipation of the soul from the necessity of continuing its existence in a succession of bodies, and its unification with the All-soul; but they differ in regard to the means by which they seek to attain this end.

The astronomical science of the Hindus is a reflection of that of Greece, and its literature is of recent date; but as mathematicians, in arithmetic and geometry, they have shown more independence. Their medical science, although its beginnings go back even to the Veda, in the use of medicinal plants with accompanying incantations, is of little account, and its proper literature by no means ancient.

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ABBREVIATIONS.

KU. Kena-Upanisad. AA. Āitareya-Āraņyaka. LÇS. Lātyāyana-Çrāuta-Sūtra. AB. Āitareya-Brāhmaņa. AÇS. Āçvalāyana-Çrāuta-Sūtra. M. Manu. MaiU. Mäitrī-Upanisad. AGS. Āçvalāyana-Gṛhya-Sūtra. MBh. Mahābhārata. Āpast. Āpastamba-Sūtra. MdU. Mundaka-Upanisad. APr. Atharva-Prātiçākhya. Megh. Meghadūta. AV. Atharva-Veda. MS. Māitrāyaņī-Samhitā. B. or Br. Brāhmaņas. Nāis. Nāisadhīya. BAU. Brhad-Āranyaka-Upanisad. Nir. Nirukta. BhG. Bhagavad-Gitã. Pañe. Pañcatantra. BhP. Bhāgavata-Purāņa. PB. Pañcavinca- (or Tāṇdya-) Brāh-BR. Böhtlingk and Roth (Petersburg Lexicon. PGS. Pāraskara-Grhya-Sūtra C. Classical Sanskrit. PU. Praçna Upanisad. C. Cakuntală. Çatr. Çatrumjaya-Māhātmyam. R. Rāmāyaņa. Ragh. Raghuvança. CB. Catapatha-Brāhmaṇa. RPr. Rigveda-Prātiçākhya. CCS. Cankhayana-Crauta-Sutra RT. Raja-Taranginī. CGS. Çäñkháyana-Grhya-Sütra RV. Rig-Veda. ChU. Chandogya-Upanisad. S. Sütras. CvU. Cvetāçvatara-Upanişad. SB. Sadvinça-Brāhmaņa. DKC. Daça-Kumāra-Carita. Spr. Indische Sprüche (Böhtlingk). E. Epos (MBh. and R.). SV. Sāma-Veda (4B. Gopatha-Brahmana TA. Tāittirīya-Āraņyaka GGS. Gobhiliya-Grhya-Sütra TB. Taittirīya-Brāhmaņa. H. Hitopadeça TPr. Taittirīya-Pratiçākhya. Har. Hariyança. Tribh Tribhāsyaratna (comm to JB. Jaiminīya or Talavakāra) Brah-TPr.\. TS. Täittiriya-Samhitä. JUB. Jāiminīya - Upanişad - Brāh-U. Upanisads. mana. V. Vedas (RV., AV., SV). K. Kāthaka. Vas. Vasistha. Kap. Kapisthala-Samhitä. VBS. Varāha-Bṛhat-Samhitā. KB. Kāusitaki- (or Çankhāyana-) Vet Vetalapañcavinçatī. Brahmana. Vikr. Vikramorvaçı KBU. Kausitaki-Brāhmaņa-Upani-VPr. Vājasaneyi-Prātiçākhya. VS. Vājaseneyi-Sanihitā. KCS. Kātyāyana-Crāuta-Sūtra. Kānva-text. VS. Kāņ. do. KS. Kāucika-Sutra. Y. Yājñavalkya. KSS. Kathā-Sarit-Sāgara. KthU. Katha Upanisad.

CHAPTER I.

ALPHABET.

- 1. The natives of India write their ancient and sacred anguage in a variety of alphabets generally, in each art of the country, in the same alphabet which they use or their own vernacular. The mode of writing, however, which is employed throughout the heart of Aryan India, or n Hindustan proper, is alone adopted by European scholars: t is called the devanāgarī.
- a. This name is of doubtful origin and value. A more comprehensive name is nāgarī (perhaps, of the city); and deva-nāgarī is nāgarī of he gods, or of the Brahmans.
- 2. Much that relates to the history of the Indian alphabets is still ibscure. The earliest written monuments of known date in the country are he inscriptions containing the edicts of Açoka or Piyadasi, of about the niddle of the third century B. C. They are in two different systems of haracters, of which one shows distinct signs of derivation from a Semitto ource, while the other is also probably, though much less evidently, of the ame origin. From the latter, the Lath, or Southern Açoka character (of Birnar), come the later Indian alphabets, both those of the northern Aryan anguages and those of the southern Dravidian languages. The nagari, levanagari, Bengali, Guzerati, and others, are varieties of its northern lerivatives; and with them are related some of the alphabets of peoples outside of India as in Tibet and Farther India who have adopted Hindu culture or religion.
- A. There is reason to believe that writing was first employed in India for practical purposes for correspondence and business and the like and only by degrees came to be applied also to literary use. The literature, to a great extent, and the more fully in proportion to its claimed sanctity and authority, ignores all written record, and assumes to be kept in existence by oral tradition alone.

3. Of the devanāgarī itself there are minor varieties, depending on differences of locality or of period, as also of individual hand (see examples in Weber's catalogue of the Berlin Sanskrit MSS., in Rājendralāla Mitra's notices of MSS. in Indian libraries, in the published fac-similes of inscriptions, and so on); and these are in some measure reflected in the type prepared for printing, both in India and in Europe. But a student who makes himself familiar with one style of printed characters will have little difficulty with the others, and will soon learn, by practice, to read the manuscripts. A few specimens of types other than those used in this work are given in Appendix A.

a. On account of the difficulty of combining them with the smaller sizes of our Roman and Italic type, the devanāgarī characters are used below only in connection with the first or largest size. And, in accordance with the laudable usage of recent grammars, they are, wherever given, also transliterated, in Clarendon letters; while the latter alone are used in the other sizes.

- 4. The student may be advised to try to familiarize himself from the start with the devanāgarī mode of writing. At the same time, it is not indispensable that he should do so until, having learned the principal paradigms, he comes to begin reading and analysing and parsing; and many will find the latter the more practical, and in the end equally or more effective, way.
- 5. The characters of the devanāgarī alphabet, and the European letters which will be used in transliterating them, are as follows:

- a. To these may be added a lingual 1 \overline{b} , which in some of the Vedic texts takes the place of \overline{c} d when occurring between two vowels (54).
- 6. A few other sounds, recognized by the theories of the Hindu grammarians, but either having no separate characters to represent them or only very rarely and exceptionally written, will be noticed below (71 b, c, 230). Such are the guttural and labial breathings, the nasal semiyowels, and others.
- 7. The order of arrangement given above is that in which the sounds are catalogued and described by the native grammarians; and it has been adopted by European scholars as the alphabetic order, for indexes, dictionaries, etc.: to the Hindus, the idea of an alphabetic arrangement for such practical uses is wanting.
- a. In some works (as the Petersburg lexicon), a visarga which is regarded as equivalent to and exchangeable with a sibilant (172) is, though written as visarga, given the alphabetic place of the sibilant.
- +8. The theory of the devanāgarī, as of the other Indian modes of writing, is syllabic and consonantal. That is to say, it regards as the written unit, not the simple sound, but the syllable (akṣara); and further, as the substantial part of the syllable, the consonant or the consonants which precede the vowel this latter being merely implied, or, if written, being written by a subordinate sign attached to the consonant.
 - 9. Hence follow these two principles:
- A. The forms of the vowel-characters given in the alphabetical scheme above are used only when the vowel

forms a syllable by itself, or is not combined with a preceding consonant: that is, when it is either initial or preceded by another vowel. In combination with a consonant, other modes of representation are used.

- B. If more consonants than one precede the vowel, forming with it a single syllable, their characters must be combined into a single compound character.
- a. Native Hindu usage, in manuscripts and inscriptions, treats the whole material of a sentence alike, not separating its words from one another, any more than the syllables of the same word: a final consonant is combined into one written syllable with the initial vowel or consonant or consonants of the following word. It never occurred to the Hindus to space their words in any way, even where the mode of writing admitted such treatment; nor to begin a paragraph on a new line; nor to write one line of verse under another: everything, without exception, is written solid by them, filling the whole page.
- b. Thus, the sentence and verse-line aham rudrebhir vasubhiç carāmy aham ādityāir uta viçvadevāih (Rig-Veda X. 125. 1: see Appendix B) I wander with the Vasus, the Rudras, I with the Ādityas and the All-Gods is thus syllabized: a ham ru dre bhi rva su bhi çea rā mya ha mā di tyāi ru ta vi çva de vāih, each syllable ending with a vowel (or a vowel modified by the nasal-sign anusvāra. or having the sign of a final breathing, visarga, added: these being the only elements that can follow a vowel in the same syllable); and it is (together with the next line) written in the manuscripts after this fashion:

यक्ं रुद्रेभिर्वसुभिष्यराम्यक्मादित्ये रुतविष्यदेवैः । यक्ंमित्रावरूगोभा विभम्यक्मिन्द्राग्रीयकुम्बिनोभा ॥

Each syllable is written separately, and by many scribes the successive syllables are parted a little from one another: thus,

म कं क्रे कि व सु भि मा रा म्य क् मा दि त्यै

and so on.

- c. In Western practice, however, it is almost universally customary to divide paragraphs, to make the lines of verse follow one another, and also to separate the words so far as this can be done without changing the mode of writing them. See Appendix B, where the verse here given is so treated.
- d. Further, in works prepared for beginners in the language, it is not uncommon to make a more complete separation of words by a

free use of the virāma-sign (11) under final consonants: thus, for example,

श्रक्तं हितिभित्र वसुभिष्म् चराम्य् यक्म् श्राद्तियो उत विश्वदेवैः । or even by indicating also the combinations of initial and final vowels (126, 127): for example,

ग्रहं मित्रावरूणो 'भा बिभर्म्य ग्रहम् इन्द्राग्री ग्रहम् ग्रिश्वनो 'भा॥

- e. In transliterating, Western methods of separation of words are of course to be followed; to do otherwise would be simple pedantry.
- 10. Under A, it is to be noticed that the modes of indicating a vowel combined with a preceding consonant are as follows:
- a. The short π a has no written sign at all; the consonant-sign itself implies a following π a, unless some other vowel-sign is attached to it (or else the virāma: 11). Thus, the consonant-signs as given above in the alphabetic scheme are really the signs of the syllables ka, kha, etc. etc. (to ha).
- b. The long द्या ā is written by a perpendicular stroke after the consonant: thus, जा kā, धा dhā, जा hā.
- c. Short इ i and long ई ī are written by a similar stroke, which for short i is placed before the consonant and for long ī is placed after it, and in either case is connected with the consonant by a hook above the upper line: thus, कि ki, की kī; भि bhi, भी bhī; नि ni, नी nī.

The hook above, turning to the left or to the right, is historically the essential part of the character, having been originally the whole of it; the hooks were only later prolonged, so as to reach all the way down beside the consonant. In the MSS., they almost never have the horizontal stroke drawn across them above, though this is added in the printed characters: thus, originally $\frac{1}{2}$ ki, $\frac{1}{2}$ ki, $\frac{1}{2}$ ki; in the MSS., $\frac{1}{2}$ ki, $\frac{1}{2}$

d. The u-sounds, short and long, are written by hooks attached to the lower end of the consonant-sign: thus, \ \exists ku, \ \exists ku, \ \exists du, \ \exists d\exists. On account of the necessities of combination, du and d\exists are somewhat disguised: thus, \ \exists, and the forms with \ \exists rand \ \exists hu, \ \exists hu, \ \exists h\exists.

e. The r-vowels, short and long, are written by a subjoined hook, single or double, opening toward the right: thus, কু kr, কু kr; ই dr, ই dr. In the h-sign, the hooks are usually attached to the middle: thus, কু hr, কু hr.

As to the combination of r with preceding r, see below, 14 d.

- f. The 1-vowel is written with a reduced form of its full initial character: thus, $\frac{\pi}{4}$ k1; the corresponding long has no real occurrence (23 a), but would be written with a similar reduced sign.
- g. The diphthongs are written by strokes, single or double, above the upper line, combined, for मो o and मी au, with the a-sign after the consonant: thus, के ke, के kai; को ko, की kau.

h. In some devanāgarī manuscripts (as in the Bengālī alphabet), the single stroke above, or one of the double ones, is replaced by a sign like the ā-sign before the consonant: thus, নি ke, নি kāi; নি ko, নি kāu.

- 11. A consonant-sign, however, is capable of being made to signify the consonant-sound alone, without an added vowel, by having written beneath it a stroke called the virāma (rest, stop): thus, 西 k. 夏 d, 夏 h.
- a. Since, as was pointed out above, the Hindus write the words of a sentence continuously like one word (9a, b), the virāma is in general called for only when a final consonant occurs before a pause. But it is also occasionally resorted to by scribes, or in print, in order to avoid an awkward or difficult combination of consonant-signs: thus,

लिट्नि: lidbhih, लिट्नु litsu, ग्रङ्स्य añksva; and it is used to make a separation of words in texts prepared for beginners (9 d).

12. Under B, it is to be noticed that the consonant combinations are for the most part not at all difficult to make or to recognise for one who is familiar with the simple signs. The characteristic part of a consonant-sign that is to be added to another is taken (to the exclusion of the norizontal or of the perpendicular framing-line, or of both), and they are put together according to convenience,

either side by side, or one above the other; in a few combinations either arrangement is allowed. The consonant that is to be pronounced first is set before the other in the one order, and above it in the other order.

- a. Examples of the side-by-side arrangement are: मा gga, ज्ञ jja, प्य pya, न्म nma, त्य ttha, भ्य bhya, स्त्र ska, ष्या spa, त्व tka.
- b. Examples of the above-and-below arrangement are: क्र kka, क्र kva, च cca, ज्ञ nja, द dda, प्र pta, त्र tna, त tva.
- 18. In some cases, however, there is more or less abbreviation or disguise of the independent form of a consonant-sign in combination. Thus,
 - a. Of क k in क्त kta, क्त kla; and in क्या kna etc.
 - b. Of a t in a tta;
 - c. Of ξ d in ξ dga, ξ dna, etc.;
- d. Of म m and य y, when following other consonants: thus, का kya, का kma, य nma, य nya, य dma, य dya, क्म hma, का hya, हा chya, हा dhya.
- e. Of \(\mathbf{T} \) c, which generally becomes \(\mathbf{T} \) when followed by a consonant: thus, \(\mathbf{T} \) cca, \(\mathbf{T} \) cna, \(\mathbf{T} \) cva, \(\mathbf{T} \) cya. The same change is usual when a vowel-sign is added below; thus, \(\mathbf{T} \) cy.
- f. Other combinations, of not quite obvious value, are আ নাম, না lla, র ddha, র dbha, সূ sta, সূ stha; and the compounds of কু h: as দ্ধা hna, ক্ল hna.
- g. In a case or two, no trace of the constituent letters is recognizable: thus, ন ksa, ন jña.
- 14. The semivowel 7 r, in making combinations with other consonants, is treated in a wholly peculiar manner, analogous with that in which the vowels are treated.
- a. If pronounced before another consonant or combination of consonants, it is written above the latter, with a hook

opening to the right (much like the sign of the vowel r, as written under a consonant: 10e): thus, र्क rka, र्प rsa, र्द्ध rtva, रर्ध rmya, रर्स्च rtsna.

- b. Then, if a consonant-group thus containing r as first member is followed by a vowel that has its sign, or a part of its sign, or its sign of nasality (anusvāra: 70, 71); written above the line, the r-sign is placed furthest to the right: thus, af rke, af rkan, af rki, af rkī, af rko, af rkīn, af rkon.
- c. If r is pronounced after another consonant, whether before a vowel or before yet another consonant, it is written with a straight stroke below, slanting to the left: thus, 되 pra, 및 dhra, 및 gra, 된 sra, 로 ddhra, 된 ntra, 된 grya, 된 srva, 문 ntrya; and, with modifications of a preceding consonant-sign like those noted above (13), 된 tra, 로 dra, 된 Çra, 로 hra.
- d. When $\overline{\iota}$ r is to be combined with a following $\overline{\imath}$ r, it is the vowel which is written in full, with its initial character, and the consonant in subordination to it: thus, $\overline{\imath}$ rr.
- 15. Further combinations, of three, or four, or even five consonant-signs, are made according to the same rules. Examples are:

of three consonants, র ttva, রা ddhya, রা dvya, রা drya, য়া dhrya, দের psva, য়া çcya, য়া şthya, রা hvya;

of four consonants, त्रव ktrya, ङ्चा ñkaya, छा इंग्रुफ.

of five consonants, TEU rtsnya.

a. The manuscripts, and the type-fonts as well, differ from one another more in their management of consonant combinations than in any other respect, often having pecularities which one needs a little practice to understand. It is quite useless to give in a grammar the whole series of possible combinations (some of them excessively rare) which are provided for in any given type-font, or even in all. There is nothing which due familiarity with the simple

signs and with the above rules of combination will not enable the student readily to analyse and explain.

- 16. a. A sign called the avagraha (separator) namely 5 is occasionally used in the manuscripts, sometimes in the manner of a hyphen, sometimes as a mark of hiatus, sometimes to mark the elision of initial म a after final ए e or म्रा o (135). In printed texts, especially European, it is ordinarily applied to the use last mentioned, and to that alone: thus, ते उम्रवन् te 'bruvan, सी उम्रवीत् so 'bravīt, for te abruvan, so abravīt.
- b. If the elided initial-vowel is nasal, and has the anusvāra-sign (70, 71) written above, this is usually and more properly transferred to the eliding vowel; but sometimes it is written instead over the avagraha-sign: thus, for so 'ncumān, from so ancumān, either सी अमान or नी उग्नान.
- c. The sign o is used in place of something that is omitted, and to be understood from the connection: thus, श्रीसेनस्तम् ्तम् ्तेन vīrasenasutas -tam -tena.
 - d. Signs of punctuation are I and II.

At the end of a verse, a paragraph, or the like, the latter of them is ordinarily written twice, with the figure of enumeration between: thus, ii $\gtrsim 0$ ii.

17. The numeral figures are

Q 1, 2 2, 3 3, 8 4, U 5, & 6, 6 7, T 8, \$ 9, O 0.

In combination, to express larger numbers, they are used in precisely the same way as European digits: thus, 24 25, \$30 630, 6000 7000, \$75\$ 1896.

18. The Hindu grammarians call the different sounds, and the characters representing them, by a kāra (maker) added to the sound of the letter, if a vowel, or to the letter followed by a, if a consonant. Thus, the sound or character a is called akāra; k is kakāra; and so on. But the kāra is also omitted, and a, ka, etc. are used alone. The r, however, is not called rakāra, but only ra, or repha snarl: the sole example of a specific name for an alphabetic element of sits class. The anusvāra and visarga are also known by these names alone.

CHAPTER II.

SYSTEM OF SOUNDS; PRONUNCIATION.

1. Vowels.

- 19. The a, i, and u-vowels. The Sanskrit has these three earliest and most universal vowels of Indo-European language, in both short and long form 現 a and 知 ā, 表 i and 表 ī, उ u and 云 ū. They are to be pronounced in the "Continental" or "Italian" manner as in far or farther, pin and pique, pull and rule.
- 20. The a is the openest vowel, an utterance from the expanded throat, stands in no relation of kindred with any of the classes of consonantal sounds, and has no corresponding semivowel. Of the close vowels i and u, on the other hand, i is palatal, and shades through its semivowel y into the palatal and guttural consonant-classes; u is similarly related, through its semivowel v, to the labial class, as involving in its utterance a narrowing and rounding of the lips.
- a. The Paninean scheme (commentary to Pāṇini's grammar i. 1. 9) classes a as guttural, but apparently only in order to give that series as well as the rest a vowel; no one of the Prātiçākhyas puts a into one class with k etc. All these authorities concur in calling the i- and u-vowels respectively palatal and labial.
- 21. The short a is not pronounced in India with the full openness of ā, as its corresponding short, but usually as the "neutral vowel" (English so-called "short u", of but, son, blood, etc.). This peculiarity appears very early, being acknowledged by Pāṇini and by two of the Prātiçākhyas (APr. i. 36; VPr. i. 72), which call the utterance samvṛta, covered up, dimmed. It is wont to be ignored by Western scholars, except those who have studied in India.
- 22. The a-vowels are the prevailing vowel-sounds of the language, being about twice as frequent as all the others (including diphthongs) taken together. The i-vowels, again, are about twice as numerous as the u-vowels. And, in each pair, the short vowel is more than twice $(2^1/2$ to 3 times) as common as the long.

- a. For more precise estimates of frequency, of these and of the other alphabetic elements, and for the way in which they were obtained, see below, 75.
- 23. The r- and 1-vowels. To the three simple vowels already mentioned the Sanskrit adds two others, the r-vowel and the 1-vowel, plainly generated by the abbreviation of syllables containing respectively a r or 1 along with another vowel: the ₹ r coming almost always (see 237, 241-3) from ₹ r ar or 7 ra, the ₹ 1 from ₹₹ al.
- a. Some of the Hindu grammarians add to the alphabet also a long 1; but this is only for the sake of an artificial symmetry, since the sound does not occur in a single genuine word in the language.
- 24. The vowel ₹ r is simply a smooth or untrilled r-sound, assuming a vocalic office in syllable-making as, by a like abbreviation, it has done also in certain Slavonic languages. The vowel ₹ 1 is an l-sound similarly uttered like the English l-vowel in such words as able, angle, addle.
- a. The modern Hindus pronounce these vowels as ri, $r\bar{i}$, $l\bar{i}$ (or even lri), having long lost the habit and the facility of giving a vowel value to the pure r- and l-sounds. Their example is widely followed by European scholars; and hence also the (distorting and altogether objectionable) transliterations $r\bar{i}$, $r\bar{i}$, $l\bar{i}$. There is no real difficulty in the way of acquiring and practising the true utterance.
- b. Some of the grammarians (see APr. i. 37, note) attempt to define more nearly the way in which, in these vowels, a real r- or l-element is combined with something else.
- 25. Like their corresponding semivowels, r and 1, these vowels belong respectively to the general lingual and dental classes; the suphonia influence of r and \bar{r} (189) shows this clearly. They are so ranked in the Paninean scheme; but the Praticakhyas in general strangely class them with the jihvāmūliya sounds, our "gutturals" (39).
- 26. The short r is found in every variety of word and of position, and is not rare, being just about as frequent as long ū. Long r is very much more unusual, occurring only in certain plural cases of nounstems in r (371b, d, 375). The 1 is met with only in some of the forms and derivatives of a single not very common verbal root (klp).
- 27. The diphthongs. Of the four diphthongs, two, the ∇ e and \widehat{x} o, are in great part original Indo-European

sounds. In the Sanskrit, they wear the aspect of being products of the increment or strengthening of \(\xi\) i and \(\xi\) u respectively; and they are called the corresponding gunavowels to the latter (see below, 235 ff.). The other two, \(\vec{v}\) and \(\frac{\pi}{n}\) \(\frac{\pi}{n}\) au, are held to be of peculiar Sanskrit growth; they are also in general results of another and higher increment of \(\xi\) i and \(\xi\) u, to which they are called the corresponding vrddhi-vowels (below, 235 ff.). But all are likewise sometimes generated by euphonic combination (127); and \(\xi\) o, especially, is common as result of the alteration of a final \(\xi\) as (175).

- 28. The $\overline{\zeta}$ e and $\overline{\mathfrak{A}}$ o are, both in India and in Europe, usually pronounced as they are transliterated that is, as long e- (English "long a", or e in they) and o-sounds, without diphthongal character.
- a. Such they apparently already were to the authors of the Prātiçākhyas, which, while ranking them as diphthongs (samdhyakṣara), give rules respecting their pronunciation in a manner implying them to be virtually unitary sounds. But their euphonic treatment (131-4) clearly shows them to have been still at the period when the euphonic laws established themselves, as they of course were at their origin, real diphthongs, ai (a+i) and au (a+u). From them, on the same evidence, the heavier or vṛddhi diphthongs were distinguished by the length of their a-element, as $\bar{a}i$ $(\bar{a}+i)$ and $\bar{a}u$ $(\bar{a}+u)$.
- b. The recognizable distinctness of the two elements in the **vrddhi**-diphthongs is noticed by the Prât çākhyas (see APr. i. 40, noto); but the relation of those elements is either defined as equal, or the a is made of less quantity than the i and u.
- 29. The lighter or guṇa-diphthongs are much more frequent (6 or 7 times) than the heavier or vṛddhi-diphthongs, and the e and āi than the o and āu (a half more). Both pairs are somewhat more than half as common as the simple i- and u-vowels.
- 30. The general name given y the Hindu grammarians to the vowels is svara tone; the simple vowels are called samānākṣara homogeneous syllable, and the diphthongs are called samdhyakṣara combination-syllable. The position of the organs in their utterance is defined to be one of openness, or of non-closure.
 - a. As to quantity and accent, see below, 76 ff., 80 ff.

II. Consonants.

- 31. The Hindu name for 'consonant' is vyañjana manifester. The consonants are divided by the grammarians into sparça contact or mute, antansthā, intermediate or semivowel, and ūşman spirant. They will here be taken up and described in this order.
- 32. Mutes. The mutes, sparça, are so called as involving a complete closure or contact (sparça), and not an approximation only, of the mouth-organs by which they are produced. They are divided into five classes or series (varga), according to the organs and parts of organs by which the contact is made; and each series is composed of five members, differing according to the accompaniments of the contact.
- 33. The five mute-series are called respectively guttural, palatal, lingual (or cerebral), dental, and labial; and they are arranged in the order as just mentioned, beginning with the contact made furthest back in the mouth, coming forward from point to point, and ending with the frontmost contact.
- 34. In each series there are two surd members, two sonant, and one nasal (which is also sonant): for example, in the labial series, प् p and प् ph, ज् b and म् bh, and म् m.
- a. The members are by the Hindu grammarians called respectively first, second, third, fourth, and last or fifth.
- b. The surd consonants are known as aghosa toneless, and the sonants as ghosavant having tone; and the descriptions of the grammarians are in accordance with these terms. All alike recognise a difference of tone, and not in any manner a difference of force, whether of contact or of expulsion, as separating the two great classes in question. That the difference depends on vivāra opening, or samvāra closure (of the glottis), is also recognized by them.
- 35. The first and third members of each series are the ordinary corresponding surd and sonant mutes of European languages: thus, क् k and गृष्ठ, त् t and द् d, पृp and ब् b.
- 86. Nor is the character of the nasal any more doubtful. What \(\pi \) is to \(\pi \) p, and \(\pi \) b, or \(\pi \) n to \(\pi \) t and \(\pi \) d, that is also each other nasal to its own series of mutes: a sonant expulsion into and through the nose, while the mouthorgans are in the mute-contact.

- a. The Hindu grammarians give distinctly this definition. The nasal (anunāsika passing through the nose) sounds are declared to be formed by mouth and nose together; or their nasality (ānunāsikya) to be given them by unclosure of the nose.
- 37. The second and fourth of each series are aspirates: thus, beside the surd mute \(\pi \) k we have the corresponding surd aspirate \(\pi \) kh, and beside the sonant \(\pi \) g, the corresponding sonant aspirate \(\pi \) gh. Of these, the precise character is more obscure and difficult to determine.
- a. That the aspirates, all of them, are real mutes or contact sounds, and not fricatives (like European th and ph and ch, etc.), is beyond question.
- b. It is also not doubtful in what way the surd th, for example, differs from the unaspirated t: such aspirates are found in many Asiatic languages, and even in some European; they involve the slipping-out of an audible bit of fatus or aspiration between the breach of mute-closure and the following sound, whatever it may be. They are accurately enough represented by the th etc., with which, in imitation of the Latin treatment of the similar ancient Greek aspirates, we are accustomed to write them.
- c. The sonant aspirates are generally understood and described as made in a similar way, with a perceptible h-sound after the breach of sonant muteclosure. But there are great theoretical difficulties in the way of accepting this explanation; and some of the best phonetic observers deny that the modern Hindu pronunciation is of such a character, and define the element following the mute as a "glottal buzz", rather, or as an emphasized utterance of the beginning of the succeeding sound. The question is one of great difficulty, and upon it the opinions of the highest authorities are much at variance. Sonant aspirates are still in use in India, in the pronunciation of the vernacular as well as of the learned languages.
- d. By the Prāticākhyas, the aspirates of both classes are called sosman: which might mean either accompanied by a rush of breath (taking ūṣman in its more etymological sense), or accompanied by a spirant (below, 59). And some native authorities define the surd aspirates as made by the combination of each surd non-aspirate with its own corresponding surd spifant; and the sonant aspirates, of each sonant non-aspirate with the sonant spirant, the h-sound (below, 65). But this would make the two classes of aspirates of quite diverse character, and would also make the the same as ts, thas ts, ch as cq—which is in any measure plausible only of the last. Pāṇini has no name for aspirates; the scheme given in his comment (to i. 1. 9) attributes to them mahāprāṇa great expiration, and to the non-aspirates alpaprāṇa small expiration.
- e. It is usual among European scholars to pronounce both classes of aspirates as the corresponding non-aspirates

with a following h: for example, I th nearly as in English boathook, I ph as in haphazard, I dh as in madhouse, I bh as in abhor, and so on. This is (as we have seen above) strictly accurate only as regards the surd aspirates.

38. The sonant aspirates are (in the opinion of most), or at least represent, original Indo-European sounds, while the surd aspirates are a special Indian development. The former are more than twice as common as the latter. The unaspirated (non-nasal) mutes are very much more frequent (5 times) than the aspirates (for the special frequency of bh and original gh, see 50 and 66); and among them the surds are more numerous (2½ times) than the sonants. The nasals (chiefly n and m) are nearly as frequent as the surd non-aspirates.

We take up now the several mute-series.

- 39. Guttural series: \overline{q} k, \overline{q} kh, $\overline{\eta}$ g, \overline{q} gh, \overline{g} \overline{n} . These are the ordinary European k and g-sounds, with their corresponding aspirates and nasal (the last, like English ng in singing).
- a. The gutturals are defined by the Prātiçākhyas as made by contact of the base of the tongue with the base of the jaw, and they are called, from the former organ, jihvāmūlīya tongue-root sounds. The Paninean scheme describes them simply as made in the throat (kaṇṭha). From the euphonic influence of a k on a following s (below, 180), we may perhaps infer that in their utterance the tongue was well drawn back in the mouth.
- 40. The k is by far the commonest of the guttural series occurring considerably more often than all the other four taken together. The nasal, except as standing before one of the others of the same series, is found only as final (after the loss of a following k: 386, 407) in a very small number of words, and as product of the assimilation of final k to a following nasal (161).
- 41. The Sanskrit guttural series represents only a minority of Indo-European gutturals; these last have suffered more and more general corruption than any other class of consonants. By processes of alteration which began in the Indo-European period, the palatal mutes, the palatal sibilant c, and the aspiration h, have come from gutturals. See these various sounds below.
 - 42. Palatal series: चू c, क् ch, ज् j, स् jh, ज्ñ.

The whole palatal series is derivative, being generated by the corruption of original gutturals. The c comes from an original keas does also, by another degree of alteration, the palatal sibilant questions, 64). The j, in like manner, comes from a g; but the

Sanskrit j includes in itself two degrees of alteration, one corresponding to the alteration of k to c, the other to that of k to c (see below, 219). The c is somewhat more common than the j (about as four to three). The aspirate ch is very much less frequent (a tenth of c), and comes from the original group sk. The sonant aspirate jh is excessively rare (occurring but once in RV., not once in AV., and hardly half-a-dozen times in the whole older language); where found, it is either onomatopoetic or of anomalous or not Indo-European origin. The nasal, ñ, never occurs except immediately before — or, in a small number of words, also after (201) — one of the others of the same series.

- 43. Hence, in the euphonic processes of the language, the treatment of the palatals is in many respects peculiar. In some situations, the original unaltered guttural shows itself or, as it appears from the point of view of the Sanskrit, the palatal reverts to its original guttural. No palatal ever occurs as a final. The j is differently treated, according as it represents the one or the other degree of alteration. And c and j (except artificially, in the algebraic rules of the grammarians) do not interchange, as corresponding surd and sonant.
- 44. The palatal mutes are by European scholars, as by the modern Hindus also, pronounced with the compound sounds of English ch and j (in church and judge).
- a. Their description by the old Hindu grammarians, however, gives them a not less absolutely simple character than belongs to the other mutes. They are called $t\bar{a}lavya$ palatal, and declared to be formed against the palate by the middle of the tongue. They seem to have been, then, brought forward in the mouth from the guttural point, and made against the hard palate at a point not far from the lingual one (below, 45), but with the upper flat surface of the tongue instead of its point. Such sounds, in all languages, pass easily into the (English) ch- and j-sounds. The value of the ch as making the preceding vowel "long by position" (227), and its frequent origination from t+q (203), lead to the suspicion that it, at least, may have had this character from the beginning: compare 37 d, above.
- 45. Lingual series: ξ t, ξ th, ξ d, ξ dh, ξ n. The lingual mutes are by all the native authorities defined as uttered with the tip of the tongue turned up and drawn back into the dome of the palate (somewhat as the usual English smooth r is pronounced). They are called by the grammarians murdhanya, literally head-sounds, capitals, cephalics; which term is in many European grammars

rendered by 'cerebrals'. In practice, among European Sanskritists, no attempt is made to distinguish them from the dentals: टू t is pronounced like त्t, उ्d like टू d, and so with the rest.

- 46. The linguals are another non-original series of sounds, coming mainly from the phonetic alteration of the next series, the dentals, but also in part occurring in words that have no traceable Indo-European connection, and are perhaps derived from the aboriginal languages of India. The tendency to lingualization is a positive one in the history of the language: dentals easily pass into linguals under the influence of contiguous or neighbouring lingual sounds, but not the contrary; and all the sounds of the class become markedly more frequent in the later literature. The conditions of their ordinary occurrence are briefly these: 1. s comes from s, much more rarely from ç, j, kş, in euphonic circumstances stated below (180, 218 ff.); 2. a dental mute following s is assimilated to it, becoming lingual (t, th, n: 197); 3. n is often changed to n after a lingual vowel or semivowel or sibilant in the same word (189 ff.); 4. dh, which is of very rare occurrence, comes from assimilation of a dental after s (198 a) or h (222); 5. t and d come occasionally by substitution for some other sound which is not allowed to stand as final (142, 145-7). When originated in these ways, the lingual letters may be regarded as normal; in any other cases of their occurrence, they are either products of abnormal corruption, or signs of the non-Indo-European character of the words in which they appear.
- a. In a certain number of passages numerically examined (below, 75), the abnormal occurrences of lingual mutes were less than half of the whole number (74 out of 159), and most of them (43) were of n: all were found more frequent in the later passages. In the Rig-Veda, only 15 words have an abnormal t; only 6, such a th; only 1, such a th; about 20 (including 9 roots, nearly sil of which have derivatives) show an abnormal d, besides 9 that have nd; and 30 (including 1 root) show a n.
- b. Taken all together, the linguals are by far the rarest class of mutes (about $1^{1}/_{2}$ per cent. of the alphabet) hardly half as frequent even as the palatals.
- 47. Dental series: π t, π th, π d, π dh, π n. These are called by the Hindus also dantya *dental*, and are described as formed at the teeth (or at the roots of the teeth), by the tip of the tongue. They are practically the equivalents of our European t, d, n.

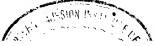
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- a. But the modern Hindus are said to pronounce their dentals with the tip of the tongue thrust well forward against the upper teeth, so that these sounds get a slight tinge of the quality belonging to the English and Modern Greek th-sounds. The absence of that quality in the European (especially the English) dentals is doubtless the reason why to the ear of a Hindu the latter appear more analogous with his linguals, and he is apt to use the linguals in writing European words.
- 48. The dentals are one of the Indo-European original mutoclasses. In their occurrence in Sanskrit they are just about as frequent as all the other four classes taken together.
- 49. Labial series: \P p, \P ph, \P b, \P bh, \P m. These sounds are called osthya *labial* by the Hindu grammarians also. They are, of course, the equivalents of our p, b, m.
- 50. The numerical relations of the labials are a little peculiar. Owing to the absence (or almost entire absence) of b in Indo-European, the Sanskrit b also is greatly exceeded in frequency by bh, which is the most common of all the sonant aspirates, as ph is the least common of the surd. The nasal m (notwithstanding its frequent euphonic mutations when final: 212 ff.) occurs just about as often as all the other four members of the series together.
- a. From an early period in the history of the language, but increasingly later, b and v exchange with one another, or fail to be distinguished in the manuscripts. Thus, the double root-forms brh and vrh, bādh and vadh, and so on. In the Bengal manuscripts, v is widely written instead of more original b.
 - 51. Semivowels: ग्र, रू r, ल् l, व् v.
- a. The name given to this class of sounds by the Hindu grammarians is antahsthā standing between either from their character as utterances intermediate between vowel and consonant, or (more probably) from the circumstance of their being placed between the mutes and spirants in the arrangement of the consonants.
- b. The semivowels are clearly akin with the several mute series in their physical character, and they are classified along with those series though not without some discordances of view by the Hindu grammarians. They are said to be produced with the organs slightly in contact (figatsprata), or in imperfect contact (duhsprata).
- 52. The \mathbf{T} r is clearly shown by its influence in the euphonic processes of the language to be a lingual sound, or one made with the tip of the tongue turned up into the dome of the palate. It thus resembles the English smooth r, and, like this, seems to have been untrilled.

- a. The Paninean scheme reckons r as a lingual. None of the Prātiçākhyas, however, does so; nor are they entirely consistent with one another in its description. For the most part, they define it as made at "the roots of the teeth". This would give it a position like that of the vibrated r; but no authority hints at a vibration as belonging to it.
- b. In point of frequency, r stands very high on the list of consonants; it is nearly equal with v, n, m, and y, and only exceeded by t.
- 53. The eq 1 is a sound of dental position, and is so defined and classed by all the native authorities.
- a. The peculiar character of an \(i\)-sound, as involving expulsion at the side of the tongue along with contact at its tip, is not noticed by any Hindu phonetist.
- b. The semivowels r and 1 are very widely interchangeable in Sanskrit, both in roots and in suffixes, and even in prefixes: there are few roots containing a 1 which do not show also forms with r; words written with the one letter are found in other texts, or in other parts of the same text, written with the other. In the later periods of the language they are more separated, and the 1 becomes decidedly more frequent, though always much rarer than the r (only as 1 to 7 or 8 or 10).
- 54. Some of the Vedic texts have another *l*-sound, written with a slightly different character (it is given at the end of the alphabet, 5 a), which is substituted for a lingual d (as also the same followed by h for a dh) when occurring between two vowels. It is, then, doubtless a lingual *l*, one made by breach (at the side of the tongue) of the lingual instead of the dental mute closure.
- a. Examples are: ईके ile, for ईउ ide, but ईटा idya; मीळ्ड पे milhuşe, for मीं कुपे midhuşe, but मीं का midhvan. It is especially in the Rig-Veda and its auxiliary literature that this substitution is usual.
- 55. The $\overline{\eta}$ y in Sanskrit, as in other languages generally, stands in the closest relationship with the vowel ξ i (short or long); the two exchange with one another in cases innumerable.
- a. And in the Veda (as the metre shows) an i is very often to be read where, in conformity with the rules of the later Sanskrit cuphony, a y is written. Thus, the final i-vowel of a word remains i before an initial vowel; that of a stem maintains itself unchanged before an ending; and an ending of derivation as ya, tya has i instead of y. Such cases will be hoticed in more detail later. The constancy of the phenomenon in certain words and classes of words shows that this was no merely optional interchange. Very probably, the Sanskrit y had everywhere more of an i-character than belongs to the corresponding European sound.

- 56. The y is by its physical character a palatal utterance; and it is classed as a palatal semivowel by the Hindu phonetists. It is one of the most common of Sanskrit sounds.
- 57. The \exists v is pronounced as English or French v (German w) by the modern Hindus except when preceded by a consonant in the same syllable, in which case it has rather the sound of English w; and European scholars follow the same practice (with or without the same exception).
- a. By its whole treatment in the euphony of the language, however, the v stands related to an u-vowel precisely as y to an i-vowel. It is, then, a v only according to the original Roman value of that letter - that is to say, a w-sound in the English sense; though (as was stated above for the y) it may well have been less markedly separated from u than English w, or more like French ou in oui etc. But, as the original w has in most European languages been changed to v (English), so also in India, and that from a very early time: the Paninean scheme and two of the Praticakhyas (VPr. and TPr.) distinctly define the sound as made between the upper teeth and the lower lip - which, of course, identifies it with the ordinary modern v-sound. As a matter of practice, the usual pronunciation need not be seriously objected to; yet the student should not fail to note that the rules of Sanskrit euphony and the name of "semivowel" have no application except to a w-sound in the English sense: a v-sound (German w) is no semivowel, but a spirant, standing on the same articulate stage with the English th-sounds and the f.
- 58. The v is classed as a labial semivowel by the Hindu phonetical authorities. It has a somewhat greater frequency than the y.
- a. In the Veda, under the same circumstances as the y (above, 55 a), v is to be read as a vowel, u.
 - b. As to the interchange of v and b, see above, 50 a.
- 59. Spirants. Under the name usman (literally heat, steam, flatus), which is usually and well represented by spirant, some of the Hindu authorities include all the remaining sounds of the alphabet; others apply the term only to the three sibilants and the aspiration to which it will here also be restricted.
- a. The term is not found in the Paninean scheme; by different treatises the guttural and labial breathings, these and the visarga, or all these and anusvara, are also (in addition to the sibilants and h) called **üşman** (see

- APr; i. 91 note). The organs of utterance are described as being in the position of the mute-series to which each spirant belongs respectively, but unclosed, or unclosed in the middle.
- 60. The \overline{H} s. Of the three sibilants, or surd spirants, this is the one of plainest and least questioned character: it is the ordinary European s a hiss expelled between the tongue and the roof of the mouth directly behind the upper front teeth.
- a. It is, then, dental, as it is classed by all the Hindu authorities. Notwithstanding the great losses which it suffers in Sanskrit euphony, by conversion to the other sibilants, to r, to visarga, etc., it is still very high among the consonants in the order of frequency, or considerably more common than both the other two sibilants together.
- 61. The \P s. As to the character of this sibilant, also, there is no ground for real question: it is the one produced in the lingual position, or with the tip of the tongue reverted into the dome of the palate. It is, then, a kind of sh-sound; and by European Sanskritists it is pronounced as an ordinary sh (French ch, German sch), no attempt being made (any more than in the case of the other lingual sounds: 45) to give it its proper lingual quality.
- a. Its lingual character is shown by its whole cuphonic influence, and it is described and classed as lingual by all the Hindu authorities (the APr. adds, i. 23, that the tongue in its utterance is trough-shaped). In its audible quality, it is a sh-sound rather than a s-sound; and, in the considerable variety of sibilant-utterance, even in the same community, it may coincide with the sh of some among ourselves. Yet the general and normal sh is palatal (see below, 63); and threefore the sign \$\frac{1}{2}\$, marked in accordance with the other lingual letters, is the only unexceptionable transliteration for the Hindu character.
- b. In modern pronunciation in India, s is much confounded with kh; and the manuscripts are apt to exchange the characters. Some later grammatical treatises, too, take note of the relationship.
- 62. This sibilant (as was noticed above, 46, and will be more particularly explained below, 180 ff.) is no original sound, but a product of the lingualization of s under certain euphonic conditions. The exceptions are extremely few (9 out of 145 noted occurrences: 75), and of a purely sporadic character. The Rig-Veda has (apart



from γ sah, 182 b) only twelve words which show a φ under other conditions.

- a. The final s of a root has in some cases attained a more independent value, and does not revert to s when the euphonic conditions are removed, but shows anomalous forms (225-6).
- 63. The \mathfrak{N} c. This sibilant is by all the native authorities classed and described as palatal, nor is there anything in its history or its euphonic treatment to cast doubt on its character as such. It is, then, made with the flat of the tongue against the forward part of the palatal arch—that is to say, it is the usual and normal sh-sound. By European scholars it is variously pronounced—more often, perhaps, as s than as sh.
- a. The two sh-sounds, s and c, are made in the same part of the mouth (the s probably rather further back), but with a different part of the tongue; and they are doubtless not more unlike than, for example, the two t-sounds, written t and t; and it would be not less proper to pronounce them both as one sh than to pronounce the linguals and dentals alike. To neglect the difference of s and c is much less to be approved. The very near relationship of s and c is attested by their cuphonic treatment, which is to a considerable extent the same, and by their not infrequent confusion by the writers of manuscripts.
- 64. As was mentioned above (41), the \mathfrak{q} , like \mathfrak{e} , comes from the corruption of an original k-sound, by loss of mute-contact as well as forward shift of the point of production. In virtue of this derivation, it sometimes (though less often than \mathfrak{e}) "reverts" to k—that is, the original k appears instead of it (43); while, on the other hand, as a sh-sound, it is to a certain extent convertible to \mathfrak{q} . In point of frequency, it slightly exceeds the latter.
- 65. The remaining spirant, $\overline{\xi}$ h, is ordinarily pronounced like the usual European surd aspiration h.
- a. This is not, however, its real character. It is defined by all the native authorities as not a surd element, but a sonant (or else an utterance intermediate between the two); and its whole value in the suphony of the language is that of a sonant: but what is its precise value is very hard to say. The Paninean scheme ranks it as guttural, as it does also a: this means nothing. The Prātiçākhyas bring it into no relation with the guttural class; one of them quotes the opinion of some authorities that "it has the same position with the beginning of the following vowel" (TPr. ii. 47) which so far identifies it with our h. There is nothing in its suphonic influence to mark it as retaining any trace of gutturally articulated character. By some of

the native phonetists it is identified with the aspiration of the sonant aspirates — with the element by which, for example, gh differs from g. This view is supported by the derivation of h from the aspirates (next paragraph), by that of l+h from dh (54), and by the treatment of initial h after a final mute (163).

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- 66. The h, as already noticed, is not an original sound, but comes in nearly all cases from an older gh (for the few instances of its derivation from dh and bh, see below, 223 g). It is a vastly more frequent sound than the unchanged gh (namely, as 7 to 1): more frequent, indeed, than any of the guttural mutes except k. It appears, like j (219), to include in itself two stages of corruption of gh: one corresponding with that of k to c, the other with that of k to c; see below, 223, for the roots belonging to the two classes respectively. Like the other sounds of guttural derivation, it sometimes exhibits "reversion" (43) to its original.
- 67. The: h, or visarga (visarjanīya, as it is uniformly called by the Prātiçākhyas and by Pāṇini, probably as belonging to the end of a syllable), appears to be merely a surd breathing, a final h-sound (in the European sense of h), uttered in the articulating position of the preceding vowel.
- a. One Prātiçākhya (TPr. ii. 48) gives just this last description of it. It is by various authorities classed with h, or with h and a: all of them are alike sounds in whose utterance the mouth-organs have no definite shaping action.
- 68. The visarga is not original, but always only a substitute for final s or r, neither of which is allowed to maintain itself unchanged (170 ff.). It is a comparatively recent member of the alphabetic system; the other euphonic changes of final s and r have not passed through visarga as an intermediate stage. And the Hindu authorities are considerably discordant with one another as to how far h is a necessary substitute, and how far a permitted one, alternative with a sibilant, before a following initial surd.
- 69. Before a surd guttural or labial, respectively, some of the native authorities permit, while others require, conversion of final s or r into the so-called jihvāmūlīya and upadhmānīya spirants. It may be fairly questioned, perhaps, whether those two sounds are not pure grammatical abstractions, devised (like the long 1-vowel: 23 a) in order to round out the alphabet to greater symmetry. At any rate, both manuscripts and printed texts in general make no account of them. Whatever individual character they may have must be, it would seem, in the direction of the (German) ch- and f-sounds. When written at all, they are wont to be transliterated by χ and φ .

- 70. The : anusvāra, n or m, is a nasal sound lacking that closure of the organs which is required to make a nasal mute or contact-sound (36); in its utterance there is nasal resonance along with some degree of openness of the mouth.
- 71. There is discordance of opinion among both the Hindu phonetists and their modern European successors respecting the real character of this element; hence a little detail is necessary here with regard to its occurrence and their views of it.
- a. Certain nasals in Sanskrit are of servile character, always to be assimilated to a following consonant, of whatever character that may be. Such are final m in sentence-combination (213), the penultimate nasal of a root, and a nasal of increment (255) in general. If one of these nasals stands before a contact-letter or mute, it becomes a nasal mute corresponding to the latter - that is, a nasal utterance in the same position of the mouth-organs which gives the succeeding mute. If, on the other hand, the following consonant does not involve a contact (being a semivowel or spirant), the nasal element is also without contact: it is a nasal utterance with unclosed mouth-organs. The question is, now, whether this nasal utterance becomes merely a nasal infection of the preceding vowel, turning it into a nasal vowel (as in French on, en, un, etc., by reason of a similar loss of a nasal mute); or whether it is an element of more individual character, having place between the vowel and the consonant; or, once more, whether it is sometimes the one thing and sometimes the other. The opinions of the Prātiçākhyas and Pāṇini are briefly as follows:
- b. The Atharva-Prātiçākhya holds that the result is everywhere a nasalized vowel, except when n or m is assimilated to a following 1; in that case, the n or m becomes a nasal 1: that is, the nasal utterance is made in the 1-position, and has a perceptible 1-character.
- c. The other Prātiçākhyas teach a similar conversion into a nasal counterpart to the semivowel, or a nasal semivowel, before y and 1 and v (not before r also). In most of the other cases where the Atharva-Prātiçākhya acknowledges a nasal vowel namely, before r and the spirants the others teach the intervention after the vowel of a distinct nasal element, called the anusvāra after-tone.
- d. Of the nature of this nasal afterpiece to the vowel no intelligibly clear account is given. It is said (RPr.) to be either vowel or consonant; it is declared (RPr., VPr.) to be made with the nose alone, or (TPr.) to be nasal like the nasal mutes; it is held by some (RPr.) to be the sonant tone of the nasal mutes; in its formation, as in that of vowel and spirant, there is (RPr.) no contact. As to its quantity, see further on.
- e. There are, however, certain cases and classes of cases where these other authorities also acknowledge a nasal vowel. So, especially, wherever

a final n is treated (208-9) as if it were ns (its historically older form); and also in a small number of specified words. They also mention the doctrine of nesal vowel instead of anusvāra as held by some (and TPr. is uncertain and inconsistent in its choice between the one and the other).

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- f. In Pāṇini, finally, the prevailing doctrine is that of anusvāra everywhere; and it is even allowed in many cases where the Prātiçākhyas prescribe only a nasal mute. But a nasal semivowel is also allowed instead before a semivowel, and a nasal vowel is allowed in the cases (mentioned above) where some of the Prātiçākhyas require it by exception.
- 'g. It is evidently a fair question whether this discordance and uncertainty of the Hindu phonetists is owing to a real difference of utterance in different classes of cases and in different localities, or whether to a different scholastic analysis of what is really everywhere the same utterance. If anusvāra is a nasal element following the vowel, it cannot well be any thing but either a prolongation of the same vowel-sound with nasality added, or a nasalized bit of neutral-vowel sound (in the latter case, however, the altering influence of an i or u-vowel on a following s ought to be prevented, which is not the case: see 183).
- 72. The assimilated nasal element, whether viewed as nasalized vowel, nasal semivowel, or independent anusvara, has the value of something added, in making a heavy syllable, or length by position (79).
- a. The Prātiçākhyas (VPr., RPr.) give determinations of the quantity of the anusvāra combining with a short and with a long vowel respectively to make a long syllable.
- 73. a. Two different signs, z and z, are found in the manuscripts, indicating the nasal sound here treated of. Usually they are written above the syllable, and there they seem most naturally to imply a nasal affection of the vowel of the syllable, a nasal (anunāsika) vowel. Hence some texts (Sāma- and Yajur-Vedas), when they mean a real anusvāra, bring one of the signs down into the ordinary consonant-place; but the usage is not general. As between the two signs, some manuscripts employ, or tend to employ, the z where a nasalized (anunāsika) vowel is to be recognized, and elsewhere the z; and this distinction is consistently observed in many European printed texts; and the former is called the anunāsika sign: but the two are doubtless originally and properly equivalent.
- b. It is a very common custom of the manuscripts to write the anusvāra-sign for any nasal following the vowel of a syllable, either before another consonant or as final (not before a vowel), without any reference to whether it is to be pronounced as nasal mute, nasal semivowel, or anusvāra. Some printed texts follow this slovenly and undesirable habit; but most write a nasal mute whenever it is to be pronounced excepting where it is an assimilated m (213).

- c. It is convenient also in transliteration to distinguish the assimilated m by a special sign, m, from the anusvara of more independent origin, n; and this method will be followed in the present work.
- 74. This is the whole system of sounds recognized by the written character; for certain other transitional sounds, more or less widely recognized in the theories of the Hindu phonetists, see below, 230.
- 75. The whole spoken alphabet, then, may be arranged in the following manner, in order to show, so far as is possible in a single scheme, the relations and important classifications of its various members:

a. The figures set under the characters give the average percentage of frequency of each sound, found by counting the number of times which it occurred in an aggregate of 10,000 sounds of continous text, in ten different passages, of 1,000 sounds each, selected from different epochs of the literature: namely, two from the Rig-Veda, one from the Atharva-Veda, two from different Brāhmaṇas, and one each from Manu, Bhagavad-Gītā, Çakuntalā, Hitopadeça, and Vāsavadattā (J.A.O.S., vol. X., p. cl).

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III. Quantity of sounds and syllables.

- 76. The Hindu grammarians take the pains to define the quantity of a consonant (without distinction among consonants of different classes) as half that of a short vowel.
- 77. They also define the quantity of a long (dīrgha) vowel or diphthong as twice that of a short (hrasva) vowelmaking no distinction in this respect between the gunaand the vrddhi-diphthongs.
- 78. Besides these two vowel-quantities, the Hindus acknowledge a third, called pluta (literally swimming), or protracted, and having three moras or three times the quantity of a short vowel. A protracted vowel is marked by a following figure 3: thus, ATS a3.
- a. The protracted vowels are practically of rare occurrence (in RV., three cases; in AV., fifteen; in the Brahmana literature, decidedly nore frequent). They are used in cases of questioning, especially of a balancing between two alternatives, and also of calling to a distance or urgently. The protraction is of the last syllable in a word, or in whole phrase; and the protracted syllable has usually the acute tone, n addition to any other accent the word may have; sometimes it akes also anusvāra, or is made nasal.
- b. Examples are: adháh svid āsī3d upári svid āsī3t (RV.) was t, forsooth, below? was it, forsooth, above? idam bhuya3 ida3m iti AV.) saying, is this more, or is that? agna31 patnīva3h somam piba TS.) O Agni! thou with thy spouse! drink the soma.
- c. A diphthong is protracted by prolongation of its first or a-element: hus, e-to a3i, o to a3u.
- d. The sign of protraction is also sometimes written as the result of ccentual combination, when so-called kampa occurs: see below, 87 d.
- 79. For metrical purposes, syllables (not vowels) are listinguished by the grammarians as heavy (guru) or light laghu). A syllable is heavy if its vowel is long, or short nd followed by more than one consonant ("long by poition"). Anusvara and visarga count as full consonants in

making a heavy syllable. The last syllable of a pada (primary division of a verse) is reckoned as either heavy or light.

a. The distinction in terms between the difference of long and short in vowel-sound and that of heavy and light in syllable-construction is valuable, and should be observed.

IV. Accent.

- 80. The phenomena of accent are, by the Hindu grammarians of all ages alike, described and treated as depending on a variation of tone or pitch; of any difference of stress involved, they make no account.
- 81. The primary tones (svara) or accent-pitches are two: a higher (udatta raised), or acute; and a lower (anudatta not raised), or grave. A third (called svarita: a term of doubtful meaning) is always of secondary origin, being (when not enclitic: see below, 85) the result of actual combination of an acute vowel and a following grave vowel into one syllable. It is also uniformly defined as compound in pitch, a union of higher and lower tone within the limits of a single syllable. It is thus identical in physical character with the Greek and Latin circumflex, and fully entitled to be called by the same name.
- 82. Strictly, therefore, there is but one distinction of tone in the Sanskrit accentual system, as described by the native grammarians and marked in the written texts: the accented syllable is raised in tone above the unaccented; while then further, in certain cases of the fusion of an accented and an unaccented element into one syllable, that syllable retains the compounded tone of both elements.
- 83. The svarita or circumflex is only rarely found on a pure long vowel or diphthong, but almost always on a syllable in which a vowel, short or long, is preceded by a y or v representing an originally acute 1- or u-vowel.
- a. In transliteration, in this work, the udatta or acute will be marked with the ordinary sign of acute, and the svarita or circumflex (as being a downward slide of the voice forward) with what is usually called the grave accent: thus, å, acute, yà or và, circumflex.

- 84. The Praticakhyas distinguish and name separately the circumflexed tones arising by different processes of combination: thus, the circumflex is called
- a. Kṣāipra (quick), when an acute i- or u-vowel (short or long) is converted into y or v before a dissimilar vowel of grave tone: thus, vyāpta from ví-āpta, apsvantar from apsu antar.
- b. Jātya (native) or nitya (own), when the same combination lies further back, in the make-up of a stem or form, and so is constant, or belongs to the word in all circumstances of its occurrence: thus, kvà (from kúa), svàr (súar), nyàk (níak), budhnyà (budhnía), kanyà (kaniā), nadyàs (nadí-as), tanvà (tanú-ā).
- o. The words of both the above classes are in the Veda, in the great majority of cases, to be read with restoration of the acute vowel as a separate syllable: thus, apsú antár, súar, nadías, etc. In some texts, part of them are written correspondingly: thus, súvar, tanúvā, budhníya.
- d. Praçlişţa, when the acute and grave vowels are of such character that they are fused into a long vowel or diphthong (128 c): thus, divi 'va (RV. AV. etc.), from divi iva; sūdgātā (TS.), from sú-udgātā; nāì 'vā 'çnīyāt (ÇB.), from ná evá açnīyāt.
- e. Abhinihita, when an initial grave a is absorbed by a final acute é or ó (135 a): thus, tè 'bruvan, from té abruvan; sò 'bravīt, from só abravīt.
- 85. But further, the Hindu grammarians agree in declaring the (naturally grave) syllable following an acute, whether in the same or in another word, to be svarita or circumflex unless, indeed, it be itself followed by an acute or circumflex; in which case it retains its grave tone. This is called by European scholars the enclitic or dependent circumflex.
- a. Thus, in téna and té ca, the syllable na and word ca are regarded and marked as circumflex; but in téna té and té ca svàr they are grave.
- b. This seems to mean that the voice, which is borne up at the higher pitch to the end of the acute syllable, does not ordinarily drop to grave pitch by an instantaneous movement, but descends by a more or less perceptible slide in the course of the following syllable. No Hindu authority suggests the theory of a middle or intermediate tone for the enclitic, any more than for the independent circumflex. For the most part, the two are identified with one another, in treatment and designation. The encatte-circumflex is likewise divided into a number of sub-varieties, with different names: they are of too little consequence to be worth reporting.

- 86. The essential difference of the two kinds of circumflex is shown clearly enough by these facts: 1. the independent circumflex takes the place of the acute as the proper accent of a word, while the enclitic is the mere shadow following an acute, and following it in another word precisely as in the same word; 2. the independent circumflex maintains its character in all situations, while the enclitic before a following circumflex or acute loses its circumflex character, and becomes grave; moreover, 3. in many of the systems of marking accent (below, 88), the two are quite differently indicated.
- 87. The accentuation is marked in manuscripts only of the older literature: namely, in the primary Vedic texts, or sambitās, in two of the Brāhmaṇas (Tāittirīya and Çatapatha), in the Tāittirīya-Āraṇyaka, in certain passages of the Āitareya-Āraṇyaka, and in the Suparṇādhyāya. There are a number of methods of writing accent, more or less different from one another; the one found in manuscripts of the Rig-Veda, which is most widely known, and of which most of the others are only slight modifications, is as follows.
- a. The acute syllable is left unmarked; the circumflex, whether independent or enclitic, has a short perpendicular stroke above; and the grave next preceding an acute or (independent) circumflex has a short horizontal stroke below. Thus,

म्याम् agnim; त्रहोति juhóti; तुन्त्रा tanva; क्षे kva

b. But the introductory grave stroke below cannot be given if an acute syllable is initial; hence an unmarked syllable at the beginning of a word is to be understood as acute; and hence also, if several grave syllables precede an acute at the beginning of a sentence, they must all alike have the grave sign. Thus,

इन्द्रं: indraḥ; ते té; कृष्टियमि karişyási; तुविज्ञाता tuvijātá.

c. All the grave syllables, however, which follow a marked circumflex are left unmarked, until the occurrence of another accented syllable causes the one which precedes it to take the preparatory stroke below. Thus,

मुद्शीकसंदव् sudfçīkasamdrk;

but सुद्शीकसंद्गावीम् sudfçīkasamdrg gávām.

- d. If an independent circumflex be followed by an acute (or by another independent circumflex), a figure 1 is set after the former circumflexed vowel if it be short, or a figure 3 if it be long, and the signs of accent are applied as in the following examples:
 - म्रुट्स्वर्त्तः apsv aintáh (from apsú antáh); रायाञ्चितः rāyðs vánih (from rāyð avánih).

The rationale of this mode of designation is not well understood; the Prätickhyas give no account of it. In the scholastic utterance of the syllable so designated is made a peculiar quaver or roulade of the voice, called kampa or vikampana.

- e. The accent-marks are written with red ink in the manuscripts, being added after the text is written, and perhaps often by another hand.
- 88 a. Nearly accordant with this, the Rig-Veda method of designating accent, are the methods employed in the manuscripts of the Atharva-Veda, of the Vājasaneyi-Samhitā, and of the Tāittirīya-Samhitā, Brāhmaṇa, and Āraṇaka. Their differences from it are of trifling importance, consisting mainly in peculiar ways of marking the circumflex that precedes an acute (87 d). In some manuscripts of the Atharva-Veda, the accent-marks are dots instead of strokes, and that for the circumflex is made within the syllable instead of above it.
- b. In most manuscripts of the Māltrāyaṇī-Samhitā, the acute syllable itself, besides its surroundings, is marked—namely, by a perpendicular stroke above the syllable (like that of the ordinary circumflex in the RV. method). The independent circumflex has a hook beneath the syllable, and the circumflex before an acute (87 d) is denoted simply by a figure 3, standing before instead of after the circumflexed syllable.
- c. The Çatapatha-Brāhmaṇa uses only a single accent-sign, the horizontal stroke beneath the syllable (like the mark for grave in RV.). This is put under an acute, or, if two or more acutes immediately follow one another, only under the preceding syllable. To mark an independent circumflex, it is put under the preceding syllable. The method is an imperfect one, allowing many ambiguities.
- d. The Sama-Veda method is the most intricate of all. It has a dozen different signs, consisting of figures, or of figures and letters combined, all placed above the syllables, and varying according both to the accentual character of the syllable and to its surroundings. Its origin is obscure; if anything more is indicated by it than by the other simpler systems, the fact has not been demonstrated.
- 89. In this work, as everything given in the devanāgarī characters is also given in transliteration, it will in general be unnecessary to mark the accent except in the transliterated form; where, however, the case is otherwise, there will be adopted the method of marking only the really accented syllables, the acute and the independent circumflex: the latter by the usual svarita-sign, the former by a small u (for udātta) above the syllable: thus,

इन्द्र índra, अँग्रे ágne, स्वीर svàr. नखीस nadyàs.

a. These being given, everything else which the Hindu theory reodgnizes as dependent on and accompanying them can readily be understood as implied.

- 90. The theory of the Sanskrit accent, as here given (a consistent and intelligible body of phenomena), has been overlaid by the Hindu theorists, especially of the Praticakhyas, with a number of added features, of a much more questionable character. Thus:
- a. The unmarked grave syllables following a circumflex (either at the end of a sentence, or till the near approach of another acute) are declared to have the same high tone with the (also unmarked) acute. They are called pracaya or pracita (accumulated: because liable to occur in an indefinite series of successive syllables).
- b. The circumflex, whether independent or enclitic, is declared to begin on a higher pitch than acute, and to descend to acute pitch in ordinary cases: the concluding instant of it being brought down to grave pitch, however, in the case of an independent circumflex which is immediately followed by another ascent of the voice to higher pitch, in acute or independent circumflex (a kampa syllable: 87 d).
- c. Pāṇini gives the ambiguous name of ekaçruti-(monotone) to the pracita syllables, and says nothing of the uplifting of the circumflex to a higher plane; he teaches, however, a depression below the grave pitch for the marked grave syllable before acute or circumflex, calling it sannatara (otherwise anudāttatara).
- **91.** The system of accentuation as marked in the Vedic texts appears to have assumed in the traditional recitation of the Brahmanic schools a peculiar and artificial form, in which the designated syllables, grave and circumflex (equally the enclitic and the independent circumflex), have acquired a conspicuous value, while the undesignated, the acute, has sunk into insignificance.
- 92. The Sanskrit accent taught in the native grammars and represented by the accentuated texts is essentially a system of word-accent only. No general attempt is made (any more than in the Greek system) to define or mark a sentence-accent, the effect of the emphasis and modulation of the sentence in modifying the independent accent of individual words. The only approach to it is seen in the treatment of vocatives and personal verb-forms.
- a. A vocative is usually without accent except at the beginning of a sentence: for further details, see 314.
- b. A personal verb-form is usually accentless in an independent clause, except when standing at the beginning of the clause: for further details, see 591 ff.
- 93. Certain other words also are, usually or always, without accent.
- a. The particles ca, vā, u, sma, iva, cid, svid, ha, and the Vedic kam (or kam), gha, bhala, samaha, īm, sīm, are always without accent; also yathā in RV. (sometimes also elsewhere) in the sense of iva, at the end of a pāda or verse-division.

- b. The same is true of certain pronouns and pronominal stems: mā, me, nāu, nas, tvā, te, vām, vas (401 b), ena (500), tva (503 b), sama (513 c).
- c. The cases of the pronominal stem a are sometimes accented and sometimes accentiess (502).
- d. An accentless word is not allowed to stand at the beginning of a sentence; also not of a pāda or primary division of a verse; a pāda is, in all matters relating to accentuation, treated like an in-lependent sentence.
- 94. Some words have more than a single accented syllable. Such are:
- a. Certain dual copulative compounds in the Veda (see 1255), as mitrávárunā, dyávāpṛthiví. Also, a few other Vedio compounds (see 1267 d), as bṛhaspáti, tánūnápāt.
- b. In a few cases, the further compounds and derivatives of such compounds, as dyavapṛthivívant, bṛhaspátipranutta.
- o. Infinitive datives in tavāi (sec 972 a), as étavāi, apabhartavāi.
- d. A word naturally barytone, but having its final syllable protracted see 78 a).
 - e. The particle vava (in the Brahmanas).
- 95. On the place of the accented syllable in a Sanskrit word there is no restriction whatever depending upon either he number or the quantity of the preceding or following syllables. The accent rests where the rules of inflection or derivation or composition place it, without regard to any thing else.
- a. Thus, índre, agnāú, índreņa, agnīnā, agnīnām, bāhúcyuta, inapacyuta, parjányajinvita, abhimātişāhá, ánabhimlātavarņa, abhiçasticātana, híraņyavāçīmattama, cátuçcatvārinqadakṣara.
- 96. Since the accent is marked only in the older literature, and the statements of the grammarians, with the leduced rules of accentuation, are far from being sufficient to settle all cases, the place of the stress of voice for a considerable part of the vocabulary is undetermined. Hence it is a general habit with European scholars to pronounce Sanskrit words according to the rules of the Latin accent.

97. In this work, the accent of each word and form will in general be marked, so far as there is authority determining its place and character. Where specific words and forms are quoted, they will only be so far accentuated as they are found with accent in accentuated texts.

CHAPTER III.

RULES OF EUPHONIC COMBINATION.

Introductory.

- 98. The words in Sanskrit, as in the other languages related with it, are in great part analysable into roots, suffixes of derivation, and endings of inflection, these last being added mostly to stems containing suffixes, but also sometimes directly to roots.
- a. There are, of course, a certain number of uninflected words—indeclinables, particles; and also not a few that are incapable of analysis.
- 99. The Sanskrit, indeed, possesses an exceptionally analysable character; its formative processes are more regular and transparent than those of any other Indo-European tongue. Hence the prevailing method of the Hindu native science of grammar, which sets up a certain body of roots, and prescribes the processes by which these may be made stems and words, giving the various added elements, and laying down the rules by which their combination is effected. And the same general method is, for like reason, followed also by European grammarians.
- 100. The euphonic laws, accordingly, which govern the combination of suffix or of ending with root or stem, possess a high practical importance, and require to be laid down in preparation for the topics of declension and conjugation.
- 101. Moreover, the formation of compounds, by joining two or more simple stems, is extremely frequent in Sanskrit; and this kind of combination has its own peculiar euphonic rules. And once more, in the form of the language as handed down to us by its literature, the words composing a sentence or paragraph are adapted to and combined with one another by nearly the same rules which govern the making of compounds; so that it is impossible to take apart and understand a Sanskrit sentence without knowing those rules. Hence

an increased degree of practical importance belonging to the subject of euphonic combination.

- a. This euphonic interdependence of the words of a sentence is unknown to any other language in anything like the same degree; and it cannot but be suspected of being at least in part artificial, implying an erection into necessary and invariable rules of what in the living language were only optional practices. This is strongly indicated, indeed, by the evidence of the older dialect of the Vedas and of the derived Prakritic dialects, in both of which some of the rules (especially that as to the hiatus: see 113) are often violated.
- +102. The roots which are authenticated by their occurrence in the literary monuments of the language, earlier and later, number between eight and nine hundred. About half of these belong fully to the language throughout its whole history; some (about a hundred and fifty) are limited to the earlier or pre-classical period; some, again (over a hundred and twenty), make their first appearance in the later language.
- a. There are in this number roots of very diverse character. Those occurring only later are, at least in great part, presumably of secondary origin; and a certain number are even doubtless artificial, used once or twice because found in the root-lists of the Hindu grammarians (103). But also of the rest, some are plainly secondary, while others are questionable; and not a few are variations or differentiated forms of one another. Thus, there are roots showing respectively r and l, as rabh and labh, mruc and mluc, ksar and ksal; roots with and without a strengthening nasal, as vand and vad, mand and mad; roots in a and in a nasal, as khā and khan, gā and gam, jā and jan; roots made by an added ā, as trā from tr, mnā from man, psā from bhas, yā from i; roots the product of reduplication, as jaks from ghas, dudh from dhū; roots with a final sibilant of formative origin, as bhaks and bhiks from bhaj, naks from naç, crus from cru, hās from hā; root-forms held apart by a well-established discordance of inflection and meaning, which yet are probably different sides of one root, as kṛṣ drag and kṛṣ plough, vid know and vid find, vr enclose and vr choose; and so on. In many such cases it is doubtful whether we ought to acknowledge two roots or only one; and no absolute rule of distinction can be laid down and maintained.
- 103. The list of roots given by the Hindu grammarians contains about two thousand roots, without including all those which students of the language are compelled to recognize. Considerably more than half of this number, then, are unauthenticated by use; and although some of these may yet come to light, or may have existed without flading their way into any of the preserved literary documents, it is certain that most are fictitious: made in part for the explanation of words falsely described as their derivatives, but in the main for unknown and perhaps undiscoverable reasons.

- a. The roots unauthenticated by traceable use will be made no account of in this grammar or, if noticed, will be specified as of that character.
- 104. The forms of the roots as here used will be found to differ in certain respects from those given by the native grammarians and adopted by some European works. Thus:
- a. Those roots of which the initial n and s are regularly converted to n and s after certain prefixes are by the Hindu grammarians given as beginning with n and s; no western authority follows this example.
- b. The Hindus classify as simple roots a number of derived stems: reduplicated ones, as dīdhī, jāgṛ, daridrā; present-stems, as ūrnu; and denominative stems, as avadhīr, kumār, sabhāg, mantr, sāntv, arth, and the like. These are in European works generally reduced to their true value.
- c. A number of roots ending in an ā which is irregularly treated in the present-system are written in the Hindu lists with diphthongs—e or āi or o; here they will be regarded as ā-roots (see 251). The o of such root-forms, especially, is purely arbitrary; no forms or derivatives made from the roots justify it.
- d. The roots showing interchangeably \mathbf{r} and \mathbf{ir} and \mathbf{ir} or \mathbf{ur} and $\mathbf{\bar{ur}}$ (242) are written by the Hindus with \mathbf{r} or with $\mathbf{\bar{r}}$, or with both. The $\mathbf{\bar{r}}$ here also is only formal, intended to mark the roots as liable to certain modifications, since it nowhere shows itself in any form or derivative. Such roots will in this work be written with \mathbf{r} .
- e. The roots, on the other hand, showing a variation between \mathbf{r} and ar (rarely ra) as weak and strong forms will be here written with \mathbf{r} , as by the native grammarians, although many European authorities prefer the other or strong form. So long as we write the unstrengthened vowel in vid and \mathbf{c} , in mud and bhū, and their like, consistency seems to require that we write it in \mathbf{s} and \mathbf{k} also in all cases alike, without reference to what may have been the more original Indo-European form.
- 105. In many cases of roots showing more than one form, the selection of a representative form is a matter of comparative indifference. To deal with such eases according to their historical character is the part rather of an Indo-European comparative grammar than of a Sanskrit grammar. We must be content to accept as roots what elements seem to have on the whole that value in the existing condition of the language.
- 106. Stems as well as roots have their variations of form (311). The Hindu grammarians usually give the weaker form as the normal one, and derive the other from it by a strengthening change; some European authorities do the same, while others prefer the contrary method; the choice is of unessential consequence, and may be determined in any case by motives of convenience.
- 107. We shall accordingly consider first of all, in the present chapter, the euphonic principles and laws which govern the combination

of the elements of words and of words as elements of the sentence; then will be taken up the subject of inflection, under the two heads of declension and conjugation; and an account of the classes of uninflected words will follow.

- a. The formation of conjugational stems (tense and mode-stems; also participles and infinitive) will be taught, as is usual, in connection with the processes of conjugational inflection; that of uninflected words, in connection with the various classes of those words. But the general subject of derivation, or the formation of declinable stems, will be taken up by itself later (chap. XVII.); and it will be followed by an account of the formation of compound stems (chap. XVIII.).
- 108. It is by no means to be expected of beginners in the language that they will attempt to master the rules of euphonic combination in a body, before going on to learn the paradigms of inflection. On the contrary, the leading paradigms of declension may best be learned outright, without attention, or with only a minimum of attention, to euphonic rule. In taking up conjugation, however, it is practically, as well as theoretically, better to learn the forms as combinations of stem and ending, with attention to such laws of combination as apply in the particular cases concerned. The rules of external combination, governing the make-up of the sentence out of words, should be grappled with only when the student is prepared to begin the reading or the formation of sentences.

Principles of Euphonic Combination.

- 109. The rules of combination (samdhi putting together) are in some respects different, according as they apply —
- a. to the internal make-up of a word, by the addition of derivative and inflectional endings to roots and stems;
- b. to the more external putting together of stems to make compound stems, and the yet looser and more accidental collocation of words in the sentence;
- c. Hence they are usually divided into rules of internal combination, and rules of external combination.

- 110. In both classes of cases, however, the general principles of combination are the same and likewise, to a great extent, the specific rules. The differences depend in part on the occurrence or non-occurrence of certain combinations in the one class or the other; in part, on the difference of treatment of the same sound as final of a root or of an ending, the former being more persistent than the latter; in part, on the occurrence in external combination of certain changes which are apparently phonetic but really historical; and, most frequent and conspicuous of all, on the fact that (157) vowels and semivowels and nasals exercise a sonantizing influence in external combination, but not in internal. Hence, to avoid unnecessary repetition as well as the separation of what really belongs together, the rules for both kinds of combination are given below in connection with one another.
- 111. a. Moreover, before case-endings beginning with bh and s (namely, bhyām, bhis, bhyas, su), the treatment of the finals of stems is in general the same as in the combinations of words (pada) with one another whence those endings are sometimes called pada-endings, and the cases they form are known as pada-cases.
- b. The importance of this distinction is somewhat exaggerated by the ordinary statement of it. In fact, dh is the only sonant mute initial of an ending occurring in conjugation, as bh in declension; and the difference of their treatment is in part owing to the one coming into collision usually with the final of a root and the other of an ending, and in part to the fact that dh, as a dental, is more assimilable to palatals and linguals than bh. A more marked and problematic distinction is made between su and the verbal endings si, sva, etc., especially after palatal sounds and s.
- c. Further, before certain of the suffixes of derivation the final of a stem is sometimes treated in the same manner as that of a word in composition.
- d. This is especially the case before secondary suffixes having a markedly distinct office, like the possessive mant and vant, the abstract-making tvs, the suffix of material mays, and so on; and it is much more frequent in the later language than in the earlier. The examples are sporadio in character, and no rule can be given to cover them: for details, see the various suffixes, in chap. XVII. In the RV. (as may be mentioned here) the only examples are vidyunmant (beside garutmant, kakudmant, etc.), pfsadvant (beside datvant, marutvant, etc.), dhrsadvin (beside namasvin, etc.), cagma (beside ajma, idhma, etc.), mrnmaya (beside manasmaya, etc.), and ahamyu, kithyu, çamyu, and anhoyu, duvoyu, askrdhoyu (beside namasyu, vsoasyu, etc.); and the AV. adds only sahovan (RV. sahavan).
- 112. The leading rules of internal combination (as already stated: 108) are those which are of most immediate importance to a beginner in the language, since his first task is to master the principal paradigms of

inflection; the rules of external combination may better be left untouched until he comes to dealing with words in sentences, or to translating. Then, however, they are indispensable, since the proper form of the words that compose the sentence is not to be determined without them.

- a, The general principles of combination underlying the euphonic rules, and determining their classification, may be stated as follows:
- 113. Hiatus. In general, hiatus is forbidden; every syllable except the initial one of a sentence, or of a word or phrase not forming part of a sentence, must begin with a consonant (or with more than one).
 - a. For details, and for exceptions, see 125 ff.

b. In the earlier language, however, hiatus in every position was abundantly admitted. This appears plainly from the mantras, or metrical parts of the Veda, where in innumerable instances y and v are to be read as i and u, and, less often, a long vowel is to be resolved into two vowels, in order to make good the metre: e. g., varyanam has to be read as varianam, svaçvyam as su-aç-vi-am, and so on. In the Brahmanas, also, we find tvac, svar, dyaus described as dissyllables, vyana and satyam as trisyllables, rajanya as of four syllables, and the like. See further 129 e.

- 114. Deaspiration. An aspirate mute is liable to lose its aspiration, being allowed to stand unchanged only before a vowel or semivowel or nasal.
- 115. Assimilation. The great body of euphonic changes in Sanskrit, as elsewhere, falls under the general head of assimilation which takes place both between sounds which are so nearly alike that the difference between them is too insignificant to be worth preserving, and between those which are so diverse as to be practically incompatible.
- 116. In part, assimilation involves the conversion of one sound to another of the same series, without change of articulating position; in part, it involves a change of position, or transfer to another series.
- 117. Of changes within the series, the most frequent and important occur in the adaptation of surd and sonant sounds to one

another; but the nasals and 1 have also in certain cases their special assimilative influence. Thus:

- a. In the two classes of non-nasal mutes and spirants, surd and sonant are wholly incompatible; no surd of either class can either precede or follow a sonant of either.
- b. A mute, surd or sonant, is assimilated by being changed to its correspondent of the other kind; of the spirants, the surd s is the only one having a sonant correspondent, namely r, to which it is convertible in external combination (164 ff.).
- o. The nasals are more freely combinable: a nasal may either precede or follow a mute of either kind, or the sonant spirant h; it may also follow a surd spirant (sibilant); no nasal, however, ever precedes a sibilant in the interior of a word (it is changed instead to anusvāra); and in external combination their concurrence is usually avoided by insertion of a surd mute.
- d. A semivowel has still less sonantizing influence; and a vowel least of all: both are freely preceded and followed by sounds of every other class, in the interior of a word.
- e. Before a sibilant, however, is found, of the semivowels, only r and very rarely 1. Moreover, in external combination, r is often changed to its surd correspondent s.

But

- f. In composition and sentence-collocation, initial vowels and semi-vowels and nasals also require the preceding final to be sonant. And
- g. Before a nasal and 1, the assimilative process is sometimes carried further, by the conversion of a final mute to a nasal or 1 respectively.
- 118. Of conversions involving a change of articulate position, the most important are those of dental sounds to lingual, and, less often, to palatal. Thus:
- a. The dental s and n are very frequently converted to s and n by the assimilating influence of contiguous or neighbouring lingual sounds: the s, even by sounds namely, i- and u-vowels and k which have themselves no lingual character.
- b. A non-nasal dental mute is (with a few exceptions in external combination) made lingual when it comes into collision with a lingual sound.
- c. The dental mutes and sibilant are made palatal by a contiguous palatal.

But also:

- d. A m (not radical) is assimilated to a following consonant, of whatever kind.
 - e. For certain anomalous cases, see 151.
- 119. The euphonic combinations of the palatal mutes, the palatal sibhant, and the aspiration, as being sounds derived by phonetic alteration from more original gutturals (42 ff.), are made peculiar

and complicated by two circumstances: their reversion to a guttural form (or the appearance of the unaltered guttural instead of them: 43); and the different treatment of j and h according as they represent one or another degree of alteration—the one tending, like o, more to the guttural reversion, the other showing, like c, a more sibilant and lingual character.

- 120. The lingual sibilant s, also of derivative character (from dental s), shows as radical final peculiar and problematic phenomena of combination.
- 121. Extension and abbreviation of consonant-groups. The native grammarians allow or require certain extensions, by duplication or insertion, of groups of consonants. And, on the other hand, abbreviation of certain other groups is allowed, and found often practised in the manuscripts.
- 122. Permitted Finals. The permitted occurrence of consonants at the end of a word is quite narrowly restricted. In general, only one consonant is allowed after the last vowel; and that must be neither the aspiration, nor a sibilant, nor a semivowel (save rarely \overline{eq} 1), nor an aspirate mute, nor a sonant mute if not nasal, nor a palatal.
- 123. Increment and Decrement. Besides these more or less regular changes accompanying the combination of the parts that make up words, there is another class of a different character, not consisting in the mutual adaptations of the parts, but in strengthening or weakening changes of the parts themselves.
- 124. It is impossible to carry through a perfectly systematic arrangement of the detailed rules of euphonic combination, because the different varieties of euphonic change more or less overlap and intersect one another. The order observed below will be as follows:
 - 1. Rules of vowel combination, for the avoidance of histus.
- Rules as to permitted finals (since these underlie the further treatment of final consonants in external combination).
 - 3. Rules for loss of aspiration of an aspirate mute.
- A Rules of surd and sonant assimilation, including those for final and r.

- 5. Rules for the conversion of dental sounds to lingual and palatal.
- 6. Rules for the changes of final nasals, including those in which a former final following the nasal re-appears in combination.
- 7. Rules regarding the special changes of the derivative sounds—the palatal mutes and sibilant, the aspiration, and the lingual sibilant.
 - 8. Rules as to extension and abbreviation of consonant groups.
 - 9. Rules for strengthening and weakening processes.

Everywhere, rules for more sporadic and less classifiable cases will be given in the most practically convenient connection; and the Index will render what help is needed toward finding them.

Rules of Vowel Combination.

- 125. The concurrence of two vowels, or of vowel and diphthong, without intervening consonant, is forbidden by the euphony of the later or classical language. It is avoided, according to the circumstances of the case, either by fusion of the two concurrent sounds into one, by the reduction of one of them to a semivowel, or by development of a semi-vowel between them.
- a. For the not infrequent cases of composition and sentence-combination in which the recent loss of a s or y or v between vowels leaves a permanent hiatus, see below, 132 ff., 175-7; for certain final vowels which are maintained unchanged in sentence-combination before an initial vowel, see 138.
- b. A very few words in their admitted written form show interior histus; such are titaü sieve (perhaps for titasu, BR.), präüga wagonpole (for prayuga?); and, in RV., suüti.
- c. The texts of the older dialect are written according to the suphonic rules of the later language, although in them (see 113 b) the lifetus is really of frequent occurrence. Hence they are not to be read as written, but with constantly recurring reversal of the processes of vowel-combination which they have been made artificially to undergo. See further 129 c.
- d. Also in the later language, hiatus between the two padas or primary divisions of a metrical line is tolerably frequent, and it is not unknown in sporadio cases even in the interior of a pada.
- e. The rules of vowel combination, as regards both the resulting sound and its accent, are nearly the same in internal and its external sanddhi.

126. Two similar simple vowels, short or long, coalesce, and form the corresponding long vowel: thus, two a-vowels (either or both of them short or long) form হা a; two i-vowels, হ u; two u-vowels, হ u; and, theoretically, two r-vowels form হ r, but it is questionable whether the case ever practically occurs. Examples are:

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स चाप्रजः sa cā 'prajaḥ (ca + aprajaḥ);
म्रतीय atī 'va (ati + iva);
स्त्राम् sūktam (su-uktam);
राजासीत् rājā "sīt (rājā + āsīt);
म्राधिरः adhīçvaraḥ (adhi-īçvaraḥ);
बुद्धप्रृत् juhūpabhṛt (juhū — upabhṛt).
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- a. As the above examples indicate, it will be the practice everywhere in this work, in transliteration (not in the devanāgarī text), to separate independent words; and if an initial vowel of a following word has coalesced with a final of the preceding, this will be indicated by an apostrophe—single if the initial vowel be the shorter, double if it be the longer, of the two different initials which in every case of combination yield the same result.
- 127. An a-vowel combines with a following i-vowel to ए e; with an u-vowel, to घो o; with ऋ r, to घर ar; with ल् l (theoretically), to घल al; with ए e or ऐ कां, to ऐ कां; with घो o or घी कu, to घी कu. Examples are:

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राजेन्द्र rājendra (rāja-indra);
क्तिप्रहेश: hitopadeçah (hita-upadeçah);
मुक्षि: maharsih (mahā-rsih);
सेन डāi 'va (sā + eva);
राजेस्प्र्यम् rājāiçvaryam (rāja-āiçvaryam);
हिमोजास: divāukasah (divā-okasah);
डब्रोण्यम् jvarāusadham (jvara-āusadham).
```

a. In the Vedic texts, the vowel r is ordinarily written unchanged after the s-vowel, which, if long, is shortened: thus, maharsih instead of maharsih. The two vowels, however, are usually pronounced as one syllable.

*b. When successive words like indra a ihi are to be combined, the first combination, to indra, is made first, and the result is indre "hi (not indra, "hi; from indra e 'hi).

- 128. As regards the accent of these vowel combinations, it is to be noticed that, 1. as a matter of course, the union of scute with acute yields acute, and that of grave with grave yields grave; that of circumflex with circumflex cannot occur; 2. a circumflex with following acute yields acute, the final grave element of the former being raised to acute pitch; a grave with following acute does the same, as no upward slide of the voice on a syllable is acknowledged in the language; but, 3. when the former of the fused elements is acute and the latter grave, we might expect the resulting syllable to be in general circumflex, to represent both the original tones. Panini in fact allows this accent in every such case; and in a single accentuated Brahmana text (CB.), the circumflex is regularly written. But the language shows, on the whole, an indisposition to allow the circumflex to rest on either long vowel or diphthong as its sole basis, and the acute element is suffered to raise the other to its own level of pitch, making the whole syllable acute. The only exception to this, in most of the texts, is the combination of i and i, which becomes i: thus, divì 'va, from divi iva; in the Taittirīya texts alone such a case follows the general rule, while ú and u, instead, make ü: thus, südgātā from su-udgātā.
- 129. The i-vowels, the u-vowels, and π r, before a dissimilar vowel or a diphthong, are regularly converted each into its own corresponding semivowel, π y or π v or π r. Examples are:

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इत्याक् ity āha (iti + āha);
मधिव madhv iva (madhu + iva);
इक्त्रिय duhitrarthe (duhitr-arthe);
ह्यस्य stry asya (strī + asya):
वधे vadhvāi (vadhū-āi).
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- a. But in internal combination the i and u-vowels are not seldom changed instead to iy and uv—and this especially in monosyllables, or after two consonants, where otherwise a group of consonants difficult of pronunciation would be the result. The cases will be noticed below, in explaining inflected forms.
- , b. A radical i-vowel is converted into y even before i in perfect tense-inflection: so ninyima (ninī+ima).
- * c. In a few sporadic cases, i and u become iy and uv even in word-composition: e. g., triyavi (tri+avi), viyanga (vi+anga), suvita (gu+ita): compare 1204 b, c.
- & d. Not very seldom, the same word (especially as found in different texts of the older language) has more than one form, showing various treatment

of an i- or u-vowel: e. g. swar or súvar, tanvè or tanúve, budhnyà or budhníya, rátryāi or rátriyāi. For the most part, doubtless, these are only two ways of writing the same pronunciation, sú-ar, budhnía, and so on; and the discordance has no other importance, historical or phonetic. There is more or less of this difference of treatment of an i- or u-element after a consonant in all periods of the language.

- e. In the older language, there is a marked difference, in respect to the frequency of vowel-combination for avoiding hiatus as compared with that of non-combination and consequent hiatus, between the class of cases where two vowel-sounds, similar or dissimilar, would coalesce into one (126, 127) and that where an i- or u-vowel would be converted into a semi-vowel. Thus, in word-composition, the ratio of the cases of coalesced vowels to those of hiatus are in RV. as five to one, in AV. as nineteen to one, while the cases of semivowel-conversion are in RV. only one in twelve, in AV. only one in five; in sentence-combination, the cases of coalescence are in both RV. and AV. about as seven to one, while those of semivowel-conversion are in RV. only one in five,
- f. For certain cases of the loss or assimilation of i and u before y and v respectively, see 233 a.
- 130. As regards the accent—here, as in the preceding case (128), the only combination requiring notice is that of an acute i- or u-vowel with a following grave: the result is circumflex; and such cases of circumflex are many times more frequent than any and all others. Examples are:

ट्युंष्टि vyùṣṭi (ví-uṣṭi); म्रन्यचीत abhyàrcati;

न्यों nadyāù (nadí-āu);

स्विष्ट svișța (sú-ișța); तन्वेस् tanvàs (tanú-as).

- a. Of a similar combination of acute f with following grave, only a single case has been noted in accented texts: namely, vijñātr ètát (i. e. vijñātf etát: ÇB. xiv. 6. 8 11); the accentuation is in accordance with the rules for 1 and u.
- 181. Of a diphthong, the final i- or u-element is changed to its corresponding semivowel, বু y or ব্ v, before any vowel or diphthong: thus, ত্ e (really ai: 28 a) becomes মৃত্ ay, and মা o (that is, au: 28 a) becomes মৃত্ av; ই ši becomes মৃত্ ay, and মা šu becomes মৃত্ av.
- a. No change of accent, of course, occurs here; each original syllable retains its syllabic identity, and hence also its own tone.
- b. Examples can be given only for internal combination, since in external combination there are further changes: see the next paragraph. Thus,

न्य naya (ne-a); नाय nāya (nāi-a);

भव bhava (bho-a); भाव bhāva (bhāu-a).

- 182. In external combination, we have the important additional rule that the semivowel resulting from the conversion of the final element of a diphthong is in general dropped; and the resulting hiatus is left without further change.
- 133. That is to say, a final $\overline{\zeta}$ e (the most frequent case) becomes simply \overline{z} a before an initial vowel (except \overline{z} a: see 135, below), and both then remain unchanged; and a final $\overline{\zeta}$ \overline{z} i, in like manner, becomes (everywhere) \overline{z} \overline{z} . Thus,

त ज्ञागता: ta āgatāḥ (te + āgatāḥ); नगर इक् nagara iha (nagare + iha); तस्मा चर्रात् tasmā adadāt (tasmāi + adadāt); स्त्रिया उक्तम striyā uktam (striyāi + uktam).

- a. The later grammarians allow the y in such combinations to be either retained or dropped; but the uniform practice of the manuscripts, of every age, in accordance with the strict requirement of the Vedic grammars (Prātiçākhyas), is to omit the semivowel and leave the hiatus.
- b. The persistence of the hiatus caused by this omission is a plain indication of the comparatively recent loss of the intervening consonantal sound.
- c. Instances, however, of the avoidance of hiatus by combination of the remaining final vowel with the following initial according to the usual rules are met with in every period of the language, from the RV. down; but they are rare and of sporadic character. Compare the similar treatment of the hiatus after a lost final s, 176-7.
- d. For the peculiar treatment of this combination in certain cases by the MS., see below, $176\,d.$
- 134. a. The diphthong o (except as phonetic alteration of final as: see 175 a) is an unusual final, appearing only in the stem go (361 c), in the voc. sing of u-stems (341), in words of which the final a is combined with the particle u, as atho, and in a few interjections. In the last two classes it is uncombinable (below, 138 c, f); the vocatives sometimes retain the v and sometimes lose it (the practices of different texts are too different to be briefly stated); go (in composition only) does not ordinarily lose its final element, but remains gav or go. A final as becomes, a, with following histus, before any vowel save a (for which, see the next paragraph).

b. The ব্v of সাব্হি from সী হu is usually retained:

तावेद tav eva (tau + eva);

उभाविन्द्रामी ubhav indragnī (ubhau + indragnī).

c. In the older language, however, it is in some texts dropped before, an u-vowel: thus, tā ubhāú; in other texts it is treated like āi, or
loses its u-element before every initial vowel: thus, tā evá, ubhā indrāgnī.

185. After final ए e or म्रो o, an initial म a disappears.

a. The resulting accent is as if the a were not dropped, but rather absorbed into the preceding diphthong, having its tone duly represented in the combination. If, namely, the e or o is grave or circumflex and the a acute, the former becomes acute; if the e or o is acute and the a grave, the former becomes circumflex, as usually in the fusion of an acute and a grave element. If both are acute or both grave, no change, of course, is seen in the result. Examples are:

ते ज्वन् tè 'bruvan (té abruvan);

सो अवीत् sò 'bravīt (sáḥ abravīt);

व्हिंसितव्यो अग्नि: hinsitavyò 'gníḥ (hinsitavyàḥ agníḥ);

यदिन्द्रो अत्रवीत् yad indro 'bravīt (yad indrah abravīt);

यज्ञाजन्यो प्रवित् yád rajanyó 'bravīt (yád rajanyáḥ ábravīt).

b. As to the use of the avagraha sign in the case of such an elision, see above, 16. In transliteration, the reversed apostrophe, or rough breathing, will be used in this work to represent it.

- c. This elision or absorption of initial a after final e or o, which in the later language is the invariable rule, is in the Veda only an occasional occurrence. Thus, in the RV., out of nearly 4500 instances of such an initial a, it is, as the metre shows, to be really omitted only about seventy times; in the AV., less than 300 times out of about 1600. In neither work is there any accordance in respect to the combination in question between the written and spoken form of the text: in RV., the a is (as written) elided in more than three quarters of the cases; in AV., in about two thirds; and in both texts it is written in a number of instances where the metre requires its omission.
- d. In a few cases, an initial \tilde{a} is thus elided, especially that of $\tilde{a}tman$,
- . To the rules of vowel combination, as above stated, there are certain exceptions. Some of the more isolated of these will be

noticed where they come up in the processes of inflection etc.; a few require mention here.

136. In internal combination:

- a. The augment a makes with the initial vowel of a root the combinations al, au, ar (vrddhi-vowels: 235), instead of e, o, ar (guna-vowels), as required by 127: thus, aita (a + ita) aubhnat (a + ubhnat), ardhnot (a + rdhnot).
- b. The final o of a stem (1203 a) becomes av before the suffix ya (originally ia: 1210 a).
- The final vowel of a stem is often dropped when a secondary suffix is added (1203 a).
- d. For the weakening and loss of radical vowels, and for certain insertions, see below, 249 ff., 257-8.

137. In external combination:

- a. The final a or ā of a preposition, with initial r of a root, makes ār instead of ar: Thus, ārchati (ā+rchati), avārchati (ava+rchati), upārṣati (ÇB.: upa+rṣati; but AV. uparṣanti).
- b. Instances are occasionally met with of a final a or a being lost entirely before initial e or o: thus, in verb-forms, av' esyamas AB., up' esatu etc. AV.; in derivatives, as upetavya, upetr; in compounds, as daçoni, yathetam, and (permissibly) compounds with ostha (not rare), otu (not quotable), odana, as adharostha or adharaustha, tilodana or tilaudana; and even in sentence-combination, as iv' etayas, açvin' eva, yath' ocise (all RV.), tv' eman and tv' odman B.; and always with the exclamation om or omkāra.
- c. The form un from pvah sometimes makes the heavier or vyddhi (235) diphthongal combination with a preceding a-vowel: thus, praudhi, akṣāuhiṇī (from pra+udhi, etc.).
- 138. Certain final vowels, moreover, are uncombinable (pragrhya), or maintain themselves unchanged before any following vowel. Thus,
- a. The vowels ī, ū and e as dual endings, both of declensional and of conjugational forms. Thus, bandhū āsāte imāu; girī ārchatem
- b. The pronoun amī (nom. pl.: 501); and the Vedic pronominal forms asmé, yusmé, tvé (492 a).
- c. A final o made by combination of a final a-vowel with the particle u (1122 b): thus, atho, mo, no.
 - d. A final I of a Vedic locative case from an i-stem (336 f).
 - e. A protracted final vowel (78).
 - f. The final, or only, vowel of an interjection, as aho, he, a, i, u.
- * g. The older language shows occasional exceptions to these rules: thus, a dual I combined with a following i, as nrpátī 'va; an a elided after o, as átho 'si; a locative I turned into a semivowel, as védy asyám.

Permitted Finals.

- 189. The sounds allowed to occur as finals in Sanskrit words standing by themselves (not in euphonic combination with something following) are closely limited, and those which would etymologically come to occupy such a position are often variously altered, in general accordance with their treatment in other circumstances, or are sometimes omitted altogether.
- a. The variety of consonants that would ever come at the end of either an inflected form or a derivative stem in the language is very small: namely, in forms, only t (or d), n, m, s; in derivative stems, only t, d, n, r, s (and, in a few rare words, j). But almost all consonants occur as finals of roots; and every root is liable to be found, alone or as last member of a compound, in the character of a declined stem.
- 140. All the vowel sounds, both simple and diphthongal, may be sounded at the end of a word.
- a. But neither \bar{r} nor l ever actually occurs; and r is rare (only as neuter sing. of a stem in r or ar, or as final of such a stem in composition).

Thus, índra, çiváyā, ákāri, nadí, dấtu, camú, janayit;, ágne, çiváyāi, väyo, àgnāú.

141. Of the non-nasal mutes, only the first in each series, the non-aspirate surd, is allowed; the others—surd aspirate, and both sonants—whenever they would etymologically occur, are converted into this.

Thus, agnimát for agnimáth, suhft for suhfd, vīrút for vīrúdh, tristúp for tristúbh.

a. In a few roots, when their final (sonant aspirate) thus loses its aspiration, the original sonant aspiration of the initial reappears: compare Ξ h, below, 147.

Thus, dagh becomes dhak, budh becomes bhut, and so on.

The roots exhibiting this change are stated below, 155..

b. There was some question among the Hindu grammarians as to whether the final mute is to be estimated as of surd or of sonant quality; but the great weight of authority, and the invariable practice of the manuscripts, fayor the surd.

Whitney, Grammar. 3 ed.

- 142. The palatals, however, form here (as often elsewhere) an exception to the rules for the other mutes. No palatal is allowed as final. The च c reverts (43) to its original क् k: thus, वाक् vák, ग्रेट्सिक् anhomúk. The इ ch (only quotable in the root प्रक् prach) becomes ट् t: thus, प्राट् prāt. The ज j either reverts to its original guttural or becomes ट् t, in accordance with its treatment in other combinations (219): thus, भिषक् bhisák, विराट् virát. The क् jh does not occur, but is by the native grammarians declared convertible to ट् t.
- 143. Of the nasals, the $\overline{\eta}$ m and $\overline{\eta}$ n are extremely common, especially the former ($\overline{\eta}$ m and $\overline{\eta}$ s are of all final consonants the most frequent); the $\overline{\eta}$ n is allowed, but is quite rare; $\overline{\xi}$ n is found (remaining after the loss of a following $\overline{\eta}$ k) in a very small number of words (386 b, c, 407 a); $\overline{\eta}$ n never occurs.
- a. But the final m of a root is changed to n (compare 212 a, below): thus, akran from kram, agan, ajagan, aganīgan from gam, anān from nam, ayān from yam, praçān from çam; no other cases are quotable.
- 144. Of the semivowels, the eq 1 alone is an admitted final, and it is very rare. The eq r is (like its nearest surd correspondent, eq s: 145) changed as final to visarga. Of eq s and eq s there is no occurrence.
- 145. Of the sibilants, none may stand unaltered at the end of a word. The स s (which of all final consonants would otherwise be the commonest) is, like र r, changed to a breathing, the visarga. The श ç either reverts (43) to its original क k, or, in some roots, is changed to र t (in accordance with its changes in inflection and derivation: see helow, 218): thus, रिक् dik, but चिर् vit. The ष s is likewise changed to र t: thus, प्रावर pravet.
 - a. The change of a to t is of rare occurrence: see below, 226 d.

b. Final radical s is said by the grammarians to be changed to t; but no sure example of the conversion is quotable: see 168; and compare 555 a.

146. The compound বৃ ks is prescribed to be treated as simple বৃ s (not becoming বৃ k by 150, below). But the case is a rare one, and its actual treatment in the older language irregular.

a. In the only RV. cases where the ks has a quasi-radical character—namely anák from anáks, and ámyak from ymyaks—the conversion is to k. Also, of forms of the s-aorist (see 890), we have adhāk asrāk, arāik, etc. (for adhākṣ-t etc.); but also aprāt, ayāt, avāt, asrāt (for aprākṣ-t etc.). And RV. has twice ayās from yyaj, and AV. twice srās from ysrj (wrongly referred by BR. to ysrans), both 2d sing., where the personal ending has perhaps crowded out the root-final and tense-sign.

b. The numeral sas six is perhaps better to be regarded as sake, with its ks treated as s, according to the accepted rule.

147. The aspiration $\overline{\mathfrak{T}}$ h is not allowed to maintain itself, but (like $\overline{\mathfrak{T}}$ j and $\overline{\mathfrak{T}}$ c) either reverts to its original guttural form, appearing as $\overline{\mathfrak{T}}$ k, or is changed to $\overline{\mathfrak{T}}$ t—both in accordance with its treatment in inflection: see below, 222. And, also as in inflection, the original sonant aspiration of a few roots (given at 155b) reappears when their final thus becomes deaspirated. Where the $\overline{\mathfrak{T}}$ h is from original $\overline{\mathfrak{T}}$ dh (223 g), it becomes $\overline{\mathfrak{T}}$ t.

148. The visarga and anusvāra are nowhere etymological finals; the former is only the substitute for an original final Ḥ s or ৄ r; the latter occurs as final only so far as it is a substitute for Ḥ m (213 h).

149. Apart from the vowels, then, the usual finals, nearly in the order of their frequency, are : ḥ, म् m, न् n, त् t, क् k, प् p, ट् t; those of only sporadic occurrence are इ n, स् 1, ण् p; and, by substitution, : m.

150. In general, only one consonant, of whatever kind, is allowed to stand at the end of a word; if two or more would etymologically occur there, the last is dropped, and again the last, and so on, till only one remains.

- a. Thus, tudants becomes tudant, and this tudan; udanc-s becomes udank (142), and this udan; and achantst (s-aor., 3d sing., of /ohand [890 b]) is in like manner reduced to achan.
- b. But a non-nasal mute, if radical and not suffixal, is retained after r: thus, tirk from urj, vark from vvrj, awart from vvrt, amart from vmrj, suhart from suhard. The case is not a common one.
- o. For relics of former double finals, preserved by the later language under the disguise of apparent euphonic combinations, see below, 207 ff.
- 151. Anomalous conversions of a final mute to one of another class are occasionally met with. Examples are:
- a. Of final t to k: thus, 1. in a few words that have assumed a special value as particles, as jyók, tājāk (beside tāját), fdhak (beside fdhat), pṛthak, drāk; and of kindred character is khādagdánt (TA.); 2. in here and there a verbal form, as sāviṣak (AV. and VS. Kāp.), dambhiṣak (Āpast.), aviṣyak (Pārask.), āhalak (VS. MS.; = āharat); 3. in root-finals or the tadded to root-stems (383 e), as -dhṛk for -dhṛt (Sūtras and later) at the end of compounds, sucrúk (TB.), pṛkṣū (SV.); and 4. we may further note here the anomalous eñkṣva (AB.; for intava, \(\rho(dh)\) and avākṣam (AB.), and the feminines in knī from masculines in ta (1176 d).
- b. Of final d or t to a lingual: thus, pad in Vedic padbhís, pádpīchi, pádbīça; upānádbhyām (CB.); vy avāt (MS. iii. 4. 9; /vas shine), and perhaps ápā rāt (MS.; or /raj?).
- c. Of k or j to t, in an isolated example or two, as samyát, ásrt, vigvasrt (TS. K.), and prayátsu (VS. Ts.; AV. -ksu).
- d. In Taittiriya texts, of the final of anuştúbh and trişţúbh to a guttural: as, anuştúk ca, trişţúgbhis, anuşţúgbhyas.
- e. Of a labial to a dental: in kakúd for and beside kakúbh; in samsfdbhis (TS.) from psp; and in adbhís, adbhyás, from ap or ap (393). Excepting the first, these look like cases of dissimilation; yet examples of the combination bbh are not very rare in the older language: thus, kakúbbhyām, triṣṭúbbhis, kakubbhanḍá, anuṣṭúb bhí.
- f. The forms pratidhúsas, -sā (Tāittirīya texts) from pratidúh are isolated anomalies.
- that is to say, in composition and sentence-collocation—
 a stem-final or word-final is in general to be regarded as
 having, not its etymological form, but that given it by the
 rules as to permitted finals. From this, however, are to be
 excepted the s and r: the various transformations of these
 sounds have nothing to do with the visarga to which as

finals before a pause they have - doubtless at a comparatively recent period of phonetic history - come to be reduced. Words will everywhere in this work be written with final s or r instead of h; and the rules of combination will be stated as for the two more original sounds, and not for the visarga.

Deaspiration.

- 153. An aspirate mute is changed to a non-aspirate before another non-nasal mute or before a sibilant; it stands unaltered only before a vowel or semivowel or nasal.
- a. Such a case can only arise in internal combination, since the processes of external combination presuppose the reduction of the aspirate to a non-aspirate surd (152).
- b. Practically, also, the rules as to changes of aspirates concern almost only the sonant aspirates, since the surd, being of later development and rarer occurrence, are hardly ever found in situations that call for their application.
- 154. Hence, if such a mute is to be doubled, it is doubled by prefixing its own corresponding non-aspirate.
- a. But in the manuscripts, both Vettic and later, an aspirate mute is not seldom found written double - especially, if it be one of rare occurrence: for example (RV.), akhkhalī, jájhjhatī
- 155. In a few roots, when a final sonant aspirate (ঘ্ gh, U dh, H bh; also दू h, as representing an original च gh) thus loses its aspiration, the initial sonant consonant $\langle \overline{\eta} | g$ or द् d or ब् b) becomes aspirate.
- a. That is to say, the original initial aspirate of such roots is restored, when its presence does not interfere with the euphonic law, of comparatively recent origin, which (in Sanskrit as in Greek) forbids a root to both begin and end with an aspirate.
 - b. The roots which show this peculiar change are:

in gh - dagh;

in h (for original gh) - dah, dih, duh, druh, druh, guh; and also grah (in the later desiderative jighrkea);

in dh --- bandh, badh, budh;

in bh - dabh (but only in the later desiderative dhipsa for which the older language has dipsa).

- o. The same change appears when the law as to finals causes the loss of the aspiration at the end of the root: see above, 141.
- d. But from dah, duh, druh, and guh are found in the Veda also forms without the restored initial aspirate: thus, dakṣat; adukṣat; dudukṣa etc.; jugukṣa; mitradrúk.
- e. The same analogy is followed by dadh, the abbreviated substitute of the present-stems dadhā, from y'dhā (667), in some of the forms of conjugation: thus, dhatthas from dadh + thas, adhatta from adadh + ta, adhaddhvam from adadh + dhvam, etc.
- f. No case is met with of the throwing back of an aspiration upon combination with the 2d sing impv. act. ending dhi: thus, dugdhi, daddhi (RV.), but dhugdhvam, dhaddhvam.

Surd and Sonant Assimilation.

- 156. Under this head, there is especially one very marked and important difference between the internal combinations of a root or stem with suffixes and endings, and the external combinations of stem with stem in composition and of word with word in sentence-making: namely—
- 157. a. In internal combination, the initial vowel or semivowel or nasal of an ending of inflection or derivation exercises no altering influence upon a final consonant of the root or stem to which it is added.
- b. To this rule there are some exceptions: thus, some of the derivatives noted at 111 d; final d of a root before the participal suffix na (957 d); and the forms noted below, 161 b.
- c. In external combination, on the other hand, an initial sonant of whatever class, even a vowel or semivowel or nasal, requires the conversion of a final surd to sonant.
- d. It has been pointed out above (152) that in the rules of external combination only admitted finals, along with s and r, need be taken account of, all others being regarded as reduced to these before combining with initials.
- 158. Final vowels, nasals, and $\overline{c_1}$ 1 are nowhere liable to change in the processes of surd and sonant assimilation.
- a. The r, however, has a corresponding surd in s, to which it is sometimes changed in external combination, under circumstances that favor a surd utterance (178).

159. With the exceptions above stated, the collision of surd and sonant sounds is avoided in combinations—and, regularly and usually, by assimilating the final to the following initial, or by regressive assimilation.

Thus, in internal combination: átsi, átti, atthás, attá (yad + si etc.); qagdhí, qagdhvám (yqak + dhi etc.); — in external combination, ábhūd ayám, jyóg jīva, ṣáḍ açītáyaḥ, triṣṭúb ápi, dig-gaja, ṣaḍ-ahá, arcád-dhūma, bṛhád-bhānu, ab-já.

160. If, however, a final sonant aspirate of a root is followed by n t or u th of an ending, the assimilation is in the other direction, or progressive: the combination is made sonant, and the aspiration of the final (lost according to 153, above) is transferred to the initial of the ending.

Thus, gh with t or th becomes gdh; dh with the same becomes ddh, as buddhá (γ budh+ta), ruddhás (γ rundh+thas or tas); bh with the same becomes bdh, as labdhá (γ labh+ta), labdhvá (γ labh+tvā).

- a. Moreover, h, as representing original gh, is treated in the same manner: thus, dugdhá, dógdhum from duh—and compare rūḍhá and liḍhá from ruh and lih. etc., 222 b.
- b. In this combination, as the sonant aspiration is not lost but transferred, the restoration of the initial aspiration (155) does not take place.
- c. In dadh from \(\frac{155}{e} \), the more normal method is followed; the dh is made surd, and the initial aspirated: thus, dhatthas, dhattas. And RV. has dhaktam instead of dagdham from \(\frac{1}{2} \)dagh; and TA. has inttam instead of inddham from \(\frac{1}{2} \)dagh.
- 161. Before a nasal in external combination, a final mute may be simply made sonant, or it may be still further assimilated, being changed to the nasal of its own class.

Thus, either tád námas or tán námas, väg me or vän me, bád mahán or bán mahán, tristúb nunám or tristúm nunám.

- a. In practice, the conversion into a nasal is almost invariably made in the manuscripts, as, indeed, it is by the Präticäkhyas required and not permitted merely. Even by the general grammarians it is required in the compound sannavati, and before mäträ, and the suffix maya (1225): thus, vänmáya, mṛnmáya.
- b. Even in internal combination, the same assimilation is made in some of the derivatives noted at 111 d, and in the na-participles (957 d). And a few sporadio instances are met with even in verb-inflection: thus,

- 170. a. The H s, as already noticed (145), becomes visarga before a pause.
- b. It is retained unchanged only when followed by \overline{c} t or \overline{c} th, the surd mutes of its own class.
- c. Before the palatal and lingual surd mutes य o and क ch, ट्t and ट्th—it is assimilated, becoming the sibilant of either class respectively, namely श ç or प s.
- d. Before the guttural and labial surd mutes π k and π kh, π p and π ph it is also theoretically assimilated, becoming respectively the jihvāmūlīya and upadhmānīya spirants (69); but in practice these breathings are unknown, and the conversion is to visarga.

Examples are: to b. tatas te, cakşus te; to c. tataç ca, tasyāç chāyā; pādaş ţalati; to d. nalaḥ kāmam, puruşaḥ khanati; yaçaḥ prāpa, vṛkṣaḥ phalavān.

- 171. The first three of these rules are almost universal; to the last one there are numerous exceptions, the sibilant being retained (or, by 180, converted into s), especially in compounds; but also, in the Veda, even in sentence combination.
- a. In the Veda, the retention of the sibilant in compounds is the general rule, the exceptions to which are detailed in the Vedic grammars.
- b. In the later language, the retention is mainly determined by the intimacy or the antiquity and frequency of the combination. Thus, the final sibilant of a preposition or a word filling the office of a preposition before a verbal root is wont to be preserved; and that of a stem before a derivative of γk_T , before pati, before kalpa and kāma, and so on. Examples are namaskāra, vācaspati, āyuṣkāma, payaskalpa.
- c. The Vedic retention of the sibilant in sentence-collocation is detailed in full in the Prātiçākhyas. The chief classes of cases are: 1. the final of a preposition or its like before a verbal form; 2. of a genitive before a governing noun: as divás putráh, idás padé; 3. of an ablative before pári: as himávatas pári; 4. of other less classifiable cases: as dyāus pitá, trís pūtvá, yás pátih, paridhís pátāti, etc.
- 172. Before an initial sibilant ग् ç, य् इ, स् s स् s is either assimilated, becoming the same sibilant, or it is changed into visarga.
- a. The native grammarians are in some measure at variance (see APr. ii. 40, note) as to which of these changes should be made, and in

part they allow either at pleasure. The usage of the manuscripts is also discordant; the conversion to visarga is the prevalent practice, though the sibilant is also not infrequently found written, especially in South-Indian manuscripts. European editors generally write visarga; but the later dictionaries and glossaries generally make the alphabetic place of a word the same as if the sibilant were read instead.

Examples are: manuḥ svayam or manus svayam; indraḥ çūraḥ or indraç çūraḥ; tāḥ ṣaṭ or tāṣ ṣaṭ.

173. There are one or two exceptions to these rules:

a. If the initial sibilant has a surd mute after it, the final s may be dropped altogether — and by some authorities is required to be so dropped. Thus, vāyava stha or vāyavaḥ stha; catustanām or catuḥstanām. With regard to this point the usage of the different manuscripts and editions is greatly at variance.

b. Before ts, the s is allowed to become visarga, instead of being retained.

174. Before a sonant, either vowel or consonant (except 了 r: see 179), 刊 s is changed to the sonant 了 r—unless, indeed, it be preceded by 知 a or 知 ā.

Examples are: devapatir iva, çrīr iva; manur gacchati, tanūr apsu; svasīr ajanayat; tayor adrstakāmah; sarvāir gunāih; agner manve.

- a. For a few cases like dūdāça, dūnāça, see below, 199 d.
- b. The exclamation bhos (456) loses its s before vowels and sonant consonants; thus, bho nāiṣadha (and the s is sometimes found omitted also before surds).
- c. The endings হান্ as and হান্ as (both of which are extremely common) follow rules of their own, namely:
- 175. a. Final হান্ as, before any sonant consonant and before short হা a, is changed to হ্লা.o—and the হা a after it is lost.
- b. The resulting accentuation, and the fact that the loss of a is only occasional in the older language of the Veda, have been pointed out above, 135 a, c.

Examples are: nalo nāma, brahmanyo vedavit; manobhava; hantavyo 'smi; anyonya (anyas + anya), yaçortham (yaças + artham).

c. Final হান্ as before any other vowel than হ a loses its ন্ s, becoming simple হ a; and the hiatus thus occasioned remains.

d. That is to say, the o from as is treated as an original e is treated in the same situation: see 132-3.

Examples are: brhadaçva uvāca, āditya iva, namaükti, vásyaisti.

- 176. Exceptions to the rules as to final as are:
- a. The nominative masculine pronouns sas and esas and (Vedic) syas (495 a, 499 a, b) lose their s before any sonsonant: thus, sa dadarça he saw, esa purusah this man; but so bravit he said, purusa esah.
- b. Instances are met with, both in the earlier and in the later language, of effacement of the hiatus after alteration of as, by combination of the remaining final a with the following initial vowel: thus, tato 'vāca (tatas + uvāca), payoṣṇī (payas + uṣṇī), adhāsana (adhas + āsana): compare 133 c, 177 b. In the Veda, such a combination is sometimes shown by the metre to be required, though the writton text has the hiatus. But sa in RV is in the great majority of cases combined with the following vowel: e. g., sé 'd for sá íd, sá 'smāi for sá asmāi, sāu 'ṣadhīn for sá oṣadhīn; and similar examples are found also in the other Vedic texts.
- c. Other sporadic irregularities in the treatment of final as occur. Thus, it is changed to ar instead of o once in RV. in avas, once in SV. in avas (RV. avo), once in MS. in dambhisas; in bhuvas (second of the trio of sacred utterances bhūs, bhuvas, svar), except in its earliest occurrences; in a series of words in a Brāhmana passage (TS. K.), viz. jinvar, ugrar, bhīmar, tveṣar, crutar, bhūtar, and (K. only) pūtar; in janar and mahar; and some of the ar-stems noted at 169 a are perhaps of kindred character. On the other hand, as is several times changed to o in RV. before a surd consonant; and sas twice, and yas once, retains its final sibilant in a like position.
- d. In MS., the final a left before hiatus by alteration of either as (o) or e (133) is made long if itself unaccented and if the following initial vowel is accented: thus, súrā éti (from súras + éti), nirupyátā indraya (from -yáte + ind-), and also kāryā éka- (from kāryàs, because virtually kārias); but ādityá indraḥ (from ādityās + indraḥ), etá íbare (from eté + itare).
- 177. Final श्राम as before any sonant, whether vowel or consonant, loses its म s, becoming simple आ a; and a hiatus thus occasioned remains.
- a. The maintenance of the histns in these cases, as in that of o and & and &i (above, 133-4), seems to indicate a recent less of the intermediate sound. Opinions are divided as to what this should have been. Some of the native grammarians assimilate the case of \$55 to that of \$1, assuming

the conversion to Ey in both alike - but probably only as a matter of formal convenience in rule-making.

- b. Here, too (as in the similar cases of e and al and o: 133 c, 176 b), there are examples to be found, both earlier and later, of effacement of the histus.
- 178. Final \mathbf{T} r, in general, shows the same form which \mathbf{T} s would show under the same conditions.
- a. Thus, it becomes visarga when final, and a sibilant or visarga before an initial surd mute or sibilant (170): thus, rudatī punaḥ, dvās tat, svāç ca, catúccatvārincat; and (111 c, d) prātastána, antastya, catuṣṭaya, dhūstva; prātaḥ karoti, antaḥpāta.
- b. But original final r preceded by a or ā maintains itself unchanged before a sonant: thus, punar eti, prātarjit, akar jyótiḥ, ahār dāmnā, vārdhi.
- c. The r is preserved unchanged even before a surd in a number of Vedic compounds: thus, aharpati; svarcanas, svarcakşas, svarpati, svarşā, svarşāti; dhūrṣad, dhūrṣah; pūrpati, vārkārya, āçirpada, punartta; and in some of these the r is optionally retained in the later language. The RV. also has āvar tamah once in sentence-combination.
- d. On the other hand, final ar of the verb-form avar is changed to o before a sonant in several cases in RV. And r is lost, like s, in one or two cases in the same text: thus, akṣā induḥ, aha eva.
- 179. A double r is nowhere admitted: if such would occur, either by retention of an original r or by conversion of s to r, one r is omitted, and the preceding vowel, if short, is made long by compensation.

Thus, pună ramate, nrpatī rājati, mātū rihán, jyotīratha, dūrohaná.

a. In some Vedic texts, however, there are instances of ar changed to o before initial r: thus, svò rohāva.

Conversion of सु s to ष् इ.

- 180. The dental sibilant स s is changed to the lingual प s, if immediately preceded by any vowel save हा a and हा s, or by क k or T r—unless the स s be final, followed by T r.
- a. The assimilating influence of the preceding lingual vowels and semivowel is obvious enough; that of k and the other vowels appears to be due to a somewhat retracted position of the tongue in the mouth during

their utterance, causing its tip to reach the roof of the mouth more easily at a point further back than the dental one.

- b. The general Hindu grammar prescribes the same change after a l also; but the Prātiçākhyas give no such rule, and phonetic considerations, the l being a dental sound, are absolutely against it. Actual cases of the combination do not occur in the older language, nor have any been pointed out in the later.
- o. The vowels that cause the alteration of s to s may be called for brevity's sake "alterant" vowels.
- 181. Hence, in the interior of a Sanskrit word, the dental s is not usually found after any vowel save a and ā, but, instead of it the lingual ş. But—
- a. A following r prevents the conversion: thus, usra, tisras, tamisra. And it is but seldom made in the forms and derivatives of a root containing an r-element (whether r or r), whatever the position of that element: thus, sisarti, sisrtam, sarisrpa, tistire, parisrut. To this rule there are a few exceptions, as viştir, viştara, niştrta, vişpardhas, gaviştira, etc. In ajuşşan the final ş of a root is preserved even immediately before r.
- b. This dissimilating influence of a following r, as compared with the invariable assimilating influence of a preceding r, is peculiar and problematical.
- c. The recurrence of ş in successive syllables is sometimes avoided by leaving the former s unchanged: thus, sisakşi, but sişakti; yāsisīṣṭhās, but yāsiṣīmahi. Similarly, in certain desiderative formations: see below, 184 e.
- d. Other cases are sporadic: RV. has the forms sisioe and sisious (but sisicatus), and the stems phisa, kīstá, bisa, busá, bṛsaya; a single root pis, with its derivative pesuka, is found once in ÇB.; MS. has mṛsmṛṣā; musala begins to be found in AV.; and such cases grow more numerous; for pums and the roots nins and hins, see below, 183 a.
- 182. On the other hand (as was pointed out above, 62), the occurrence of a in Sanskrit words is nearly limited to cases falling under this rule: others are rather sporadic anomalies except where a is the product of c or ka before a dental, as is drastum, caste, tvastar: see 218, 221. Thus, we find —
- a. Four roots, kaş, laş, bhaş, bhāş, of which the last is common and is found as early as the Brāhmaṇas.
- b. Further, in RV., áṣa, kaváṣa, caṣāla, cáṣa, jálāṣa, pāṣyà, baṣkáya, váṣaṭ (for vakṣat?), kāṣṭhā; and, by anomalous alteration ởi original s, -ṣāh (turāṣāh etc.), áṣāḍha, upaṣṭúṭ, and probably apāṣṭhá and aṣṭhīvánt. Such cases grow more common later.
 - c. The numeral sas, as already noted (149 b), is more probably saks.

- 188. The nasalization of the alterant vowel or, in other words, its being followed by anusvāra does not prevent its altering effect upon the sibilant: thus, havīnṣi, parūnṣi. And the alteration takes place in the initial s of an ending after the final s of a stem, whether the latter be regarded as also changed to s or as converted into visarga: thus, haviṣṣu or haviḥṣu, paruṣṣu or paruḥṣu.
- a. But the s of pums (394) remains unchanged, apparently on account of the retained sense of its value as pums; also that of //hins, because of its value as hins (hinasti etc.); //nins (RV. only) is more questionable.
- 184. The principal cases of alteration of s in internal combination are these:
- a. In endings, inflectional or derivative, beginning with s—thus, su; si, se, sva; s of sibilant-aorist, future, and desiderative; suffixes sna, snu, sya, etc.—after a final alterant vowel or consonant of root or stem, or a union-vowel: thus, juhoṣi, çeṣe, anāiṣam, bhaviṣyāmi, cugrūse, deṣna, jiṣnu, vikṣu, akārṣam.
- b. The final s of a stem before an ending or suffix: thus: havişā, havişas, etc., from havis; çakşuşmant, çocişka, mānuşa, manuşya, jyotiştva.
- c. Roots having a final sibilant (except c) after an alterant vowel are—with the exception of fictitious ones and pis, nins, hins—regarded as ending in s, not s; and concerning the treatment of this s in combination, see below, 225-6.
- d. The initial s of a root after a reduplication: thus, sişyade, suşvāpa, sişāsati, coşkūyate, sanişvaņat.
- e. Excepted is in general an initial radical s in a desiderative stem, when the desiderative-sign becomes s: thus, sisīrṣati from y'sr, sisankṣati from y'sanj. And there are other scattering cases, as tresus (perf. from y'tras), etc.
- 185. But the same change occurs also, on a considerable scale, in external combination, especially in composition. Thus:
- a. Both in verbal forms and in derivatives, the final i or u of a preposition or other like prefix ordinarily lingualizes the initial s of the root to which it is prefixed; since such combinations are both of great frequency and of peculiar intimacy. analogous with those of root or stem and affix: thus, abhiṣāc, pratiṣṭhā, níṣikta, víṣita; anuṣvadhām, suṣéka; the cases are numberless.
- b. The principal exceptions are in accordance with the principles already laid down: namely, when the root contains an r-element, and when a recurrence of the sibilant would take place. But there are also others, of a more irregular character; and the complete account of the treatment of initial radical s after a prefix would be a matter of great detail, and not worth giving here.

- c. Not infrequently, the initial s, usually altered after a certain prefix, retains the altered sibilant even after an interposed a of augment or reduplication: thus, aty asthat, abhy astham, pary asasvajat, vy asahanta, ny asadama, nir asthapayan, abhy asiñcan, vy astabhnat; vi tasthe, vi tasthire.
- d. Much more anomalous is the occasional alteration of initial radical s after an a-element of a prefix. Such cases are ava stambh (against ni stambh and prati stambh) and (according to the grammarians) ava svan.
- 186. In other compounds, the final alterant vowel of the first member not infrequently (especially in the Veda) lingualizes the initial s of the second: for example, yudhişthira, pitrşvasr, goşthå, agniştomá, anuştúbh, tríṣaṁdhi, diviṣád, parameṣṭhín, abhiṣená, pitrṣád, puruṣṭutá.
- a. A very few cases occur of the same alteration after an a-element: thus, saṣṭubh, avaṣṭambha, savyaṣṭhā, apāṣṭhā, upaṣṭut; also ysah, when its final, by 147, becomes t: thus, satrāṣāṭ (but satrāsāham).
- 187. The final s of the first member of a compound often becomes a after an alterant vowel: thus, the s of a prepositional prefix, as niasidhvan, duatara (for duastara), aviakrta; and, regularly, a s retained instead of being converted to visarga before a labial or guttural mute (171 a), as haviapá, jyotiakrt; tapuapá.
- 188. Once more, in the Veda, the same alteration, both of an initial and of a final s, is not infrequent even between the words composing a sentence. The cases are detailed in the Praticakhya belonging to each text, and are of very various character. Thus:
- a. The initial s, especially of particles: as ū su, hi sma, kam u svit;—also of pronouns: as hi sah;—of verb-forms, especially from yas: as hi stha, divi stha;—and in other scattering cases: as u stuhi, nu sthiram, tri sadhasthā, adhi snoh, nakih sah, yajuh skannam, agnih stave.
- b. A final s, oftenest before pronouns (especially toneless ones): as agniş ţvā, niş ţe, īyúş ţe, çúciş ţvám, sádhiş ţáva; byt also in other cases, and wherever a final s is preserved, instead of being turned into visarga, before a guttural or labial (171): as triş pūtvā, āyuş kṛņotu, vāstoş pátiņ, dyāuş pitā, víbhiş pátāt.

Conversion of न्n to ण्n.

by a vowel or by \overline{q} n or \overline{q} m or \overline{q} y or \overline{q} v, is turned into the lingual \overline{q} n if preceded in the same word by the

lingual sibilant or semivowel or vowels—that is to say, by \overline{y} , \overline{y} , or \overline{x} ; or \overline{x} ;—: and this, not only if the altering letter stands immediately before the nasal, but at whatever distance from the latter it may be found: unless, indeed, there intervene (a consonant moving the front of the tongue: namely) a palatal (except \overline{y} , a lingual, or a dental.

- a. We may thus figure to ourselves the rationale of the process: in the marked proclivity of the language toward lingual utterance, especially of the nasal, the tip of the tongue, when once reverted into the loose lingual position by the utterance of a non-contact lingual element, tends to hang there and make its next nasal contact in that position; and does so, unless the proclivity is satisfied by the utterance of a lingual mute, or the organ is thrown out of adjustment by the utterance of an element which causes it to assume a different posture. This is not the case with the gutturals or labials, which do not move the front part of the tongue (and, as the influence of k on following s shows, the guttural position favors the succession of a lingual): and the y is too weakly palatal to interfere with the alteration (as its next relative, the i-vowel, itself lingualizes a s).
- b. This is a rule of constant application; and (as was pointed out above, 46) the great majority of occurrences of n in the language are the result of it.
 - 190. The rule has force especially -
- a. When suffixes, of inflection or derivation, are added to roots or stems containing one of the altering sounds: thus, rudréna, rudránam, várine, várini, várīni, dātřni, hárāni, dvéşāni, krīnámi, çṛnóti, kṣubhāṇá, ghṛná, kárṇa, vṛkṇá, rugṇá, dráviṇa, iṣáṇi, purāṇa, rékṇas, oákṣaṇa, cíkIrṣamāṇa, kṛpamāṇa.
- b. When the final n of a root or stem comes to be followed, in inflection or derivation, by such sounds as allow it to feel the effect of a preceding altering cause: thus, from /ran, rananti, ranyati, rarana, aranisus; from brahman, brahmana, bra
- c. The form pinak (RV.: 2d and 3d sing. impf.), from pinak is wholly anomalous.
- 191. This rule (like that for the change of s to s) applies strictly and especially when the nasal and the cause of its alteration both lie within the limits of the same integral word; but (also like the othes) it is extended, within certain limits, to compound words—and even, in the Veds, to contiguous words in the sentence.

192. Especially, a preposition or similar prefix to a root, if it contain r or end in euphonic r for s (174), very often lingualizes the n of a root or of its derived stems and forms. Thus:

a. The initial n of a root is usually and regularly so altered, in all forms and derivatives, after para, pari, pra, nir (for nis), antar, dur (for dus): thus, para naya, pari niyate, pra nudasva; paranutti, parinama, pranava, nirnij, durnaça. Roots suffering this change are written with initial n in the native root-lists. The only exceptions of importance are nrt, nabh, nand, and nac when its c becomes s (as in pranasta).

b. The final n of a root is lingualized in some of the forms of an and han: thus, prā 'niti, prāna, pra hanyate, prahanana.

c. The class-signs nu and nã are altered after the roots hi and mī: thus, pári hiṇomi, prá miṇanti (but the latter not in the Veda).

- d. The 1st sing. impv. ending āni is sometimes altered: thus, prábhavāṇi.
- e. Derivatives by suffixes containing ${\bf n}$ sometimes have ${\bf n}$ by influence of a preposition: thus, prayana.
- f. The n of the preposition ni is sometimes altered, like the initial of a root, after another preposition: thus, pranipāta, pranidhi.
- 193. In compound words, an altering cause in one member sometimes lingualizes a n of the next following member—either its initial or final n, or n in its inflectional or derivative ending. The exercise of the altering influence can be seen to depend in part upon the closeness or frequency of the compound, or its integration by being made the base of a derivative Examples are: grāmanī, triņāman, urūnasá; vrtraháṇam etc. (but vrtraghnā etc.: 195 a), nṛmáṇas, drughaṇá; pravāhaṇa, nṛpāṇa, pūryāṇa, piṭryāṇa; svargéṇa, durgāṇi, usrāyāmṇe, tryangānām.
- 194. Finally, in the Veda, a n (usually initial) is occasionally lingualized even by an altering sound in another word. The toneless pronouns nas and ena- are oftenest thus affected: thus, pári ṇas, prāi 'ṇān, indra eṇam; but also the particle ná like: thus, vấr ṇá; and a few other cases, as vấr ṇāma, púnar ṇayāmasi, agnér áveṇa. More anomalous and perhaps to be rejected as false readings, are such as trín imán and akṣāṇ áva and suhārn ṇaḥ (MS.), and vyṛṣaṇ vā (Āpast.).
- 195. a. The immediate combination of a n with a preceding guttural or labial seems in some cases to hinder the conversion to n: thus, vrtraghná etc., kṣubhnāti, tṛpnoti (but in Veda tṛpnu), kṣepnú, suṣumná.
 - b. The RV. has the exceptions ústrānām and rāstrānām.

Conversion of dental mutes to linguals and palatals.

196. When a dental mute comes in contact with a lingual or palatal mute or sibilant, the dental is usually assimilated, becoming lingual or palatal respectively.

The cases are the following:

- 197. A dental surd mute or nasal, or the dental sibilant, when immediately preceded by a s, is everywhere converted into the corresponding lingual.
- a. Under this rule, the combinations st, sth, and sn are very common; ss is rarely so written, the visarga being put instead of the former sibilant (172): thus, jyótinsu instead of jyótissu.
- b. Much less often, dh is changed to dh after final s of a root or tense-stem, with loss of the s or its conversion to d: see 226 c.
- c. Those cases in which final specomes thefore su (e.g. dvitsú: 226 b) do not, of course, fall under this rule.
- 198. In the other (comparatively infrequent) cases where a dental is preceded by a lingual in internal combination, the dental (except of su loc. pl.) becomes lingual. Thus:
- a. A n following immediately a n made such by the rule given at 189, above or, as it may be expressed, a double as well as a single n is subject to the lingualization: thus, the participles arnná, kṣuṇṇa, kṣviṇṇa, chṛṇṇá, tṛṇṇá; and, after prefixes (185 a), niṣaṇṇa, pariviṇa, viṣaṇṇa, viṣaṇṇa. But TS has ádhiṣkanna, and RV. yájuḥṣkannám.
- b. Only a very few other instances occur: itte and aitta from vīd; saddha (also saddha and sodha), and sannam (sas+nam: anomalous gen. pl. of sas: 483). A small number of words follow the same rule in external combination: see below, 199.
- c. But tāḍhi (Vedic: ytaḍ+dhi) shows loss of the final lingual after assimilation of the dental, and compensatory lengthening.
- d. Some of the cases of abnormal occurrence of d are explained in a similar way, as results of a lingualized and afterward omitted sibilant before d: thus nīḍá from nisda, /pīḍ from pisd, /mṛḍ from mṛsd. For words exhibiting a like change in composition, see below, 199 c.

199. In external combination -

- a. A final t is directed to be assimilated to an initial lingual mute: thus, tat-țīkā, tad dayate, tat-thālinī, tad dhāukate: but the case never occurs in the older language, and very rarely in the later. For final n before a lingual, see 205 b.
- b. An initial dental after a final lingual usually remains unchanged; and su of the loc. pl. follows the same rule: thus, sattrinçat, anad divah, ekarat tvam; satsu, ratsu.
- c. Exceptions are: a few compounds with sas six showing double n (198b): namely, sannavati, sannabhi (and one or two others not quotable); and JB. has san niramimita.
- d. In a few compounds, moreover, there appears a lingualized dental, with componeatory lengthening, after a lost lingual sibilant or its representative:

namely, in certain Vedic compounds with dus: dūḍábha, dūḍáç, dūḍhí, dūṇáça, dūṇáça (compare the anomalous purcḍáç and -ḍáça: puras + y⁄dāç); and, in the language of every period, certain compounds of sas, with change of its vowel to an a'terant quality (as in voḍhum and soḍhum. 224 b): soḍaça, soḍhā (also ṣaḍḍhā and ṣaḍḍhā), soḍant.

- e. Between final t and initial s, the insertion of a t is permitted or, according to some authorities, required: thus, sat sahasrah or satt sahasrah.
- 200. The cases of assimilation of a dental to a contiguous palatal occur almost only in external combination, and before an initial palatal. There is but one case of internal combination, namely:
- 201. A न n coming to follow a palatal mute in internal combination is itself made palatal.

Thus, yācnā (the only instance after c), yajna, jajne, ajnata, rājnā, rājnī.

202. a. A final त्t before an initial palatal mute is assimilated to it, becoming च्c before च्c or क्ch, and ज् j before ज् j (क् jh does not occur).

Thus, uc carati, etac chattram, vidyuj jāyate; yātayájjana, vidyujjihva, brhácchandas, saccarita.

- b. A final ব্n is assimilated before র j, becoming স্ñ.
- c. All the grammarians, of every period, require this assimilation of n to j; but it is more often neglected, or only occasionally made, in the manuscripts.
 - d. For n before a surd palatal, see below, 208.
- 203. Before the palatal sibilant श्ç, both त्t and न्n are assimilated, becoming respectively य्c and স্ñ; and then the following श्ç may be, and in practice almost always is, converted to क्ch.
- Thus, vedavic chūrah (-vit çū-), tac chrutvā, hrcchaya (hrt+çaya); brhañ chesah or çesah, svapañ chete or çete.
- a. Some authorities regard the conversion of q to ch after t or n as everywhere obligatory, others as only optional; some except, peremptorily or optionally, a q followed by a mute. And some require the same conversion after every mute save m, reading also vipat chutudri, anatchici, anustup charadi, quk chuci. The manuscripts generally write ch, instead of och, as result of the combination of t and q.
- b. In the MS., t and c are anomalously combined into n c: e. 5tán çatám, etāvançás.

Combinations of final ㅋ n.

204. Final radical n is assimilated in internal combination to a following sibilant, becoming anusvāra.

Thus, vánsi, vánsva, vánsat, mansyáte, jíghānsati.

- a. According to the grammarians, it is treated before bh and su in declension as in external combination. But the cases are, at best, excessively rare, and RV. has ranks and vansu (the only Vedic examples).
- b. Final n of a derivative suffix is regularly and usually dropped before a consonant in inflection and composition—in composition, even before a vowel; and a radical n occasionally follows the same rule: see 421 a, 439, 1203 c, 637.
 - c. For assimilation of n to a preceding palatal, see 201.

Thus remaining cases are those of external combination.

- 205. a. The assimilation of n in external combination to a following sonant palatal and the palatal sibilant c have been already treated (202 b, 203).
- b. The n is also declared to be assimilated (becoming n) before a sonant lingual (d, dh, n), but the case rarely if ever occurs.
- 206. A n is also assimilated to a following initial 1, becoming (like m: 213 d) a nasal 1.
- a. The manuscripts to a great extent disregard this rule, leaving the n anchanged; but also they in part attempt to follow it—and that, either by writing the assimilated n (as the assimilated m, 213 f, and just as reasonably) with the anusvāra-sign, or else by doubling the 1 and putting a sign of nasality above; the latter, however, is inexact, and a better way would be to separate the two 1's, writing the first with virāma and a nasal sign above. Thus (from trīn lokān):

manuscripts त्रीलोकान् or त्रीहँगोकान्; better त्रीलँ लोकान्. The second of these methods is the one oftenest followed in printed texts.

- 207. Before the lingual and dental sibilants, s and s, final n remains unchanged; but a t may also be inserted between the nasal and the sibilant: thus, tan sat or tant sat; mahan san or mahant san.
- a. According to most of the grammarians of the Prätiçākhyas (not RPr.), the insertion of the t in such cases is a necessary one. In the manuscripts it is very frequently made, but not uniformly. It is probably a purely phonetic phenomenon, a transition-sound to ease the double change of sonant to surd and nasal to non-nasal utterance—although the not infrequent cases in which final n stands for original nt (as bharan, abharan, agnimān) may have aided to establish it as a rule. Its analogy with the conversion of n q into nch (203) is palpable.

- 208. Before the surd palatal, lingual, and dental mutes, there is inserted after final n a sibilant of each of those classes respectively, before which the n becomes anusvāra: thus, devānç ca, bhvānç chidyate, kumārāns trīn, abharans tataḥ, dadhanç (425 c) carum.
- a. This rule, which in the classical language has established itself in the form here given, as a phonetic rule of unvarying application, really involves a historic survival. The large majority of cases of final n in the language (not far from three quarters) are for original ns; and the retention of the sibilant in such cases, when once its historical ground had been forgotten, was extended by analogy to all others.
- b. Practically, the rule applies only to n before c and t, since cases involving the other initials occur either not at all, or only with extreme rarity (the Veda does not present an example of any of them). In the Veda, the insertion is not always made, and the different texts have with regard to it different usages, which are fully explained in their Prātiçākhyas; in general, it is less frequent in the older texts. When the c does not appear between n and c, the n is of course assimilated, becoming ñ (203).
- 209. The same retention of original final s after a nasal, and consequent treatment of (apparent) final ān, īn, ūn, ṛn as if they were āns, īns, ūns, ṛns (long nasalized vowel with final s), shows itself also in other Vedic forms of combination, which, for the sake of unity, may be briefly stated here together:
- a. Final an becomes an (nasalized a) before a following vowel: that is to say, ans, with nasal vowel, is treated like as, with pure vowel (177) thus, devan é 'há, úpabaddhan ihá, mahan asi. This is an extremely common case, especially in RV. Once or twice, the s appears as h before p: thus, svátavanh payúh.
- b. In like manner, s is treated after masal \bar{i} , \bar{u} , \bar{r} as it would be after those vowels when pure, becoming r before a sonant sound (174), and (much more rarely) h before a surd (170): thus, racminr iva, sundir yuvanyunr ut, nrin abhi; nrin patram (and nrin p. MS.).
 - c. RV. has once -In before y. MS. usually has an instead of an.
- 210. The nasals n, n, n, occurring as finals after a short vowel, are doubled before any initial vowel: thus, pratyánn úd eşi, udyánn ādityáh, āsánn-işu.
- a. This is also to be regarded as a historical survival, the second nasal being an assimilation of an original consonant following the first. It is always written in the manuscripts, although the Vedic metre seems to show that the duplication was sometimes omitted. The RV. has the compound vreanacva.
- 211. The nasals n and n before a sibilant are allowed to insert respectively k and t—as n (207) inserts t: thus, pratyánk sóman.

Combinations of final म् m.

- 212. Final radical \(\pi \) m, in internal combination, is assimilated to a following mute or spirant—in the latter case, becoming anusvara; in the former, becoming the nasal of the same class with the mute.
- a. Refore m or v (as when final: 143 a), it is changed to n: thus, from \(\gamma\) gam come \(\frac{\pmaganma}{\pmaganma} \), aganmahi, ganvahi, jaganv\(\frac{\pmah}{\pma} \) is the grammarians, the same change is made in the inflection of root-stems before bh and su: thus, \(\text{prace}\) in male in the inflection of \(\text{prace}\) in the prace is made in the inflection of \(\text{prace}\) in the prace is made in the inflection of \(\text{prace}\) in the prace is made in the inflection of \(\text{prace}\) in the prace is an analysis of the prace in \(\text{prace}\). No derived nounstem ends in \(\text{m.} \).
 - b. The CB. and KCS. have kámvant and cámvant.
- 213. Final \(\pi \) m in external combination is a servile sound, being assimilated to any following consonant. Thus:
 - a. It remains unchanged only before a vowel or a labial mute.
- b. But also, by an anomalous exception, before r of the root rāj in samrāj and its derivatives samrājñī and sāmrājya.
- c. Before a mute of any other class than labial, it becomes the nasal of that class.
- d. Before the semivowels y, 1, v it becomes, according to the Hindu grammarians, a nasal semivowel, the nasal counterpart of each respectively (see 71).
 - e. Before r, a sibilant, or h, it becomes anusvāra (see 71).
- f. The manuscripts and the editions in general make no attempt to distinguish the nasal tones produced by the assimilation of m before a following semivowel from that before a spirant.
- g. But if h be immediately followed by another consonant (which can only be a nasal or semivowel), the m is allowed to be assimilated to that following consonant. This is because the h has no position of the mouthorgans peculiar to itself, but is uttered in the position of the next sound. The Prātiçākhyas do not take any notice of the case.
- h. Cases are mot with in the Veda where a flual m appears to be dropped before a vowel, the final and initial vowels being then combined into one. The pada-text then generally gives a wrong interpretation. Thus, samvánano bhayamkarám (RV. viii. 1. 2; pada-text: -nanā ubh-; SV. -nanam).
- i. It has been pointed out above (73) that the assimilated m is generally represented in texts by the anusvāra-sign, and that in this work it is transliterated by m (instead of a nasal mute or n).

The palatal mutes and sibilant, and 됷 뇨.

- 214. These sounds show in some situations a reversion (43) to the original gutturals from which they are derived. The treatment of j and h, also, is different, according as they represent the one or the other of two different degrees of alteration from their originals.
- 215. The palatals and h are the least stable of alphabetic sounds, undergoing, in virtue of their derivative character, alteration in many cases where other similar sounds are retained.
- 216. Thus, in derivation, even before vowels, semivowels, and nasals, reversion to guttural form is by no means rare. The cases are the following:
- a. Before a of suffix a, final c becomes k in aňká, çvaňka, arká, pāká, vāká, çúka, parka, marká, vřka, prátīka etc., reka, séka, moka, roká, çóka, toká, mroká, vraská; final j beromes g in tyāgá, bhága, bhāgá, yāga, añga, bhañgá, sañga, svañga, ŗñga, tuñga, yuñga, varga, mārga, mrgá, varga, sarga, nega, vega, bhóga, yugá, yóga, loga, róga; final h becomes gh in aghá, maghá, arghá, dīrghá (and drághīyas, drághiṣṭha), degha, meghá, ogha, dógha, drógha, mógha; and in dúghāna and méghamāna. In neka (/nij) we have further an anomalous substitution of a surd for the final sonant of the root.
- b. In another series of derivatives with a, the altered sound appears: examples are ajá, yāja, çucá, çoca, vrajá, vevijá, yuja, ūrjá, dóha.
- c. Before the suffixes as and ana, the guttural only rarely appears: namely, in áñkas, ókas, rókas, çókas, bhárgas, and in rogaņa; also in ābhogáya.
- d. Before an i-vowel, the altered sound appears (except in ābhogí, ógīyans, tigitá, mokí, sphigi): thus, ājí, tují, rúci, çácī, vívici, rociṣnú.
- e. Before u, the guttural reappears, as a rulo (the cases are few): thus, aňku, vaňkú, rekú, bhfgu, márguka, raghú (and rághīyaňs).
- f. Before n, the examples of reversion are few, except of j (becoming g) before the participial ending na (957 c): thus, rékņas, vagnú (with the final also made sonant); and participles bhagná, rugná, etc.; and apparently pṛṣṇa from //pṛc.
- g. Before m (of ma, man, mant, min), the guttural generally appears: thus, rukmá, tigmá, yugma, ŕgma (with sonant change); takmán, vákman, sákman, yugmán; rúkmant; ṛgmín and vāgmín (with sonant change): but ájman, ojmán, bhujmán.
- ch. Before y, the altered sound is used: thus, pacya, yajya, yujya, bhujyu. Such cases as bhogya, yogya, negya, okya are doubtless secondary derivatives from bhoga etc.

- Before r, the cases are few, and the usage apparently divided: thus, takra, sakra, vakrá, cukrá, vigrá, ugrá, túgra, mrgra, váňkri; but vájra and pajrá(?).
- j. Before v (of the suffixes va, van, vin, etc., and participial vāns) the guttural is regularly preserved: thus, rkvá, pakvá, vákva; vákvan, rkvan, rikvan, cukvan, mrgvan, túgvan, yugvan; rkvant, prkvant; vāgvín, vagvaná, vagvanú (with further sonant change); vivakväns, ririkváns, vivikváns, rurukváns, cucukváns; cucukvaná, cucukváni: also before the union-vowel i in okiváns (RV., once). An exception is yájvan.
- **k.** The reversion of h in derivation is comparatively rare. The final j which is analogous with c (219) shows much less proclivity to reversion than that which corresponds with c.
- 1. A like reversion shows itself also to some extent in conjugational stem-formation and inflection. Thus, the initial radical becomes guttural after the reduplication in the present or perfect or desiderative or intensive stems, or in derivatives, of the roots ci, cit, ji, hi, han, and in jáguri (yjṛ): and han becomes ghn on the elision of a (402, 637). The RV. has vivakmi from /vac and vāvakre from /vañc; and SV. has sasṛgmahe (RV. -sṛj-). And before ran etc. of 3d pl. mid. we have g for radical j in asṛgran, asṛgram, asaṣṛgram (all in RV.).
- 217. Final \overline{q} c of a root or stem, if followed in internal combination by any other sound than a vowel or semivowel or nasal, reverts (43) to its original guttural value, and shows everywhere the same form which a \overline{q} k would show in the same situation.

Thus, vákti, uváktha, váksi, vaksyámi, vagdhi; vāgbhís, vāksú; uktá, ukthá, vaktár.

a. And, as final c becomes k (above 142), the same rule applies also to c in external combination: thus, vák ca, vág ápi, ván me.

Examples of c remaining unchanged in inflection are: ucyáte, ririeré, vācí, mumuomáhe.

218. Final श् ç reverts to its original क् k, in internal combination, only before the स s of a verbal stem or ending (whence, by 180, त् ks); before त t and य th, it everywhere becomes ष s (whence, by 197, छ st and छ sth); before ध dh, भ bh, and स su of the loc. pl., as when final (145), it regularly becomes the lingual mute (ट् t or ट् d).

Thus, ávikeata, vekeyámi; vásti, vistá, dídestu; dididdhi, vidbhís,

a. But a few roots exhibit the reversion of final q to k before bh and su, and also when final (145): they are diq, drq, sprq, and optionally naq; and viq has in V. always vikṣu, loc. pl., but vit, vidbhís, etc. Examples are díksamqita, drgbhís, hrdisprk, nak (or nat).

Examples of ç remaining unchanged before vowels etc. are: viçí, viviçyās, aviçran, açnomi, vaçmi, uçmási.

- b. A ç remains irregularly unchanged before p in the compound viçpáti.
- 219. Final ज् j is in one set of words treated like च् c, and in another set like ज् ç.

Thus, from yuj; áyukthās, áyukta, yuñkté, yukti, yóktra, yokṣyấmi, yukṣú; yungdhí, áyugdhvam, yugbhís.

Again, from mṛj etc.: ámṛkṣat, srakṣyāmi; mārṣṭi, mṛṣṭá, sṛṣṭi, rāṣṭrá; mṛḍḍhí, mṛḍḍhvám, rāḍbhís, rāṭsú, rāṭ.

- a. To the former or yuj-class belong (as shown by their quotable forms) about twenty roots and radical stems: namely, bhaj, saj, tyaj (not V.), raj color, svaj, majj, nij, tij, vij, 1 and 2 bhuj, yuj, ruj, vrj, añj, bhañj, çiñj; tirj, sráj, bhiṣáj, ésrj;—also, stems formed with the suffixes aj and ij (383. IV), as tṛṣṇáj, vaṇíj; and ṛtvíj, though containing the root yaj.
- b. To the latter or mṛj-class belong only about one third as many: namely, yaj, bhrajj, vraj, rāj, bhrāj, mṛj, sṛj.
- c. A considerable number of j-roots are not placed in circumstances to exhibit the distinction; but such roots are in part assignable to one or the other class on the evidence of the related languages. The distinction appears, namely, only when the j occurs as final, or is followed, either in inflection or in derivation, by a dental mute (t, th, dh), or, in noun-inflection, by bh or su. In derivation (above, 216) we find a g sometimes from the mṛj-class: thus, mārga, sárga, etc.; and (216,1) before Vedic mid. endings, sasṛgmahe, asṛgran, etc. (beside sasṛjrire)—while from the yuj-class occur only yuyujre, ayujran, bubhujrire, with j. And MS. has viçvasṛk from /sṛj.
- 220. Final ch falls under the rules of combination almost only in the root prach, in which it is treated as if it were q (prac being, indeed, its more original form): thus, prakṣyāmi, pṛṣṭá, and also the derivative pracná. As final and in noun-inflection (before bh and su', it is changed to the lingual mute: thus, prādvivāka.
- a. Mūrtá is called the participle of mūrch, and a gerund mūrtvá is given to the same root. They (with mūrti) must doubtless come from a simpler form of the root.
- b. Of jh there is no occurrence: the grammarians require it to be treated like ${\bf c}$.

- 221. The compound ks is not infrequent as final of a root (generally of demonstrably secondary origin), or of a tense-stem (s-aorist: see below, 878 ff.); and, in the not very frequent cases of its internal combination, it is treated as if a single sound, following the rules for q: thus cakee (cake+se), cakeva; case, acasta, asrastam, asrasta, tvastar. As to its treatment when final, see 146.
- a. Thus, we are taught by the grammarians to make such forms as goráţ, goráţbhis, goráţsu (from gorákṣ); and we actually have ṣáţ, ṣaḍbhis, ṣaṭsú from ṣakṣ or ṣaṣ (146 b). For jagdha etc. from γjakṣ, see 233 f.
- b. In the single anomalous root vraçe, the compound cc is said to follow the rules for simple c. From it are quotable the future vrakṣyáti, the gerunds vṛṣṭvā (AV.) and vṛktvī (RV.), and the participle (957 c) vṛkṇā. Its c reverts to k in the derivative vraska.
- 222. The roots in final \overline{Q} h, like those in \overline{q} j, fall into two classes, exhibiting a similar diversity of treatment, appearing in the same kinds of combination.
- a. In the one class, as duh, we have a reversion of h (as of c) to a guttural form, and its treatment as if it were still its original gh: thus, ádhukṣam, dhokṣyāmi; dugdhām, dugdhá; ádhok, dhúk, dhugbhís, dhukṣú.
- b. In the other class, as ruh and sah, we have a guttural reversion (as of q) only before s in verb-formation and derivation: thus, arukṣat, rokṣyāmi, sākṣīyā, sakṣāṇi. As final, in external combination, and in noun-inflection before bh and su, the h (like q) becomes a lingual mute: thus, turāṣāt, pṛtanāṣāḍ ayodhyāḥ, turāṣāḍbhis, turāṣāṭsu. But before a dental mute (t, th, dh) in verb-inflection and in derivation, its euphonic effect is peculiarly complicated: it turns the dental into a lingual (as would q); but it also makes it sonant and aspirate (as would dh: see 160): and further, it disappears itself, and the preceding vowel, if short, is lengthened: thus, from ruh with ta comes rūḍhā, from leh with ti comes leḍhi, from guh with tar comes gūḍhār, from meh with tum comes meḍhum, from lih with tas or thas comes līḍhās, from lih with dhyam comes līḍhvām, etc.
- c. This is as if we had to assume as transition sound a sonant aspirate lingual sibilant zh, with the euphonic effects of a lingual and of a sonant aspirate (160), itself disappearing under the law of the existing language which admits no sonant sibilant.
- **223.** The roots of the two classes, as shown by their forms found in use, are:
- a. of the first or duh-class: dah, dih, duh, druh, muh, snih (and the final of usnih is similarly treated);

a at

- b. of the second or ruh-class: vah, sah, mih, rih or lih, guh, ruh, drhh, trhh, brh, bahh, sprh(?).
- c. But muh forms also (not in RV.) the participle mūḍha and agentnoun mūḍhár, as well as mugdhá and mugdhár; and druh and snih are allowed by the grammarians to do likewise: such forms as drūḍha and snīḍha, however, have not been met with in use.
- d. From roots of the ruh-class we find also in the Veda the forms gartārûk, nom. sing., and prāṇadhṛk and dadhṛk; and hence puruspṛk (the only occurrence) does not certainly prove perh to be of the duh-class.
- 6. A number of other h-roots are not proved by their occurring forms to belong to either class; they, too, are with more or less confidence assigned to the one or the other by comparison with the related languages.
- f. In derivation, before certain suffixes (216), we have gh instead of h from verbs of either class.
- g. The root nah comes from original dh instead of gh, and its reversion is accordingly to a dental mute: thus, natsyāmi, naddhá, upānádbhis, upānadyuga, anupānatka. So also the root grah comes from (early Vedic) grabh, and shows labials in many forms and derivatives (though it is assimilated to other h-roots in the desiderative stem jighṛkṣa). In like manner, h is used for dh in some of the forms and derivatives of y'dhā put; and further analogous facts are the stem kakuhá beside kakubhá, the double imperative ending dhi and hi, and the dative máhyam beside túbhyam (491).

224. Irregularities of combination are:

- a. The vowel r is not lengthened after the loss of the h-element: thus, drdhá, trdhá, brdhá (the only cases; and in the Veda their first syllable has metrical value as heavy or long).
- b. The roots wah and sah change their vowel to o instead of lengthening it: thus, voḍhám, voḍhám, voḍhár, sóḍhum. But from sah in the older language forms with ā are more frequent: thus, sāḍhá, áṣāḍha (also later), sáḍhar. The root trình changes the vowel of its class-sign na into e instead of lengthening it: thus, tṛṇeḍhi, tṛṇeḍhu, atṛṇet (the grammarians teach also tṛṇehmi and tṛṇekṣi: but no such forms are quotable, and, if ever actually in uso, they must have been made by false analogy with the others).
- c. These anomalous vowel-changes seem to stand in connection with the fact that the cases showing them are the only ones where other than an alterant vowel (180) comes before the lingualized sibilant representative of the h. Compare sódaça etc.
- d. Apparently by dissimilation, the final of vah in the anomalous compound anadvah is changed to d instead of d: see 404.

The lingual sibilant ष् इ.

- 225. Since the lingual sibilant, in its usual and normal occurrences, is (182) the product of lingualization of s after certain alterant sounds, we might expect final radical s, when (in rare cases) it comes to stand where a s cannot maintain itself, to revert to its original, and be treated as a s would be treated under the same circumstances. That, however, is true only in a very few instances.
- a. Namely, in the prefix dus (evidently identical with \(\sqrt{dus} \); in sajús (adverbially used case-form from \(\sqrt{jus} \); in (RV.) vivés and ávives, from \(\sqrt{vis} \); in alyes (RV.), from \(\sqrt{is} \); and in acis, from cis as secondary form of \(\sqrt{cas} \). All these, except the first two, are more or less open to question.
- 226. In general, final lingual प् इ, in internal combination, is treated in the same manner as palatal श् ç. Thus:
- a. Before t and th it remains unchanged, and the latter are assimilated: e. g. dviṣṭas, dviṣṭhas, dvéṣṭum.

This is a common and perfectly natural combination.

- b. Before dh, bh, and su, as also in external combination (145), it becomes a lingual mute; and dh is made lingual (by 198) after it: e. g. pinddhi, viddhi, vividdhi, dviddhvam, dvidbhis, dvitsú; bhinnavitka.
- c. So also the dh of dhvam as ending of 2d pl. mid. becomes dh after final \$ of a tense-stem, whether the \$ be regarded as lost or as converted to d before it (the manuscripts write simply dhv, not ddhv; but this is ambiguous: see 232). Thus, after s of s-aorist stems (881 a), astodhvam, avrdhvam, cyodhvam (the only quotable cases), from astos + dhvam etc.; but aradhvam from aras+dhvam. Further, after the s of is-aorist stems (901 a), aindhidhvam, artidhvam, ajanidhvam, vepidhvam (the only quotable cases), from ajanis + dhvam etc. Yet again, in the precative (924), as bhavisīdhvam, if, as is probable (unfortunately, no example of this person is quotable from any part of the literature), the precative-sign s (s) is to be regarded as present in the form. According, however, to the Hindu grammarians, the use of dh or of dh in the is-acrist and precative depends on whether the i of is or of is is or is not "preceded by a semivowel or h" - which both in itself appears senseless and is opposed to the evidence of all the quotable forms. Moreover, the same authorities prescribe the change of dh to dh, under the same restriction as to circumstances, in the perf. mid. ending dhve also: in this case, too, without any conceivable reason; and no example of qhve in the 2d pl. perf. has been pointed out in the literature.
- d. The conversion of g to t (or d) as final and before bh and su is parallel with the like conversion of c, and of j and h in the mrj and ruh

classes of roots, and perhaps with the occasional change of s to t (167-8). It is a very infrequent case, occurring (save as it may be assumed in the case of sas) only once in BV. and once in AV. (-dvit and -prut), although those texts have more than 40 roots with final s; in the Brāhmaṇas, moreover, have been noticed further only -prut and vit (CB.), and -qlit (K.). From pins, RV. has the anomalous form pinak (2d and 3d sing., for pinas-s and pinas-t).

- .e. Before s in internal combination (except su of loc. pl.) it becomes k: thus, dvékṣi, dvekṣyāmi, ádvikṣam.
- f. This change is of anomalous phonetic character, and difficult of explanation. It is also practically of very rare occurrence. The only RV. examples (apart from piṇak, above) are vivekṣi, from p'viṣ, and the desid. stem ririkṣa from p'riṣ; AV. has only dvikṣat and dvikṣata, and the desid. stem ciclikṣa from p'cliṣ. Other examples are quotable from p'p'kṛṣ and piṣ and viṣ (ÇB. etc.), and ciṣ (ÇB.); and they are by the Hindu grammarians prescribed to be formed from about half-a-dozen other roots.

Extension and Abbreviation.

- 227. As a general rule, ch is not allowed by the grammarians to stand in that form after a vowel, but is to be doubled, becoming cch (which the manuscripts sometimes write chch).
- a. The various authorities disagree with one another in detail as to this duplication. According to Pāṇini, ch is doubled within a word after either a long or a short vowel; and, as initial, necessarily after a short and after the particles ā and mā, and optionally everywhere after a long. In RV., initial ch is doubled after a long vowel of ā only, and certain special cases after a short vowel are excepted. For the required usage in the other Vedic texts, see their several Prātiçākhyas. The Kāṭhaka writes for original ch (not ch from combination of t or n with c: 203) after a vowel everywhere ch. The manuscripts in general write simple ch.
- b. Opinions are still at variance as to how far this duplication has an etymological ground, and how far it is only an acknowledgment of the fact that ch makes a heavy syllable even after a short vowel (makes "position": 79). As the duplication is accepted and followed by most European scholars, it will be also adopted in this work in words and sentences (not in roots and stems).
- 228. After r, any consonant (save a spirant before a vowel) is by the grammarians either allowed or required to be doubled (an aspirate, by prefixing the corresponding non-aspirate: 154).

Thus:

ग्रर्क arka, or ग्रर्क्क arkka; कार्य kārya, or कार्य्य kāryya; ग्रर्व artha, or ग्रर्स्य arttha; दीर्घ dīrgha, or दीर्ग्य dīrggha.

- a. Some of the authorities include, along with r, also h or 1 or v, or more than one of them, in this rule.
- b. A doubled consonant after r is very common in manuscripts and inscriptions, as also in native text-editions and in the earlier editions prepared by European scholars in later ones, the duplication is universally omitted.
- c. On the other hand, the manuscripts often write a single consonant after r where a double one is etymologically required: thus, kartikeya, vartika. for kartikeya, vartika.
- 229. The first consonant of a group whether interior, or initial after a vowel of a preceding word is by the grammarians either allowed or required to be doubled.
- a. This duplication is allowed by Pāṇini and required by the Prātiçākhyas—in both, with mention of authorities who deny it altogether. For certain exceptions, see the Prātiçākhyas; the meaning of the whole matter is too obscure to justify the giving of details here.
- 230. Other cases of extension of consonant-groups, required by some of the grammatical authorities, are the following:
- a. Between a non-nasal and a nasal mute, the insertion of so-called yamas (twins), or nasal counterparts, is taught by the Prātiçākhyas (and sassumed in Pāṇini's commentary): see APr. i. 99, note.
- b. Between h and a following nasal mute the Präticakhyas teach the insertion of a nasal sound called nāsikya: see APr. i. 100, note.
- c. Between r and a following consonant the Prātiçākhyas teach the insertion of a svarabhakti or vowel-fragment: see APr. i. 101-2, note.
- d. Some authorities assume this insertion only before a spirant; the others regard it as twice as long before a spirant as before any other consonant—namely, a half or a quarter mora before the former, a quarter or an eighth before the latter. One (VPr.) admits it after 1 as well as r. It is variously described as a fragment of the vowel a or of r (or 1).
- e. The RPr. puts a svarabhakti also between a sonant consonant and a following mute or spirant; and APr. introduces an element called sphotana (distinguisher) between a guttural and a preceding mute of another class.
- f. For one or two other cases of yet more doubtful value, see the Präticäkhyas.
- 231. After a nasal, the former of two non-nasal mutes may be dropped, whether homogeneous only with the nasal, or with both: thus, yundhí for yungdhí, yundhvám for yungdhvám, āntám for ānktám, pantí for panktí, chintám for chinttám, bhinthá for bhintthá, indhé for inddhé.
- a. The abbreviation, allowed by Pāṇini, is required by APr. (the other Prātiçākhyas take no notice of it). It is the more usual practice of the manuscripts, though the full group is also often written.

- 282. In general, a double consonant (including an aspirate which is doubled by the prefixion of a non-aspirate) in combination with any other consonant is by the manuscripts written as simple.
- a. That is to say, the ordinary usage of the manuscripts makes no difference between those groups in which a phonetic duplication is allowed by the rules given above (228, 229) and those in which the duplication is etymological. As every tv after a vowel may also be properly written ttv, so dattvå and tattvå may be, and almost invariably are, written as datvå and tatvå. As kårtana is also properly kårttana, so kärttika (from kṛtti) is written as kārtika. So in inflection, we have always, for example, majñå etc., not majjñå, from majjån. Even in composition and sentence-collocation the same abreviations are made: thus, hṛdyotå for hṛddyotå; chináty asya for chinátty asya. Hence it is impossible to determine by the evidence of written usage whether we should regard ādhvam or āddhvam (from /as), ádvidhvam or ádviddhvam (from /dviṣ), as the true form of a second person plural.
- 233. a. Instances are sometimes met with of apparent loss (perhaps after conversion to a semivowel) of i or u before y or v respectively. Thus, in the Brāhmaṇas, tú and nú with following vai etc. often make tvai, nvai (also tvāvá, ánvai); and other examples from the older language are anvart- (anu+)/vart); paryan, paryanti, paryāyāt, paryāṇa, (pari+yan, etc.); abhyarti (abhi+iyarti); antaryāt (antar+iyāt); cārvāc, cārvāka, cārvadana (cāru+vāc, etc.); kyànt for kiyant; dvyoga (dvi+yoga); anvā, anvāsana (anu+vā, etc.); probably vyùnoti for vi yunoti (RV.), urváçī (uru-vaçī), çiçvarī for çiçu-varī (RV.); vyāmá (vi+yāma); and the late svarṇa for suvarṇa. More anomalous abbreviations are the common tṛca (tri+ṛca); and dvṛca (dvi+ṛca: S.), and treṇī (tri+eṇī: Āpast.).

Further, certain cases of the loss of a sibilant require notice. Thus:

b. According to the Hindu grammarians, the s of s-aorist stems is lost after a short vowel in the 2d and 3d sing, middle: thus, adithās and adita (1st sing, adişi), akṛthās and akṛta (1st sing, akṛṣi). It is, however, probable that such cases are to be explained in a different manner: see 834 a.

- c. The s between two mutes is lost in all combinations of the roots stha and stambh with the prefix ud: thus, út thus, útthita, út thapaya, úttabdha, etc.
- d. The same omission is now and then made in other similar cases: thus cit kambhanena (for skámbh-: RV.); tasmāt tute (for stute) and puroruk tuta (for stuta: K.); the compounds rkthā (rk+sthā: PB.) and utphulinga; the derivative utphāla (γsphal). On the other hgnd, we have vidyút stanáyantī (RV.), utsthala, kakutstha, etc.
- e. So also the tense-sign of the s-aorist is lost after a final consonant of a root before the initial consonant of an ending: thus, achantta (and

for this, by 231, achānta) for achāntsta, çāpta for çāpsta, tāptam for tāpstam, abhākta for abhāksta, amāuktam for amāukstam. These are the only quotable cases: compare 883.

f. A final s of root or tense-stem is in a few instances lost after a sonant aspirate, and the combination of mutes is then made as if no sibilant had ever intervened. Thus, from the root ghas, with omission of the vowel and then of the final sibilant, we have the form gdha (for ghs-ta: 3d sing. mid.), the participle gdha (in agdhad), and the derivative gdhi (for ghs-ti; in sá-gdhi); and further, from the reduplicated form of the same root, or /jaks, we have jagdha, jagdhum, jagdhvā, jagdhi (from jaghs-ta etc.); also, in like manner, from baps, reduplication of bhas, the form babdham (for babhs-tam). According to the Hindu grammarians, the same utter loss of the aorist-sign s takes place after a final sonant aspirate of a root before an ending beginning with t or th: thus, from vrudh, s-aorist stem arauts act. and aruts mid., come the active dual and plural persons arauddham and arauddham and arauddha, and the middle singular persons aruddhās and aruddha. None of the active forms, however, have been found quotable from the literature, ancient or modern; and the middle forms admit also of a different explanation; see 834, 883.

Strengthening and Weakening Processes.

234. Under this head, we take up first the changes that affect vowels, and then those that affect consonants—adding for convenience's sake, in each case, a brief notice of the vowel and consonant elements that have come to bear the apparent office of connectives.

Guna and Vrddhi.

- 235. The so-called guna- and vrddhi-changes are the most regular and frequent of vowel-changes, being of constant occurrence both in inflection and in derivation.
- a. A guna-vowel (guna secondary quality) differs from the corresponding simple vowel by a prefixed a-element which is combined with the other according to the usual rules; a vrddhi-vowel (vrddhi growth, increment), by the further prefixion of a to the guna-vowel. Thus, of ξ i or ξ i the corresponding guna is (a+i=) ∇ e; the corresponding vrddhi is (a+e=) ∇ ai. But in all gunating processes π a remains unchanged or, as it is sometimes expressed,

ন্ম a is its own guna; সা ā, of course, remains unchanged for both guna and vrddhi.

236. The series of corresponding degrees is then as follows:

simple vowel aā iī uū ŗ ļ guṇa aā e o ar al vṛddhi ā āi āu ār

a. There is nowhere any occurrence of \bar{r} in a situation to undergo either guņa or vṛddhi-change; nor does l (26) ever suffer change to vṛddhi. Theoretically, \bar{r} would have the same changes as r; and the vṛddhi of l would be $\bar{a}l$.

b. In secondary derivatives requiring vrddhi of the first syllable (1204), the o of go (361 c) is strengthened to gau: thus, gaumata, gauşthika.

237. The historical relations of the members of each vowel-series are still matters of some difference of opinion. From the special point of view of the Sanskrit, the simple vowels wear the aspect of being in general the original or fundamental ones, and the others of being products of their increment or strengthening, in two several degrees - so that the rules of formation direct a, i, u, r, l to be raised to guna or vrddhi respectively, under specified conditions. But r has long been so clearly seen to come by abbreviation or weakening from an earlier ar (or ra) that many European grammarians have preferred to treat the guna-forms as the original and the other as the derivative. Thus, for example: instead of assuming certain roots to be bhr and vrdh, and making from them bharati and vardhati, and bhrta and vrddha, by the same rules which from bhū and nī and from budh and cit form bhavati and nayati, bodhati and cetati, bhūta and nīta, buddha and citta - they assume bhar and vardh to be the roots, and give the rules of formation for them in reverse. In this work, as already stated (104 e), the r-form is preferred.

238. The guna-increment is an Indo-European phenomenon, and is in many cases seen to occur in connection with an accent on the increased syllable. It is found —

a. In root-syllables: either in inflection, as dvéşţi from y'dviş, dôhmi from y'duh; or in derivation, as dvéşa, dôhas, dvéşţum, dôgdhum.

b. In formative elements: either conjugational class-signs, as tanòmi from tanu; or suffixes of derivation, in inflection or in further derivation, as matáye from matí, bhānávas from bhānú, pitáram from pitf (or pitár), hantavyà from hántu.

239. The vrddhi-increment is specifically Indian, and its occurrence is less frequent and regular. It is found-

- a. In root and suffix-syllables, instead of guna: thus, stautifrom vstu, sakhayam from sakhi, anaişam from vnī, akarşam and karayati and karya from vkr (or kar), dataram from datr (or datar).
- b. Especially often, in initial syllables in secondary derivation: thus, mānasá from mánas, vāidyutá from vidyút, bhāumá from bhūmi, pārthiva from pṛthivī (1204).

But -

- 240. The guna-increment does not usually take place in a heavy syllable ending with a consonant: that is to say, the rules prescribing guna in processes of derivation and inflection do not apply to a short vowel which is "long by position", nor to a long vowel unless it be final: thus, cétati from \(\rho\) cit, but níndati from \(\rho\) nind; náyati from \(\rho\) nī, but jívati from \(\rho\) jīv.
 - a. The vrddhi-increment is not liable to this restriction.
- b. Exceptions to the rule are occasionally met with: thus, ehá, ehas from \$\sum_{\text{Th}}\$; hedáyāmi, hédas, etc., from \$\sum_{\text{hiq}}\$; coṣa etc. from \$\sum_{\text{vaş}}\$; ohate etc. from \$\sum_{\text{va}}\$ ind especially, from roots in \$\text{Iv}\$: didéva devişyati, dévana, etc., from \$\sum_{\text{va}}\$ is theva from \$\sum_{\text{sthV}}\$ is reváyāmi, srévuka, from \$\sum_{\text{sriv}}\$—on account of which it is, doubtless, that these roots are written with iv (div etc.) by the Hindu grammarians, although they nowhere show a short i, in either verb-forms or derivatives.
 - c. A few cases occur of prolongation instead of increment; thus dūṣáyati from /duṣ, guhati from /guh.

The changes of r (more original ar or ra) are so various as to call for further description.

- 241. The increments of r are sometimes ra and rā, instead of ar and ār: namely, especially, where by such reversal a difficult combination of consonants is avoided: thus, from /drc, drakṣyāmi and adrākṣam; but also pṛthú and prath, pṛch and prach, kṛpā and akrapiṣṭa.
- 242. In a number of roots (about a dozen quotable ones) ending in r (for more original ar), the r changes both with ar, and more irregularly, in a part of the forms, with ir—or also with ur (especially after a labial, in pr, mr, vr, sporadically in others): which ir and ur, again, are liable to prolongation into ir and ūr. Thus, for example, from tr (or tar), we have tarati, titarti, tatāra, atāriṣam, by regular processes; but also tirati, tīryati, tīrtvā, -tīrya, tīrna, and even (V.) turyāma, tuturyāt, tarturāna. The treatment of such roots has to be described in speaking of each formation.
- a. For the purpose of artificially indicating this peculiarity of treatment, such roots are by the Hindu grammarians written with long $\bar{\mathbf{r}}$, or with both \mathbf{r} and $\bar{\mathbf{r}}$: no $\bar{\mathbf{r}}$ actually appears anywhere among their forms.

- b. The (quotable) \(\bar{\text{r}}\)-roots are 2 kr strew, 1 gr sing, 2 gr swallow, 1 jr wear out, tr, 1 cr crush.
- c. The (quotable) r and r-roots are r, 1 dr pierce, 1 pr fill, 1 mr die, 2 vr choose, str. hvr.
- d. Forms analogous with these are sometimes made also from other roots: thus, cīrņa, cīrtvā, carcūryá, from /car; spūrdhán and spūrdháse from /spṛdh.
- 243. In a few cases r comes from the contraction of other syllables than ar and ra: thus, in trta and trtiya, from ri; in crnu, from ru; in bhrkūţi, from rū.

Vowel-lengthening.

- 244. Vowel-lengthening concerns especially i and u, since the lengthening of a is in part (except where in evident analogy with that of i and u) indistinguishable from its increment, and r is made long only in certain plural cases of stems in r (or ar: 369 ff.). Lengthening is a much more irregular and sporadic change than increment, and its cases will in general be left to be pointed out in connection with the processes of inflection and derivation: a few only will be mentioned here.
- 245. a. Final radical i and u are especially liable to prolongation before y: as in passive and gerund and so on.
- b. Final radical ir and ur (from variable r-roots: 242) are liable to prolongation before all consonants except those of personal endings: namely, before y and tvā and na: and in declension before bh and s (392). Radical is has the same prolongation in declension (392).
- 246. Compensatory lengthening, or absorption by a vowel of the time of a lost following consonant, is by no means common. Certain instances of it have been pointed out above (179, 198 c, d, 199 d, 222 b). Perhaps such cases as pitā for pitars (371 a) and dhanī for dhanins (439) are to be classed here.
- 247. The final vowel of a former member of a compound is often made long, especially in the Vods. Prolongations of final a, and before v, are most frequent; but cases are found of every variety. Examples are: devāví, vayunāvíd, prāvṛṣ, ṛtāvasu, índrāvant, sadanāsád, çatāmagha, viçvānara, ėkādaça; apījū, parīnāh, vīrūdh, tuvīmaghá, tvíṣīmant, çáktīvant; vasūjū, anūrūdh, sūmáya, purūvásu.
- 248. In the Veda, the final vowel of a word—generally a, much less often i and u—is in a large number of cases prolonged. Usually reprolongation takes place where it is favored by the metre, but sometimes even where the metre opposes the change (for details, see the various Prātiçākhyas).

Words of which the finals are thus treated are;

- a. Particles: namely, áthā, ádhā, evá, utá, ghá, hā, ihá, ivā, cā, smā, ná, angá, kílā, átrā, yátrā, tátrā, kútrā, anyátrā, ubhayátrā, adyá, ácchā, ápā, prá; átī, ní, yádī, nahí, abhí, ví; ū, tú, nú, sú, makşú.
- b. Case-forms: especially instr. sing., as ená, ténā, yénā, svénā, and others; rarely gen. sing., as asyā, hariņásyā. Cases besides these are few: so símā, vṛṣabhā, hariyojanā (voc.); tanvì (loc.); and urtí and (not rarely) purtí.
- o. Verb-forms ending in a, in great number and variety: thus (nearly in the order of their comparative frequency), 2d sing. impv. act., as pibā, syā, gamayā, dhāráyā; 2d pl. act. in ta and tha, as sthā, attā, bibhṛtā, jayatā, çṛṇutā, anadatā, nayathā, jivayathā (and one or two in tana: aviṣṭanā, hantanā); 1st pl. act. in ma, as vidmā, riṣāmā, ṛdhyāmā, ruhemā, vanuyāmā, cakṛmā, marmṛjmā; 2d sing. impv. mid. in sva, as yukṣvā, īḍiṣvā, dadhiṣvā, vahasvā; 1st and 3d sing. perf. act., as vedā, viveçā, jagrabhā; 2d sing. perf. act., vetthā; 2d pl. perf. act., anajā, cakṛā. Of verb-forms ending in i, only the 2d sing. impv. act.: thus, kṛḍhī, kṛṇuhī, kṣidhī, çṛudhī, çṛṇudhī, çṛṇuhī, dīdthī, jahī.
- d. To these may be added the gerund in ya (993 a), as abhigúryā,
 ácyā.

Vowel-lightening.

- 249. The alteration of short a to an i- or u-vowel in the formative processes of the language, except in r or ar roots (as explained above); is a sporadic phenomenon only.
- 250. But the lightening of a long ā especially to an i-vowel (as also its loss), is a frequent process; no other vowel is so unstable.
- a. Of the class-sign nā (of the krī-class of verbs: 717 ff.), the ā is in weak forms changed to ī, and before vowel-endings dropped altogether. The final ā of certain roots is treated in the same manner; thus, mā, hā, etc. (662-6). And from some roots, ā- and ī- or i-forms so interchange that it is difficult to classify them or to determine the true character of the root.
- b. Radical \bar{a} is weakened to the semblance of the union-vowel i in certain verbal forms: as perfect dadima from γ d \bar{a} etc. (794 k); a orist adhith \bar{a} s from γ dh \bar{a} etc. (834 a); present jahimas from γ h \bar{a} etc. (665).
- c. Radical ā is shortened to the semblance of stem-a in a number reduplicated forms, as tistha, piba, dada, etc.: see 671-4; also in few aorists, as ahvam, akhyam, etc.: see 847.
- d. Radical \bar{a} sometimes becomes e, especially before y: as $sthey\bar{a}sam$, deya.

- 251. Certain ā-roots, because of their peculiar exchanges with ī and i-forms, especially in forming the present stem, are given by the Hindu grammarians as roots ending in e or āi or o. Thus, from 2 dhā suck (dhe) come the present dháyati and participle and gerund dhītā, dhītvā; the other forms are made from dhā, as dadhus, adhāt, dhāsyati, dhātave, dhāpayati. From 2 gā sing (gāi) come the present gāyati, the participle and gerund gītā and gītvā, and passive gīyāte, and the other forms from gā. From 3 dā cut (do) come the present dyāti and participle ditā or dinā, and the other forms from dā. The irregularities of these roots will be treated below, under the various formations (see especially 761 d ff.).
- 252. By a process of abbreviation essentially akin with that of ar or ra to r, the va (usually initial) of a number of roots becomes u, and the ya of a much smaller number becomes i, in certain verbal forms and derivatives. Thus, from vac come uváca, ucyásam, uktvá, uktá, uktí, ukthá, otc.; from yaj come iyája, ijyásam, iṣṭvá, iṣṭá, iṣṭi, etc. See below, under the various formations.
- a. To this change is given by European grammarians the name of samprasārana, by adaptation of a term used in the native grammar.
- 253. A short a, of root or ending, is not infrequently lost between consonants in a weakened syllable: thus, in verb-forms, ghnánti, ápaptam, jagmús, jajñús, ájňata; in noun-forms, rājňe, rājňī.
- 254. Union-vowels. All the simple vowels come to assume in certain cases the aspect of union-vowels, or insertions between root or stem and ending of inflection or of derivation.
- a. That character belongs oftenest to i, which is very widely used:

 1. before the s of agrist and future and desiderative stems, as in ájīvigam,
 jīvişyāmi, jíjīviṣāmi; 2. in tense-inflection, especially perfect, as jijīvimá; occasionally also present, as ániti, róditi; 3. in derivation, as
 jīvitá, khánitum, janití, rociṣņú, etc. etc.
- b. Long ī is used sometimes instead of short: thus, agrahīşam, grahīşyami; bravīti, vāvadīti; tarīti, savīti; it is also often introduced before s and t of the 2d and 3d sing. of verbs: thus, asīs, asīt.
- c. For details respecting these, and the more irregular and sporadic occurrences of u- and a-vowels in the same character, see below.

Nasal Increment.

255. Both in roots and in endings, a distinction of stronger and weaker forms is very often made by the presence or absence of a nasal element, a nasal mute or anusvāra, before a following consonant. In general, the stronger form is doubtless the more original; but, in the present condition of the language, the nasal has come in great measure to seem, and to some extent also to be used, as an actually strengthening element, introduced under certain conditions in formative and inflective processes.

- a. Examples are, of roots: ac and anc, grath and granth, vid and vind, daç and danç, sras and srans, drh and drhh: of endings, bhárantam and bháratā, mánasī and mánānsi.
- 256. A final n, whether of stem or of root, is less stable than any other consonant, where a weaker form is called for: thus, from rajan we have raja and rajabhis, and in composition raja; from dhanin, dhani and dhanibhis and dhani; from /han we have hatha and hata, etc. A final radical m is sometimes treated in the same way: thus, from /gam, gahi, gatam, gata, gati.
- 257. Inserted n. On the other hand, the nasal n has come to be used with great—and, in the later history of the language, with increasing—frequency as a union-consonant, inserted between vowels: thus, from agní, agnínā and agnīnām; from mádhu, mádhunas, mádhunī, mádhūni; from çivá, çivéna, çiváni, çivánām.
- 258. Inserted y. a. After flual ā of a root, a y is often found as apparently a mere union-consonant before another vowel: thus, in inflection, ádhāyi etc. (844), çāyáyati etc. (1042), çiváyās etc. (363 c), gáyati etc. (761 e); further, in derivation, -gāya, -yāyam, dāyaka etc.; -sthāyika; pāyána, -gāyana; dháyas, -hāyas; sthāyin etc. (many cases); -hitāyin, -tatāyin; sthāyuka.
- b. Other more sporadic cases of inserted y—such as that in the pronoun-forms ayam, iyam, vayam, yūyam, svayam; and in optative inflection before an ending beginning with a vowel (566)—will be pointed out below in their connection.

Reduplication.

- 259. Reduplication of a root (originating doubtless in its complete repetition) has come to be a method of radical increment or strengthening in various formative processes: namely,
 - a. in present-stem formation (642 ff.): as dádāmi, bibhármi;
- b. in perfect-stem formation, almost universally (782 ff.): as tatána, dadhāú, cakára, riréca, lulópa;
 - c. in agrist-stem formation (856 ff.): as adddharam, acucyavam;
- d. in intensive and desiderative-stem formation, throughout (1000ff. 1026 ff.): as jánghanti, jóhavīti, marmṛjyáte; pípāsati, jíghānsati;
- e. in the formation of derivative noun-stems (1143 e): as pápri, cárcara, sāsahí, cikitú, malimlucá.
- f. Rules for the treatment of the reduplication in these several cases will be given in the proper connection below.
- 260. As, by reason of the strengthening and weakening changes indicated above, the same root or stem not seldom exhibits, in the processes of inflection and derivation, varieties of stronger and weaker form, the distinction and description of these varieties forms an important part of the subjects hereafter to be treated.

CHAPTER IV.

DECLENSION.

- 261. The general subject of declension includes nouns, adjectives, and pronouns, all of which are inflected in essentially the same manner. But while the correspondence of nouns and adjectives is so close that they cannot well be separated in treatment (chap. V.), the pronouns, which exhibit many pecularities, will be best dealt with in a separate chapter (VII.); and the words designating number, or numerals, also form a class peculiar enough to require to be presented by themselves (chap. VI.).
- 262. Declensional forms show primarily case and number; but they also indicate gender—since, though the distinctions of gender are made partly in the stem itself, they also appear, to no inconsiderable extent, in the changes of inflection.
- 263. Gender. The genders are three, namely masculine, feminine, and neuter, as in the other older Indo-European languages; and they follow in general the same laws of distribution as, for example, in Greek and Latin.
- a. The only words which show no sign of gender-distinction are the personal pronouns of the first and second person (491), and the numerals above four (483).
- 264. Number. The numbers are three singular, dual, and plural.
- a. A few words are used only in the plural: as dārās wife, āpas water; the numeral dva two, is dual only; and, as in other languages, many words are, by the nature of their use, found to occur only in the singular.
- 265. As to the uses of the numbers, it needs only to be remarked that the dual is (with only very rare and sporadic exceptions) used strictly in all cases where two objects are logically indicated, whether directly or by combination of two individuals: thus, civé te dyáväpythiví ubhé stäm may heaven and earth both be propitious to thee! dálvain ca mānuṣain ca hotārāu vṛṭvā having chosen both the divine and the human sacrificers; pathor devayānasya piṭṛyāṇasya ca of the two paths leading respectively to the gods and to the Fathers.

- a. The dual is used alone (without dva two) properly when the duality of the objects indicated is well understood; thus, acvināu the two Acvins; indrasya harī Indra's two bays; but tasya dvāv acvāu stah he has two horses. But now and then the dual stands alone pregnantly: thus, vedam vedāu vedān vā one Veda or two or more than two; ekasaste cate two hundred and sixty-one.
- 266. Case. The cases are (including the vocative) eight: nominative, accusative, instrumental, dative, ablative, genitive, locative, and vocative.
- a. The order in which they are here mentioned is that established for them by the Hindu grammarians, and accepted from these by Western scholars. The Hindu names of the cases are founded on this order: the nominative is called prathamā first, the accusative dvitīyā second, the genitive şaṣthī sixth (sc. vibhakti division, i. e. case), etc. The object sought in the arrangement is simply to set next to one another those cases which are to a greater or less extent, in one or another number, identical in form; and, putting the nominative first, as leading case, there is no other order by which that object could be attained. The vocative is not considered and named by the native grammarians as a case like the rest; the this work, it will be given in the singular (where alone it is ever distinguished from the nominative otherwise than by accent) at the end of the series of cases.

A compendious statement of the uses of the cases is given in the following paragraphs:

- 267. Uses of the Nominative. The nominative is the case of the subject of the sentence, and of any word qualifying the subject, whether attributively, in apposition, or as predicate.
 - 268. One or two peculiar constructions call for notice:
- a. A predicate nominative, instead of an objective predicate in the accusative, is used with middle verb-forms that signify regarding or calling one's self: thus, somain manyate papivan (RV.) he thinks he has been drinking soma; sa manysta puranavit (AV.) he may regard himself as wise in ancient things; durgad va aharta 'vocathah (MS.) thou hast claimed to be a savior out of trouble; indro brahmano bruvanah (TS.) Indra pretending to be a Brahman; katthase satyavadī (R.) thou boastest thyself truthful. Similarly with the phrase rūpain kṛ thus, kṛṣṇō rūpain kṛtvā (TS.) taking on a black form (i. e. making shape for himself as one that is black).
- b. A word made by iti (1102) logically predicate to an object is ordinarily nominative: thus, svargó loká íti yám vádanti (AV.) what they call the heavenly world; tam agnistoma ity ācakṣate (AB.) it they style agnistoma; vidarbharājatanayām damayantī 'ti viddhi mām (MBh.) know me for the Vidarbha-king's daughter, Damayantī by

name. Both constructions are combined in ajñam hi bālam ity āhuh pite 'ty eva tu mantradam (M.) for to an ignorant man they give the name of 'child', but that of 'father' to one who imparts the sacred texts.

- c. A nominative, instead of a second vocative, is sometimes added to a vocative by ca and: thus, indraç ca somam pibatam brhaspate (RV.) together with Indra, do ye two drink the soma, O Brhaspati! viçve devā yājamānaç ca sīdatā (TS.) O ye All-Gods, and the sacrificer, take seats!
- 269. Uses of the accusative. The accusative is especially the case of the direct object of a transitive verb, and of any word qualifying that object, as attribute or appositive or objective predicate. The construction of the verb is shared, of course, by its participles and infinitives; but also, in Sanskrit, by a number of other derivatives, having a more or less participial or infinitival character, and even sometimes by nouns and adjectives. A few prepositions are accompanied by the accusative. As less direct object, or goal of motion or action, the accusative is construed especially with verbs of approach and address. It is found used more adverbially as adjunct of place or time or manner; and a host of adverbs are accusative cases in form. Two accusatives are often found as objects of the same verb.
- 270. The use of the accusative as direct object of a transitive verb and of its infinitives and participles hardly needs illustration; an example or two are: agnim īde I praise Agni; námo bharantah bringing homage; bhūyo dắtum arhasi thou shouldst give more. Of predicate words qualifying the object, an example is tám ugrám kṛṇomi tám brahmāṇam (RV.) him I make formidable, him a priest.
- 271. Of verbal derivatives having so far a participial character that they share the construction of the verb, the variety is considerable: thus -
- a. Derivatives in u from desiderative stems (1038) have wholly the character of present participles: thus, damayantīm abhīpsavah (MBh) desiring to win Damayantī; didṛkṣur janakātmajām (R.) desiring to see Janaka's daughter. Rarely, also, the verbal noun in ā from such a root. thus, svargam abhikānkṣayā (R.) with desire of paradise.
- b. So-called primary derivatives in in have the same character: thus mắm kāmínī (AV.) loving me; enam abhibhāṣiṇī (MBh.) addressing him. Even the obviously secondary garbhín has in ÇB, the same construction: thus, sárvāṇi bhūtáni garbhy abhavat he became pregnant with all beings.
- c. Derivatives in aka, in the later language: as, bhavantam abhi-yādakaḥ (MBh.) intending to salute you; mithilām avarodhakaḥ (R.) besieging Mithilā.
- d. Nouns in tar, very frequently in the older language, and as perphrastic future forms (942 ff.) in the later: thus, hanta yo vrtram

- sánito 'tá vájam dátā magháni (RV.) who slayeth the dragon, winneth booty, bestoweth largesses; tāu hī 'dam sarvam hartārāu (JB.) for they seize on this universe; tyaktārah samyugo prāṇān (MBh.) risking life in battle.
- e. The root itself, in the older language, used with the value of a present participle at the end of a compound: thus, yam yajñam paribhūr asi (RV.) what offering thou surroundest (protectest); ahim apah paristnam (RV.) the drugon confining the waters. Also a superlative of a root-stem (468, 471): thus, tvam vasu devayaté vanisthah (RV.) thou art chief winner of wealth for the pious; ta somam somapatamā (RV.) they two are the greatest drinkers of soma.
- f. The derivative in i from the (especially the reduplicated) root, in the older language: thus, babhrír vájram papín sómam dadír gấn (RV.) bearing the thunderbolt, drinking the soma, bestowing kine, yajñám ātánin (RV.) extending the sacrifice.
- g. Derivatives in uka, very frequently in the Brāhmaņa language: thus, vatsānc ca ghātuko vṛkaḥ (AV.) and the wolf destroys his calves; véduko vāso bhavati (TS.) he wins a garment, kāmukā enam strīyo bhavanti (MS.) the women fall in love with him.
- h. Other cases are more sporadic: thus, derivatives in a, as indro ordered cid ārujān (RV.) Indra breaks up even what is fast; nāi 'vā 'rhan pāitṛkam riktham (M.) by no means entitled to his father's estate; in atnu, as vīḍu cid ārujatnubhin (RV.) with the breakers of whatever is strong; in atha, as vajāthāya devān (RV.) to make offering to the gods; in ana, as tam nivārane (MBh.) in restraining him; svamānsam iva bhojane (R.) as if in eating one's own flesh; in ani, as samátsu turvánin pṛtanyūn (RV.) overcoming foes in combats; in ti, as ná tám dhūrtín (RV.) there is no injuring him; in van, as ápaçeāddaghvā 'nnam bhavati (MS.) he does not come short of food; in snu, as sthirā ein namayiṣṇavaḥ (RV.) bowing even firm things.
- 272. Examples of an accusative with an ordinary noon or adjective are only occasional: such words as anuvrata faithful to, pratirupa corresponding to, abhidhrsnu daring to cope with, pratyaño opposite to, may be regarded as taking an accusative in virtue of the preposition they contain; also anuka, as anuka deva varunam (MS.) the gods are inferior to Varuna. RV. has tam antarvatīh pregnant with him; and AV. has mān kāmena through loving me.
- 273. The direct construction of cases with prepositions is comparatively restricted in Sanskrit (1123 ff.). With the accusative are oftenest found prati, opposite to, in reference to, etc.; also anu after, in the course of; antar or antarā between, rarely ati across; abhi against, to; and others (1129). Case-forms which have assumed a prepositional value are also often used with the accusative: as antarena, uttarena, dakṣiṇena, avarena, urdhvam, rte.

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- 274. The accusative is very often found also as object of verbs which in the related languages are not transitive.
- a. It stands especially as the goal of motion, with verbs of going, bringing, sending, and the like: thus, vidarbhān agaman (MBh.) they went to Vidarbhā; divam yayuh (MBh.) they went to heaven; vanagulmān dhāvantah (MBh.) running to woods and bushes; apó dívam úd vahanti (AV.) they carry up waters to the sky; deván yaje (AV.) I make offering to the gods.
- b. With verbs meaning go, this is an extremely common construction; and the use of such a verb with an abstract noun makes peculiar phrases of becoming: thus, samatām eti he goes to equality (i. e. becomes equal); sa gacched badhyatām mama (MBh.) he shall become liable to be slain by me; sa pañcatvam āgataḥ (H.) he was resolved into the five elements (underwent dissolution, died).
- c. Verbs of speaking follow the same rule: thus, tam abravīt he said to him; prākroçad uccāir nāiṣadham (MBh.) she cried out loudly to the Nishadhan; yas tvo 'vāca (AV.) who spoke to thee.
- d. The assumption of an accusative object is exceptionally easy in Sanskrit, and such an object is often taken by a verb or phrase which is strictly of intransitive character: thus, sáhasā prā 'sy anyān (RV.) in might thou excellest (lit. art ahead) others, devā vāi brāhma sám avadanta (MS.) the gods were discussing (lit. were talking together) brahman; antār vāi mā yajñād yanti (MS.) surely they are cutting me off (lit. are going between) from the offering; tām sám babhūva (GB.) he had intercourse with her.
- 275. Examples of the cognate accusative, or accusative of implied object, are not infrequent: thus, tapas tapyamahe (AV.) we do penance, the hai 'tam edhatum edham cakrire (CB.) they prospered with that prosperity; usitva sukhavasam (R.) abiding happily.
- 276. The accusative is often used in more adverbial constructions. Thus:
- a. Occasionally, to denote measure of space: thus, yojanaçatam gantum (MBh.) to go a hundred leagues; and ucchrito yojanani (MBh.) six leagues high.
- b. Much more often, to denote measure or duration of time: thus, sa samvatsarám ūrdhvò 'tiṣṭhat (AV.) he stood a year upright; tisro rátrīr dīkṣitáḥ syāt (TS.) let him be consecrated three nights; gatvā trīn ahorātrān (MBb.) having traveled three complete days.
- c. Sometimes, to denote the point of space, or, oftener, of time: thus, yam asya diçam dasyuh syat (CB.) whatever region his enemy may be in; tenai 'tam ratrim saha' jagama (CB.) he arrived that night with him; imam rajanim vyuştam (MBh.) this current night.
- d. Very often, to denote manner or accompanying circumstance. Thus, the neuter accusative of innumerable adjectives, simple or compound

- (1111), is used adverbially, while cortain kinds of compounds are thus used to such an extent that the Hindu grammarians have made of them a special adverbial class (1313).
- e. Special cases are occasionally met with: thus, brahmacáryam uvāsa (QB.) he kept a term of studentship; phalám pacyánte (MS.) they ripen their fruit; gắm dĩvyadhvam (MS., S.) gamble for a cow.
- 277. The accusative is, of course, freely used with other cases to limit the same verb, as the sense requires. And whenever it is usable with a verb in two different constructions, the verb may take two accusatives, one in each construction: and such combinations are quite frequent in Sanskrit. Thus, with verbs of appealing, asking, having recourse: as, apó yācāmi bhesajam (RV.) I ask the waters for medicine; tvām aham satyam icchāmi (R.) I desire truth from thee; tvām vayam çaraņam gatāh (MBh.) we have resorted to thee for succor; - with verbs of bringing, sending, following, imparting, saying: as, gurutvam naram nayanti (H.) they bring a man to respectability; sītā cā 'nvetu mām vanam (R.) and let Sita accompany me to the forest; supécasam ma 'va srjanty åstam (RV.) they let me go home well adorned; täm idam abravit (MBh.) this he said to her; - and in other less common cases: as, vrksam pakvam phálam dhunuhi (RV.) shake ripe fruit from the tree; tấm visám 🗣 va dhok (AV.) poison he milked from her; jitvā rājyam nalam (MBh.) having won the kingdom from Nala; amuşnītam panim gah (RV.) ye robbed the Pani of the kine; drastum icchāvah putram paçcimadarcanam (R.) we wish to see our son for the last time.
- a. A causative form of a transitive verb regularly admits two accusative objects: thus, devān uçatān pāyayā havin (RV.) make the eager gods drink the oblation; oṣadnīr evā phālam grānayati (MS.) he makes the plants bear fruit; vaṇijo dāpayet karān (M.) he should cause the merchants to pay taxes. But such a causative sometimes takes an instrumental instead of a second accusative: sea 282 b.
- 278. Uses of the Instrumental. The instrumental is originally the with-case: it denotes adjacency, accompaniment, association—passing over into the expression of means and instrument by the same transfer of meaning which appears in the English prepositions with and by.
- a. Nearly all the uses of the case are readily deducible from this fundamental meaning, and show nothing anomalous or difficult.
- 279. The instrumental is often used to signify accompaniment: thus, agnir devébhir á gamat (RV.) may Agni come hither along with the gods; marúdbhī rudrám huvema (RV.) we would call Rudra with the Maruts; dvāparena sahāyena kva yāsyasi (MBh.) whither wilt tho so, with Dvāpara for companion? kathayan nāiṣadhena (MBh.) talking with the Nishadhan. But the relation of simple accompaniment is more often helped to plainer expression by prepositions (saha etc.: 284).

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- 280. The instrumental of means or instrument or agent is yet more frequent: thus, bhadrám kárnebhih çṛṇuyāma (RV.) may we hear with our ears what is propitious; çastreṇa nidhanam (MBh.) death by the sword; kecit padbhyām hatā gajāiḥ (MBh.) some were slain by the elephants with their feet; pṛthak pāṇibhyām darbhataruṇakāir navanītenā 'ñguṣṭhopakaniṣṭhikābhyām akṣiṇī ājya (AGS.) anoining their eyes with fresh butter, by help of the bunches of darbha-grass, with the thumb and ring-finger, using the two hands successively. And this passes easily over into the expression of occasion or reason (for which the ablative is more frequent): thus, kṛpayā through pity; tena satyena in virtue of that truth.
 - 281. Of special applications, the following may be noticed:
- a. Accordance, equality, likeness, and the like: thus, samám jyótili súryena (AV.) a brightness equal with the sun; yeṣām aham na pādarajasā tulyaḥ (MBh.) to the dust of whose feet I am not equal.
- b. Price (by which obtained): thus, daçábhih krīnāti dhenúbhih (RV.) he buys with ten kine; gavām çatasahasrena dīyatām çabalā mama (R.) let Çabalā be giren me for a hundred thousand cows; sa te 'kṣahṛdayam dātā rājā 'çvahṛdayena vāi (MBh.) the king will gire thee the secret science of dice in return for that of horses.
- c. Medium, and hence also space or distance or road, traversed: thus, udnā ná nāvam anayanta (RV.) they brought [him] as it were a ship by water; é 'há yātam pathíbhir devayānāih (RV.) come hither by god-traveled paths, jagmur vihāyasā (MBh.) they went off through the air.
- d. Time passed through, or by the lapse of which anything is brought about: thus, vidarbhān yātum icchāmy ekāhnā (MBh.) I wish to go to Vidarbha in the course of one day; to ca kālena mahatā yāuvanam pratipedire (R.) and they in a long time attained adolescence; tatra kālena jāyante mānavā dīrghajīvinah (M.) there in time are born men long-lived. This use of the instrumental borders upon that of the locative and ablative.
- e. The part of the body on (or by) which anything is borne is usually expressed by the instrumental: as, kukkurah skandheno hyate (II) a dog is carried on the shoulder; and this construction is extended to such cases as tulayā kṛtam (II.) put on (i. e. so us to be carried by) a balance.
- f. Not infrequent are such phrases as bahunā kim pralāpena (R) what is the use of (i. c. is gained by) much talking? ko nu me jīvitenā 'rthaḥ (MBh.) what object is life to me? nīrujas tu kim āuṣadhāiḥ (H.) but what has a well man to do with medicines?
- g. An instrumental of accompaniment is occasionally used almost or quite with the value of an instrumental absolute: thus, na tvayā 'tra mayā 'vasthitena kā 'pi cintā kāryā (Pañc.) with me at hand, thou need'st feel no anxicty whatever on this point.

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- 282. a. The construction of a passive verb (or participle) with an instrumental of the agent is common from the earliest period, and becomes decidedly more so later, the passive participle with instrumental taking to no smal extent the place of an active verb with its subject. Thus, yaména dattáh (RV.) given by Yama; řsibhir Ídyah (RV.) to be praised by sages; vyādhena jālam vistīrņam (H.) by the hunter a net [was] spread: tac chrutvā jaradgaveno 'ktam (H.) Jaradgava, hearing this, said: mayā gantavyam (H.) I shall go. A predicate to the instrumental subject of such a construction is, of course, also in the instrumental: thus, adhunā tavā 'nucareṇa mayā sarvathā bhavitavyam (H.) henceforth I shall always be thy companion; avahitāir bhavitavyam bhavadbhih (Vikr.) you must be attentive.
- b. A causative verb sometimes takes an instrumental instead of an accusative as second object: thus, tām çvabhin khādayed rājā (M.) the king should have her devoured by dogs; tā varunenā 'grāhayat (MS.) he caused Varuna to seize them.
- 283. Many instrumental constructions are such as call in translation for other prepositions than with or by; yet the true instrumental relation is usually to be traced, especially if the etymological sense of the words be carefully considered.
- a. More anomalously, however, the instrumental is used interchangeably with the ablative with words signifying separation: thus, vatsair viyutah (RV.) separated from their caltes; mā 'hām ātmánā vi rādhiṣi (AV.) let me not be severed from the breath of life; sa tayā vyayujyata (MBh.) he was parted from her; pāpmánāi 'vāi 'nam vi punanti (MS.) they cleanse him from evil (compare English parted with). The same meaning may be given to the case even when accompanied by saha with: thus, bhartrā saha viyogah (MBh.) separation from her husband.
- 284. The prepositions taking the instrumental (1127) are those signifying with and the like: thus, saha, with the adverbial words containing sa as an element, as sākam, sārdham, saratham;—and, in general, a word compounded with sa, sam, saha takes an instrumental as its regular and natural complement. But also the preposition vinā without takes sometimes the instrumental (cf. 283 a).
- 285. Uses of the Dative. The dative is the case of the indirect object—or that toward or in the direction of or in order to or for which anything is or is done (either intransitively or to a direct object).
- a. In more physical connections, the uses of the dative approach those of the accusative (the more proper to-case), and the two are sometimes interchangeable; but the general value of the dative as the toward- or forcase is almost everywhere distinctly to be traced.
 - 286. Thus, the dative is used with -
- a. Words signifying give, share out, assign, and the like: thus, yo ná dádāti sákhye (RV.) who gives not to a friend; yácchā 'smāi cárma (RV.) bestow upon him protection.

- b. Words signifying show, announce, declare, and the like! thus, dhanur darçaya rāmāya (R.) show the bow to Rāma; āvir ebhyo abhavat sūryaḥ (RV.) the sun was manifested to them; rtuparṇam bhīmāya pratyavedayan (MBh.) they announced Rituparna to Bhīma; tebhyaḥ pratijñāya (MBh.) having promised to them.
- c. Words signifying give attention, have a regard or feeling, aspire, and the like: thus, niveçāya mano dadhuh (MBh.) they set their minds upon encamping; māté 'va putrébhyo mṛḍa (AV.) be gracious as a mother to her sons; kim asmābhyam hṛṇṣe (RV.) why art thou angry at us? kāmāya spṛhayaty ātmā (Spr.) the soul longs for love.
- d. Words signifying please, suit, conduce, and the like: thus, yadyad rocate viprebhyah (M.) whatever is pleasing to Brahmans; tad anantyaya kalpate (KU.) that makes for immortality.
- e. Words signifying inclination, obeisance, and the like: thus, mahyam namantām pradiçaç catasrah (RV.) let the four quarters bow themselves to me; develoyo namaskṛtya (MRh.) having paid homage to the gods.
- f. Words signifying hurling or casting: as yéna dūḍāçe ásyasi (AV.) with which thou hurlest at the impious.
- g. In some of these constructions the genitive and locative are also used; see below.
- 287. In its more distinctive sense, as signifying for, for the benefit of, with reference to, and the like, the dative is used freely, and in a great variety of constructions. And this use passes over into that of the dative of end or purpose, which is extremely common. Thus, is win kṛṇ-vānā ásanāya (AV.) making an arrow for hurling; grhṇāmi te sāubhagatvāya hástam (RV.) I take thy hand in order to happiness; rāṣṭrāya máhyam badhyatām sapātnebhyaḥ parābhūve (AV.) be it bound on in order to royalty for me, in order to destruction for my enemies.
- a. Such a dative is much used predicatively (and oftenest with the copula omitted), in the sense of makes for, tends toward; also is intended for, and so must; or is liable to, and so can. Thus, upadeço mūrkhānām prakopāya na çāntaye (H.) good counsel [tends] to the exasperation, not the conciliation, of fools; sa ca tasyāh samtosāya nā 'bhavat (H.) and he was not to her satisfaction; sugopā asi nā dābhāya (RV.) thou art a good herdsman, not one for cheating (i. e. not to be cheated).
- b. These uses of the dative are in the older language especially illustrated by the dative infinitives, for which see 982.
 - 288. The dative is not used with prepositions (1124).
- 289. Uses of the Ablative. The ablative is the from-case in the various senses of that preposition; it is used to express removal, geparation, distinction, issue, and the like.
- 290. The ablative is used where expulsion, removal, distinction, relesse, defense, and other kindred relations are expressed: thus, té sedhanti pathó výkam (AV.) they drive away the wolf from the path; má prá

gāma patháh (RV.) may we not go away from the path; éti vá eşá yajñamukhát (MS.) he verily goes away from the face of the sacrifice; aré asmád astu hetíh (AV.) far from us be your missile; pātám no vṛkāt (RV.) save us from the wolf; ástabhnād dyám avasrásah (RV.) he kept (lit. made firm) the sky from falling.

- 291. The ablative is used where procedure or issue from something as from a source or starting-point is signified: thus, cukrā kṛṣṇād ajaniṣṭa (RV.) the bright one has been born from the black one; lobhāt krodhaḥ prabhavati (MBh.) passion arises from greed; vātāt te prāṇām avidam (AV.) I have won thy life-breath from the wind; yé prācyā diçó abhidāsanty asmān (AV.) who attack us from the eastern quarter; tac chrutvā sakhigaṇāt (MBh.) having heard that from the troop of friends; vāyur antarikṣād abhāṣata (MBh.) the wind spoke from the shy.
- a. Hence also, procedure as from a cause or occasion is signified by the ablative: this is especially frequent in the later language, and in technical phraseology is a standing construction; it borders on instrumental constructions. Thus, vájrasya çúṣṇād dadāra (RV.) from (by reason of) the fury of the thunderbolt he burst asunder; yasya daṇḍabhayāt sarve dharmam anurudhyanti (MBh.) from fear of whose rod all are constant to duty; akāramiçritatvād ekārasya (Tribh.) because e contains an element of a.
- b. Very rarely, an ablative has the sense of after: thus, agacchann ahorātrāt tīrtham (MBh.) they went to the shrine after a whole day; takārāt sakāre takāreņa (APr.) after t, before s, is inserted t
- 292. One or two special applications of the ablative construction are to be noticed:
- a. The ablative with words implying fear (terrified recoil from): thus, tásyā jātāyāḥ sárvam abibhet (AV.) everything was afraid of her at her birth; yásmād réjanta kṛṣṭáyaḥ (RV.) at whom mortals tremble; yuṣmád bhiyā (RV.) through fear of you; yasmān no 'dvijate lokaḥ (BhG.) of whom the world is not afraid.
- b. The ablative of comparison (distinction from): thus, prá ririce divá índrah pṛthivyāḥ (RV.) Indra is greater than the heaven and the earth. With a comparative, or other word used in a kindred way, the ablative is the regular and almost constant construction: thus, svādóḥ svādīyaḥ (RV.) sweeter than the sweet; kim tasmād duḥkhataram (MBh.) what is more painful than that? ko mitrād anyaḥ (II.) who else than a friend; gā avṛīthā mat (AB.) thou hast chosen the kine rather than me; ajñebhyo granthinah creṣṭhā granthibhyo dhāriṇo varāḥ (M.) possessors of texts are better than ignorant men; rememberers are better than possessors; tad anyatra tvan ni dadhmasi (AV.) we set this down elsewhere (away) from thee; pūrvā viçvasmād bhūvanāt (RV.) carlier than all beings.
- c. Occasionally, a probably possessive genitive is used with the comparative; or an instrumental (as in a comparison of equality): thus. Whitney, Grammar. 3.ed.

- nā 'sti dhanyataro mama (R.) there is no one more fortunate than I (i. e. my superior in fortune); putrain mama prāṇāir garīyasam (MBh.) a son dearer than my life.
- d. Occasionally, an ablative is used instead of a partitive genitive: thus, mithunād ekam jaghāna (R.) be slew one out of the pair: tebhya ekam (KSS.) one of them.
- 293. The ablative is used with a variety of prepositions and words sharing a prepositional character (1128); but all these have rather an adverbial value, as strengthening or defining the *from*-relation, than any proper governing force. We may notice here:
- a. In the Veda, ádhi and pári are much used as directing and strengthening adjuncts with the ablative: as, jātó himávatas pári (AV.) born from the Himalaya (forth); samudrád ádhi jajñişe (AV.) thou art born from the ocean; cárantam pári tasthúşah (RV.) moviny forth from that which stands fast.
- b. Also purá (and purás), in the sense of forward from, and hence before: as, purá járasah (RV.) before old age: and hence also, with words of protection and the like, from: as çaçamānáh purá nidáh (RV.) securing from ill-will.
- c. Also å, in the sense of hither from, all the way from: as, å mulad ånu çuşyatu (AV.) let it dry completely up from the root; tásmād ás nadyò nāma atha (AV.) since that time ye are called rivers. But usually, and especially in the later language, the measurement of interval implied in å is reversed in direction, and the construction means all the way to, until: as yati giribhya å samudråt (RV.) going from the mountains to the ocean; å 'syá yajñásyo 'dýcaḥ (VS.) until the end of this sacrifice; å sodaçāt (M.) till the sixteenth year; å pradānāt (C.) until her marriage.
- 294. Uses of the Genitive. a. The proper value of the genitive is adjectival; it belongs to and qualifies a noun, designating something relating to the latter in a manner which the nature of the case, or the connection, defines more nearly. Other genitive constructions, with adjective or verb or preposition, appear to arise out of this, by a more or less distinctly traceable connection.
- b. The use of the genitive has become much extended, especially in the later language, by attribution of a noun-character to the adjective, and by pregnant verbal construction, so that it often bears the aspect of being a substitute for other cases—as dative, instrumental, ablative, locative.
- 295. The genitive in its normal adjective construction with a noun or pronoun is classifiable into the usual varieties: as, genitive of possession or appurtenance, including the complement of implied relation—this is, as elsewhere, the commonest of all; the so-called partitive genitive; the subjective and objective genitives; and so on. Genitives of apposition of

equivalence (city of Rome), and of characteristic (man of honor), do not occur, and hardly that of material (house of wood). Examples are: indrasya vájrah Indra's thunderbolt; pitā putrāṇām father of sons; putraḥ pituh son of the father; pituh kāmaḥ putrasya the father's love of the son; ke naḥ which of us; çatam dāsīnām a hundred female slaves.

- a. The expression of possession etc. on the part of pronouns is made almost entirely by the genitive case, and not by a derived possessive adjective (516).
- b. Exceptional cases like nagarasya mārgaḥ the road to the city (cf. le chemin de Paris), yasyā 'ham dūta īpsitaḥ (MBh.) as messenger to whom I am wanted, are occasionally met with.

296. The genitive is dependent on an adjective:

- a. A so-called partitive genitive with a superlative, or another word of similar substantival value: thus, crestham vīrāṇām best of heroes: vīrūdhām vīryavatī (AV.) of plants the mighty (mightiest) one.
- b. Very often, by a transfer of the possessive genitive from noun to adjective, the adjective being treated as if it had noun-value: thus, tasya samah or anurupah or sadrçah resembling him (i. e. his like); tasya priyā dear to him (his dear one); tasyā 'viditam unknown to him (his unknown thing); havyaç carşanam (RV.) to be sacrificed to by mortals (their object of sacrifice); Ipsito naranārīnām (MBh.) desired of men and women (their object of desire); yasya kasya prasūtah (H.) of whomsoever born (his son); hantavyo 'smi na te (MBh.) I am not to be slain of thee; kim arthinām vancayitavyam asti (H.) why should there be a deceiving of suppliants?
- c. In part, by a construction similar to that of verbs which take a genitive object: thus, abhijñā rājadharmāṇām (R.) understanding the duties of a king.

297. The genitive as object of a verb is:

- a. A possessive genitive of the recipient, by pregnant construction, with verbs signifying give, impart, communicate, and the like: thus, varān pradāyā 'sya (MBh.) having bestowed gifts upon him (made them his by bestowed); rājňo niveditam (H.) it was made known to the king (made his by knowledge); yad anyasya pratijňāya punar anyasya diyate (M.) that after being promised to one she is given to another. This construction, by which the genitive becomes substitute for a dative or locative, abounds in the later language, and is extended sometimes to problematic and difficult cases.
- b. A (in most cases, probably) partitive genitive, as a less complete or less absolute object than an accusative: thus, with verbs meaning partake (eat, drink, etc.), as piba sutasya (AV.) drink (of) the soma; madhvah pāyaya (RV.) cause to drink the sweet draught; with verbs meaning impart (of the thing imparted) etc., as dadāta no amtasya (RV.) bestow upon us immortality; with verbs meaning enjoy, be satisfied or filled

- with: as, matsy andhasah (RV.) do thou enjoy the juice; ajyasya pūrayanti (S.) they fill with butter; with verbs meaning perceive, note, care for, regard with feeling of various kinds: as, vasisthasya stuvata indro acrot (RV.) Indra listened to Vasishtha who was praising him; yatha mama smarat (AV.) that he may think of me; tasya cukopa (MBh.) he was angry at him.
- o. A genitive of more doubtful character, with verbs meaning rule or have authority: as, tvåm īçişe vásūnām (RV.) thou art lord of good things; yāthā 'ham eṣām virājāni (AV.) that I may rule over them; katham mṛtyuh prabhavati vedaçāstravidām (M.) how has death power over those who know the Vedas and treatises?
- d. A genitive, instead of an ablative, is sometimes found used with a verb of receiving of any kind (hearing included), and with one of fearing. thus, yo rājňah pratigṛhṇāti lubdhasya (M.) whoever accepts a gift from a greedy king; çṛṇu me (MBh.) learn from me; bibhīmas tava (MBh.) we are afraid of thee.
- 298. A genitive in its usual postossive sense is often found as predeate, and not seldom with the copula omitted: thus, yatha 'so mama kévalah (AV.) that thou mayest be wholly mine; sarvah sampattayas tasya samtustam yasya manasam (II.) all good fortunes are his who has a contented mind:—as objective predicate, bhartuh putram vijā-o nanti (M.) they recognise a son as the husband's.
- 299. a. The prepositional constructions of the genitive (1130) are for the most part with such prepositions as are really noun-cases and have the government of such: thus, agre, arthe, kyte, and the like; also with other prepositional words which, in the general looseness of use of the genitive, have become assimilated to these. A few more real prepositions take the genitive: either usually, like upári above, or occasionally, like adhás, antár, áti.
- b. A genitive is occasionally used in the older language with an adverb, either of place or of time: thus, yatra kva ca kuruksetrasya (QB.) in whatever part of Kurukshetra; yatra tu bhumer jäyeta (MS.) on what spot of earth he may be born; idanim ahnah (RV.) at this time of the day; yasya ratryah pratah (MS.) on the morn of what night; dvih samvatsarasya (K.) twice a year. Such expression as the last occur also later.
- 300. a. The genitive is very little used adverbially; a few genitives of time occur in the older language: as, aktos by night, vastos by day; and there are found later such cases as kasya cit kālasya (Ç) after a certain time; tataḥ kālasya mahataḥ prayayāu (R.) then after a long time he went forth.
- b. A genitive, originally of possession, passing over into one of general concernment, comes in the later language (the construction is unknown earlier) to be used absolutely, with an agreeing participle, or quite rarely

an adjective. Form such cases as the following - pacyato bakamurkhasya nakulāir bhaksitāh sutāh (II.) of the foolish heron, while he looked on, the young were eaten by the ichneumons, or gato 'rdharātraḥ kathāḥ kathayato mama (KSS.) half my night was passed in telling stories, or kartavyasya karmanah ksipram akriyamanasya kalah pibati tadrasam (II.) of a work needing to be done but left undone time quickly drinks up its essence - come into currency, by increasing independence of the genitive, such other cases as: divam jagāma munīnām pacyatām tadā (R.) he went then to heaven, the ascetics looking on; evam lālapatas tasya devadūtas tadā 'bhyetya vākyam āha (MBh.) as he thus lamented, a divine messenger coming addressed him; iti vadina eva 'sya dhenur avavrte vanat (Ragh.) while he thus spoke, the cow came from the forest. The genitive always indicates a living actor, and the participle is usually one of seeing or hearing or uttering, especially the former. The construction is said by the Hindu grammarians to convey an implication of disregard or despite; and such is often to be recognized in it, though not prevailingly.

- 301. Uses of the Locative. a. The locative is properly the in-case, the case expressing situation or location; but its sphere of use has been somewhat extended, so as to touch and overlap the boundaries of other cases, for which it seems to be a substitute.
- b. Unimportant variations of the sense of in are those of amid or among, on, and at. Of course, also, situation in time as well as place is indicated by the case; and it is applied to yet less physical relations, to sphere of action and feeling and knowledge, to state of things, to accompanying circumstance; and out of this last grows the frequent use of the locative as the case absolute.
- c. Moreover, by a pregnant construction, the locative is used to denote the place of rest or cessation of action or motion (into or on to instead of in or on; German in with accusative instead of dative: compare English there for thither).
- 302. a. The locative of situation in space hardly needs illustration. An example or two sie: yé devá diví sthá (AV.) which of you gods are in heaven; na deveşu na yakşeşu tādrk (MBh.) not among gods or Yakshas is such a one; párvatasya prsthé (RV.) on the ridge of the mountain; vidáthe santu deváh (RV.) may the gods be at the assembly; daçame pade (MBh.) at the tenth step.
- b. The locative of time indicates the point of time at which anything takes place: thus, asyā uṣāso vyùṣṭāu (RV.) at the shining forth of this dawn; etasminn eva kāle (MBb.) at just that time; dvādaçe varṣe (MBb.) in the twelfth year. That the accusative is occasionally used in this sense, instead of the locative, was pointed out above (276 c).
- c. The person with whom, instead of the place at which, one is or remains is put in the locative: thus, tisthanty asmin paçavah (MS.) animals abide with him; gurāu vasan (M.) living at a teacher's; and, pregnantly, tāvat tvayi bhavisyāmi (MBh.) so long will I cleave to thee.

- 303. The locative of sphere or condition or circumstance is of ve.y frequent use: thus, made ahim indro jaghana (RV.) in fury Indra slew the dragon; mitrasya sumataŭ syama (RV.) may we be in the favor of Mitra; te vacane ratam (MBh.) delighted in thy words.
- a. This construction is, on the one hand, generalized into an expression for in the matter or case of, or with reference to, respecting, and takes in the later language a very wide range, touching upon genitive and dative constructions: thus, 6 main bhaja grame aqvesu gosu (AV.) be generous to him in retainers, in horses, in cattle; tam it sakhitva īmahe (RV.) him we beg for friendship; upāyo 'yam mayā drīta ānayane tava (MBh.) this means was devised by me for (with reference to) bringing thee hither; satītve kāraņam striyāh (H.) the cause of (in the case of) a woman's chastity; na qakto 'bhavan nivāraņe (MBh.) he was not capable of preventing.
- b. On the other hand, the expression by the locative of a condition of things in which anything takes place, or of a conditioning or accompanying circumstance, passes over into a well-marked absolute construction, which is known even in the carliest stage of the language, but becomes more frequent later. Transitional examples are: have two sura údite have madhyamdine divan (RV.) I call to thee at the arisen sun (when the sun has risen), I call at midtime of the day; aparadhe krte 'pi ca na me kopan (MBb.) and even in case of an offence committed, there is no anger on my part.
- c. The normal condition of the absolute construction is with a participle accompanying the noun: thus, stīrņé barhişi samidhāné agnāú (RV.) when the barhis is strewn and the fire kindled; kāle cubhe prāpte (MBh.) a propitious time having arrived; avasannāyām rātrāv astācalacūdāvalambini candramasi (H.) the night having drawn to a close, and the moon resting on the summit of the western mountain.
- d. But the noun may be wanting, or may be replaced by an adverbial substitute (as evam, tathā, iti): thus, varsati when it rains; [sūrye] astamite after sunset; ādityasya dfçyamāne (S.) while there is seen [some part] of the sun; ity ardhokte (Ç.) with these words half uttered; asmābhiḥ samanujhāte (MBh.) it being fully assented to by us; evam ukte kalinā (MBh.) it being thus spoken by Kali; tathā 'nusthite (II) it being thus accomplished. So likewise the participle may be wanting (a copula sati or the like having to be supplied): thus, dūre bhaye the cause of fear being remote; while, on the other hand, the participle sati etc. Is sometimes redundantly added to the other participle: thus, tathā kṛte sati it being thus done.
- e. The locative is frequently used adverbially or prepositionally (1116): thus, -arthe or -krte in the matter of, for the sake of; agre in front of; rewithout; samipe near.
- 304. The pregnant construction by which the locative comes to express the goal or object of motion or action or feeling exercised is ψ ot

uncommon from the earliest time. It is by no means to be sharply distinguished from the ordinary construction; the two pass into one another, with a doubtful territory between. It occurs:

- a. Especially with verbs, as of arriving, sending, placing, communicating, bestowing, and many others, in situations where an accusative or a dative (or a genitive, 297 a) might be looked for, and exchangeable with them: thus, sá id devésu gaochati (RV.) that, truly, goes to (to be among) the gods; imám no yajňám amítesu dhehi (RV.) set this offering of ours among the immortals; yá āsiñcánti rásam ósadhīsu (AV.) who pour in the juice into the plants (or, the juice that is in the plants); mā prayacche "çvare dhanam (H.) do not offer wealth to a lord; papāta medinyām (MBh.) he fell to (so as to be upon) the earth; skandhe kṛtvā (H.) putting on the shoulder; samçrutya pūrvam asmāsu (MBh.) having before promised us.
- b. Often also with nouns and adjectives in similar constructions (the instances not always easy to separate from those of the locative meaning with reference to: above, 303 a): thus, dayā sarvabhūteṣu compassion toward all creatures; anurāgam nāiṣadhe (MBh.) affection for the Nishadhan; rājā samyag vṛttaḥ sadā tvayi (MBh.) the king has always behaved properly toward thee.
- 305. The prepositions construed with the locative (1126) stand to it only in the relation of adverbial elements strengthening and directing its meaning.
 - 306. Declensional forms are made by the addition of endings to the stem, or base of inflection.
 - a. The stem itself, however, in many words and classes of words, is liable to variation, especially assuming a stronger form in some cases and a weaker in others.
 - b. And between stem and ending are sometimes inserted connecting elements (or what, in the recorded condition of the language, have the aspect of being such).
- c. Respecting all these points, the details of treatment, as exhibited by each class of words or by single words, will be given in the following chapters. Here, however, it is desirable also to present a brief general view of them.
- 307. Endings: Singular. a. In the nominative, the usual mase, and fem ending is s—which, however, is wanting in derivative a and I-stems; it is also euphonically lost (150) by consonant-stems. Neuters in general have no ending, but show in this case the bare stem; a-stems alone add m (as in the accus. masc.). Among the pronouns, am is a frequent masc, and fem nom ending (and is found even in du. and pl.); and neuters show a form in d.

- b. In the accusative, m or am is the masc. and fem. ending—am being added after a consonant and r, and after ī and ū in the radical division, and m elsewhere after vowels. The neuter accusative is like the nominative.
- c. The instrumental ending for all genders alike is ā. With final i- and u-vowels, the ā is variously combined, and in the older language it is sometimes lost by contraction with them. Stems in a make the case end in ena (sometimes enā in V.), and those in ā make it end in ayā; but instances occur, in the early language, of immediate addition of ā to both a and ā.
- d. The dative ending is in general e; and with it likewise the modes of combination of i and u final are various (and disappearance by contraction not unknown in the oldest language). The a-stems are quite irregular in this case, making it end in aya—excepted is the pronominal element-sma, which combines (apparently) with e to-smai. In the personal pronouns is found bhyam (or hyam).
- e. A fuller ending āi (like gen.-abl. ās and loc. ām: see below belongs to feminine stems only. It is taken (with interposed y) by the great class of those in derivative ā; also by those in derivative i, and (as reckoned in the later language) in derivative ū. And later it is allowed to be taken by feminine stems in radical ī and ū, and even by those in i and u: these last have it in the earliest language in only exceptional instances. For the substitution of āi for abl.-gen ās, see below, h.
- f. The ablative has a special ending, d (or t), only in a-stems, mase, and neut., the a being lengthened before it (except in the personal pronouns of 1st and 2d person, which have the same ending at in the pl., and even, in the old language, in the dual). Everywhere else, the ablative is identical with the genitive.
- g. The genitive of a-stems (and of one pronominal u-stem, amu) adds sya. Elsewhere, the usual abl.-gen. ending is as; but its irregularities of treatment in combination with a stem-final are considerable. With i and u, it is either directly added (only in the old language), added with interposed n, or fused to es and os respectively. With r (or ar) it yields ur (or us: 169 b).
- h. The fuller ās is taken by feminine stems precisely as āi is taken in the dative: see above. But in the language of the Brahmanas and Sūtras, the dative-ending āi is regularly and commonly used instead of ās, both of ablative and of genitive. See 365 d.
- i. The locative ending is i in consonant- and r- and a-stems (fusing with a to e in the latter). The i- and u-stems (unless the final vowel is saved by an interposed n) make the case end in āu; but the Veda has some relics or traces of the older forms (ay-i [?] and av-i) out of which this appears to have sprung. Vedic locatives

from i-stems end also in ā and ī. The pronominal element -sma makes the locative -smin. Stems in an in the older language often lose the i, and use the bare stem as locative.

- j. The ending am is the locative correspondent to dat. ai and abl.-gen. as, and is taken under the same circumstances: see above.
- k. The vocative (unless by accent: 314) is distinguished from the nominative only in the singular, and not quite always there. In a-stems, it is the unaltered stem, and so also in most consonant-stems; but neuters in an and in may drop the n; and the oldest language has sometimes a vocative in a from stems in nt and ns. Stems in r change this to ar. In masc. and fem. i- and u-stems, the case ends respectively in e and o; in neuters, in the same or in i and u. Stems in a change a to e; derivative I and u are shortened; radical stems in long yowels use the nominative form.
- 308. Dual. a. The dual has—except so far as the vocative is sometimes distinguished from nominative and accusative by a difference of accent: 314—only three case-forms. one for nom, accus., and voc.; one for instr., dat., and abl.; and one for gen. and loc.
- b. But the pronouns of 1st and 2d person in the older language distinguish five dual cases: see 492 b.
- e. The masc. and fem. ending for nom.-accus.-voc. is in the later language usually āu; but instead of this the Veda has prevailingly ā. Stems in ā make the case end in e. Stems in i and u, masc. and fem., lengthen those vowels; and derivative ī in the Veda remains regularly unchanged, though later it adds āu. The neuter ending is only ī; with final a this combines to e.
- d. The universal ending for the instr.-dat.-abl. is bhyām, before which final a is made long. In the Veda, it is often to be read as two syllables, bhiām.
- e. The universal ending of gen.-loc is os; before this, a and \bar{a} alike become e (ai).
- 309. Plural. a. In the nominative, the general masculine and femipine ending is as. The old language, however, often makes the case in āsas instead of ās from a-stems, and in a few examples also from ā-stems. From derivative ī-stems, īs instead of yas is the regular and usual Vedic form. Pronominal a-stems make the masc. nom. in e.
- b. The neuter ending (which is accusative also) is in general i; and before this the final of a stem is apt to be strengthened, by prolongation of a vowel, or by insertion of a nasal, or by both. But in the Veda the hence resulting forms in āni, īni, ūni are frequently abbreviated by loss of the ni, and sometimes by further shortening of the preceding vowel.

- c. The accusative ending is also as in consonant-stems and in the radical division of I- and U-stems (and in the old language even elsewhere). Stems in short vowels lengthen those yowels and add in the masculine n (for ns, of which abundant traces remain), and in the feminine s. In the neuter, this case is like the nominative.
- d. In the instrumental, the case-ending is everywhere bhis except in a-stems, where in the later language the case always ends in āis, but in the earlier either in āis or the more regular ebhis (ābhis in the two personal pronouns; and the pronominal stem a [501] makes ebhis only).
- e. The dative and ablative have in the plural the same form, with the ending bhyas (in Veda often bhias), before which only a is altered, becoming e. But the two personal pronouns distinguish the two cases, having for the ablative the singular ending (as above pointed out), and for the dative the peculiar bhyam (almost never in Veda bhiam), which they extend also into the singular.
- f. Of the genitive, the universal ending is am; which (except optionally after radical and u, and in a few scattering Vedic instances) takes after final vowels an inserted consonant, s in the pronominal declension, n elsewhere; before n, a short vowel is lengthened; before s, a becomes e. In the Veda, it is frequently to be pronounced in two syllables, as a-am
- g. The locative ending is su, without any exceptions, and the only change before it is that of a to e.
- h. The vocative, as in the dual, differs from the nominative only by its accent.
- 310. The normal scheme of endings, as recognized by the native grammarians (and conveniently to be assumed as the basis of special descriptions), is this:

-	-	,,	
	Singular.	Dual.	Plural.
	m. f. n.	m. f. n.	in. f. n.
N.	s	āu ī	as i
A.	am —	ău î	as i
I.	ã	bhyām	bhis
D.	е	bhyām	bhyas
Ab.	88	bhyām	bhyas
G.	as	08	ām
L.	i	os	R12

a. It is taken in bulk by the consonantal stems and by the radical division of \bar{i} - and \bar{u} -stems; by other vowel-stems, with more or less considerable variations and modifications. The endings which have almost or quite unbroken range, through stems of all classes, are bhyām and os of the dual, and bhis, bhyas, ām, and su of the plural.

- 311. Variation of Stem. a. By far the most important matter under this head is the distinction made in large classes of words (chiefly those ending in consonants) between strong and weak stem-forms - a distinction standing in evident connection with the phenomena of accent. In the nom. and accus. sing. and du. and the nom. pl. (the five cases whose endings are never accented: 316 a), the stem often has a stronger or fuller form than in the rest: thus, for example (424), মারানন্ rājān-am, ম্রানী rājānau, ग्रजानम् rajan-as, against ग्रज्ञा rajn-a and ग्रज्ञभिम् rajabhis; or (450 b) महातम mahant-am and (447) म्रहाम adantam against मह्ता mahat-á and ग्रहता adat-á. therefore, are called the cases with strong stem, or, briefly, the strong cases; and the rest are called the cases with weak stem, or the weak cases. And the weak cases, again, are in some classes of words to be distinguished into cases of weakest stem, or weakest cases, and cases of middle stem, or middle cases: the former having endings beginning with a vowel (instr., dat., abl.-gen., and loc. sing.; gen.-loc. du.; acc. and gen. pl.); the latter, with a consonant (instr.-dat.-abl. du.; instr., dat.-abl., and loc. pl.).
- b. The class of strong cases, as above defined, belongs only to masculine and feminine stems. In neuter inflection, the only strong cases are the nom.-acc. pl.; while, in those stems that make a distinction of weakest and middle form, the nom.-acc. du. belongs to the weakest class, and the nom.-acc. sing. to the middle: thus, for example, compare (408) प्रत्यश्च pratyáño-i, nom.-acc. pl. neut., and प्रत्यश्म pratyáño-as, nom. pl. masc.; प्रतीची pratīc-í, nom.-acc. du. neut., and प्रताचाम pratīc-ós, gen.-loc. du.; प्रताक pratyák, nom.-acc. sing. neut., and प्रताचाम pratyág-bhis, instr. pl.

312. Other variations concern chiefly the final vowel of a stem, and may be mainly left to be pointed out in detail below. Of consequence

enough to mention here is only the guna-strengthening of a final i or u which in the later language is always made before as of nom. pl. and e of dat. sing. in masc. and fem.; in the Veda, it does not always take place; nor is it forbidden in dat. sing. neut. also; and it is seen sometimes in loc. sing. Final r has guna-strengthening in loc, sing.

- 313. Insertions between Stem and Ending. After vowel-stems, an added n often makes its appearance before an ending. The appendage is of least questionable origin in nom.-acc. pl. neut., where the interchange in the old language of the forms of a- and i-stems with those of an- and in-stems is pretty complete; and the u-stems follow their analogy. Elsewhere, it is most widely and firmly established in the gen. pl., where in the great mass of cases, and from the earliest period, the ending is virtually nam after a vowel. In the i- and u-stems of the later language, the instr. sing. of mase, and neut, is separated by its presence from the fem., and it is in the other weakest cases made a usual distinction of neuter forms from masculine; but the aspect of the matter in the Veda is very differentthere the appearance of the n is everywhere sporadic; the neuter shows no special inclination to take it, and it is not excluded even from the feminine. In the ending ena from a-stems (later invariable, earlier predominating) its presence appears to have worked the most considerable transformation of original shape.
- a. The place of n before gen. pl. $\bar{a}m$ is taken by s in pronominal a- and $\bar{a}\text{-stems},$
- b. The y after ā before the endings āi, ās, and ām is most probably an insertion, such as is made elsewhere (258).

Accept in Declension.

- 314. a. As a rule without exception, the vocative, if accented at all, is accented on the first syllable.
- b. And in the Veda (the case is a rare one), whenever a syllable written as one is to be pronounced as two by restoration of a semivowel to vowel form, the first element only has the vocative accent, and the syllable as written is circumflex (83-4): thus, dyāùs (i. e. diāus) when dissyllabic, but dyāús when monosyllabic; jyāke when for jiāke.
- c. But the vocative is accented only when it stands at the beginning of a sentence—or, in verse, at the beginning also of a metrical division or pāda; elsewhere it is accentless or enclitic: thus. ágne yám yajñám paribhūr ási (RV.) O Agni! whatever offering thou protectest; but úpa tvā 'gna é 'masi (RV.) unto thee, Agni, ne come.
- d. A word, or more than one word, qualifying a vocative usually an adjective or appositive noun, but sometimes a dependent noun in the genitive (very rarely in any other case) constitutes, so far as accent is

- concerned, a unity with the vocative: thus (all the examples from RV.), at the beginning of a pāda, with first syllable of the combination accented, indra brātah O brother Indra! rājan soma O king Soma! yaviştha dūta most youthful messenger! hotar yaviştha sukrato most youthful skilled offerer! Ūrjo napāt sahasvan mighty son of strength!— in the interior of a pāda, without accent, somāsa indra girvaņah the somas, O song-loving Indra! tāv açvinā bhadrahastā supānī ye, O Açvins of propitious and beautiful hands! ā rājānā maha rtasya gopā hither, ye two kingly guardians of great order!
- e. On the other hand, two or more independent or coordinate vocatives at the beginning of a pāda are regularly and usually both accented: thus, pitar mātaḥ O father! O mother! agna indra varuṇa mitra dévāḥ Agni! Indra! Varuṇa! Mitra! gods! catamūte catakrato thou of a hundred aids! of a hundred arts! vasistha cukra didivaḥ pāvaka best, bright, shining, cleansing one! ūrjo napād bhadraçoce son of strength, propitiously bright one! But the texts offer occasional irregular exceptions both to this and to the preceding rule.
- f. For brevity, the vocative dual and plural will be given in the paradigms below along with the nominative, without taking the trouble to specify in each instance that, if the latter be accented elsewhere than on the first syllable, the accent of the vocative is different.
- 315. As regards the other cases, rules for change of accent in declension have to do only with monosyllables and with stems of more than one syllable which are accented on the final; for, if a stem be accented on the penult, or any other syllable further back—as is sárpant, vári, bhágavant, sumánas, sahásravāja—the accent remains upon that syllable through the whole inflection (except in the vocative, as explained in the preceding paragraph).
 - a. The only exceptions are a few numeral stems: see 483.
- 316. Stems accented on the final (including monosyllables) are subject to variation of accent in declension chiefly in virtue of the fact that some of the endings have, while others have not, or have in less degree, a tendency themselves to take the accent. Thus:
- a. The endings of the nominative and accusative singular and dual and of the nominative plural (that is to say, of the strong cases: 311) have no tendency to take the accent away from the stem, and are therefore only accented when a final vowel of the stem and the vowel of the ending are blended together into a single vowel or diphtlong. Thus, from dattá come dattáu (= dattá + āu) and dattás (= dattá + as); but from nadí come nadyāu (= nadī + āu) and nadyàs (= nadī + as).
- b. All the other endings sometimes take the accent; but those beginning with a vowel (i. c. of the weakest cases: 311) do so more readily than those beginning with a consonant (i. e of the middle cases: 311). Thus, from nāús come nāvā and nāubhís; from mahánt, however, come mahatā but mahádbhis.

The general rules of accent, then, may be thus stated:

- 317. In the declension of monosyllabic stems, the accent falls upon the ending in all the weak cases (without distinction of middle and weakest): thus, nāvā, nāubhyām, nāvām, nāuṣú; vācí, vāgbhís, vācām, vākṣú.
- a. But some monosyllable stems retain the accent throughout: thus, góbhis, gávām, góṣu. For such cases, see below, 350, 361 c, d, 372, 390, 427. And in the acc. pl. the stem is even oftener accented than the ending, some words also admitting either accentuation.
- 318. Of polysyllabic stems ending in consonants, only a few shift the accent to the ending, and that in the weakest (not the middle) cases. Such are:
- a. Present participles in ant or at: thus, from tudant, tudata and tudatos and tudatam; but tudadbhyam and tudatsu.
- b. A few adjectives having the form of such participles, as mahatá, brhatás.
- c. Stems of which the accented final loses its syllabic character by syncopation of the vowel: thus, majjñā, mūrdhné, dāmnás (from majján etc.: 423).
 - d. Other sporadic cases will be noticed under the different declensions
- e. Case-forms used adverbially sometimes show a changed accent: see 1110 ft.
- 319. Of polysyllabic stems ending in accented short vowelthe final of the stem retains the accent if it retains its syllabic identity: thus, datténa and dattäya from dattá; agnínā and agnáye from agní; and also dattébhyas, agníbhis, and so on. Otherwise, the accent is on the ending: and that, whether the final and the ending are combined into one, as in dattāis, dhenāú, agnín, dhenús, and so on: or whether the final is changed into a semivowel before the ending: thus, dhenvā, pitrā, jāmyós, bāhvós, etc.
- a. But ām of the gen. pl. from stems in f and ú and ý may, and in the older language always does, take the accent, though separated by n from the stem: thus, agnīnām, dhenūnām, pitṛṇām. In RV., even derivative ī-stems show usually the same shift: thus, bahvīnām. Of stems in á only numerals (483 a) follow this rule: thus, saptānām, daçānām.
- 320. Root-words in $\bar{\mathbf{i}}$ and $\bar{\mathbf{u}}$ as final members of compounds retain the accent throughout, not shifting it to any of the endings. And in the older language there are polysyllabic words in long final vowels which follow in this respect as in others the analogy of the root-declension (below, 355 ff.) Apart from those, the treatment of stems in derivative long vowels is, a regards accent, the same as of those in short vowels save that the time is not thrown forward upon the ending in gen. plural.

CHAPTER V.

NOUNS AND ADJECTIVES.

- 321. a. The accordance in inflection of substantive and adjective stems is so complete that the two cannot be separated in treatment from one another.
- b. They may be classified, for convenience of description, as follows:
 - I. Stems in 羽 a;
 - II. Stems in 3 i and 3 u;
- III. Stems in 知 ā, 衰 ī, and ज ū: namely, A. radicalstems (and a few others inflected like them); B. derivative stems;
- IV. Stems in য়া r (or সমু ar);
 - V. Stems in consonants.
- c. There is nothing absolute in this classification and arrangement; it is merely believed to be open to as few objections as any other. No general agreement has been reached among scholars as to the number and order of Sanskrit declensions. The stems in a are here treated first because of the great predominance of the class.
- 322. The division-line between substantive and adjective, always an uncertain one in early Indo-European language, is even more wavering in Sanskrit than elsewhere. There are, however, in all the declensions as divided above unless we except the stems in r or ar words which are distinctly adjectives; and, in general, they are inflected precisely like noun-stems of the same final: only, among consonant-stems, there are certain sub-classes of adjective stems with peculiarities of inflection to which there is among nouns nothing corresponding. But there are also two considerable classes of adjective-compounds, requiring special notice: namely —
- 323. Compound adjectives having as final member a bare verbal root, with the value of a present participle (383 a ff.): thus, su-dfc well-looking; pra-budh foreknowing; a-drun not hating; veda-vid Veda-knowing; vrtra-hun Vitra-slaying; upastha-sud sitting in the lap. Every root is liable to be used in this way, and such compounds are not infrequent in all ages of the language: see chapter on Compounds, below (1269).

- a. This class is essentially only a special class of compound adjectives, since in the earliest Veda the simple as well as the compounded root was sometimes used adjectively. But the compounded root was from the beginning much more often so used, and the later the more exclusively, so that practically the class is a separate and important one.
- 324. Compound adjectives having a noun as final member, but obtaining an adjective sense secondarily, by having the idea of possession added, and being inflected as adjectives in the three genders (1293 ff.). Thus, prajākāmá desire of progeny, whence the adjective prajākāma, meaning desirous (i. e. having desire) of progeny; sabhārya (sa+bhāryā) having one's wife along; and so on.
- a. In a few cases, slso, the final noun is syntactically object of the preceding member (1309-10): thus, atimātra immoderate (ati mātram beyond measure); yāvayaddveṣas driving away enemies.
- 325. Hence, under each declension, we have to notice how a root or a noun-stem of that declension is inflected when final member of an adjective compound.
- a. As to accent, it needs only to be remarked here that a root-word ending a compound has the accent, but (320) loses the peculiarity of monosyllabic accentuation, and does not throw the tone forward upon the ending (except ane in certain old forms: 410).

Declension I.

Stems (masculine and neuter) in A a.

- 326. a. This declension contains the majority of all the declined stems of the language.
- b. Its endings deviate more widely than any others from the normal.
- 327. Endings: Singular. a. The nom. mase, has the normal ending ${\bf s}$.
- b. The acc. (masc. and neut.) adds m (not am); and this form has the office also of nom. neuter.
- c. The instr. changes a to ena uniformly in the later language, and even in the oldest Vedic this is the predominant ending (in RV., cight ninths of all cases). Its final is in Vedic verse frequently made long (enā) But the normal ending ā—thus, yajñā, suhāvā, mahitvā (for yajñēna etc.)—is also not rare in the Veda.
- d. The dat. has aya (as if by adding aya to a), alike in all age of the language.
- e. The abl. has t (or doubtless d: it is impossible from the evidence of the Sanskrit to tell which is the original form of the ending).

before which a is made long: this ending is found in no other noundeclension, and elsewhere only in the personal pronouns (of all numbers).

- f. The gen. has sya added to the final a; and this ending is also limited to a-stems (with the single exception of the pronoun amúşya: 501). Its final a is in only three cases made long in the Veda; and its y is vocalized (asia) almost as rarely.
- g. The loc. ends in Θ (as if by combining the normal ending i with the final of the stem), without exception.
 - h. The voc. is the bare stem.
 - 328. Dual. a. The dual endings in general are the normal ones.
- b. The nom., acc., and voc. masc. end in the later language always in $\bar{a}u$. In the Veda, however, the usual ending is simple \bar{a} (in RV., in seven eighths of the occurrences). The same cases in the neut. end in e, which appears to be the result of fusion of the stem-final with the normal ending \bar{a} .
- c. The instr., dat., and abl. have bhyām (in only one or two Vedic instances resolved into bhiām), with the stem-final lengthened to ā before it.
- d. The gen. and loc. have a y inserted after the stem-final before os (or as if the a had been changed to e). In one or two (doubtful) Vedic instances (as also in the pronominal forms enos and yos), os is substituted for the final a.
- 329. Plural. a. The nom. masc. has in the later language the normal ending as combined with the final a to ās. But in the Veda the ending āsas instead is frequent (one third of the occurrences in RV., but only one twenty-fifth in the peculiar parts of AV.).
- b. The acc. masc. ends in an (for earlier ans, of which abundant traces are left in the Veda, and, under the disguise of apparent euphonic combination, even in the later language: see above, 208 ft.).
- c. The now, and acc. neut, have in the later language always the ending $\bar{a}ni$ (like the an-stems: see 421; or else with n, as in the gen. pl., before normal i). But in the Veda this ending alternates with simple \bar{a} (which in RV, is to $\bar{a}ni$ as three to two, in point of frequency; in AV., as three to four).
- d. The instr. ends later always in āis; but in the Veda is found abundantly the more normal form ebhis (in RV., nearly as frequent as āis; in AV., only one fifth as frequent).
- e. The dat. and abl. have bhyas as ending, with e instead of the final a before it (as in the Vedic instr. ebhis, the loc. pl., the gen. loc. du. [9], and the instr. sing.). The resolution into ebhias is not infrequent in the Veda.
- f. The gen. ends in $\bar{\mathbf{a}}$ n $\bar{\mathbf{a}}$ m, the final \mathbf{a} being lengthened and having \mathbf{n} inserted before the normal ending. The $\bar{\mathbf{a}}$ of the ending is not seldom '(in less than half the instances) to be read as two syllables, $\bar{\mathbf{a}}$ am: opinions are divided as to whether the resolution is historical or metrical only. A

very small number (half-a-dozen) of examples of simple ām as ending instead of anam occur in RV.

g. The loc. ends in equ — that is to say, with the normal ending, before which the stem-final is changed to e (with consequent change of s to s: 180).

h. Of accent, in this declension, nothing requires to be said; the syllable accented in the stem retains its own accent throughout.

330. Examples of declension. As examples of the inflection of a-stems may be taken नाम kama m. love; देव devá m. god; सास्य asyà n. mouth.

Singular:

N.	- कामम्	देवम्	ग्रास्यम्		
	kāmas	devás	āsyàm		
A.	कामम्	देवम्	ग्रास्यम्		
	kāmam	devám	āsyàm		
I.	कामेन	देवेग	ग्रास्येन		
	kámena	devéna	āsyèna		
D.	कामाय	देवाय	ग्रास्याय		
	kámãya	deváya	āsy ày a		
Ab.	कामात्	देवात्	ग्रास्यात्		
	kámāt	devát	āsyāt		
G.	कामस्य	देवस्य	म्रास्यस्य		
	kámasya	devásya	āsyàsya		
L.	कामे	देवे	म्रास्ये		
	káme	devé	ãsyè		
v.	काम	देव	म्रास्य		
	káma	déva	ásya		
Dual:					
N. A. V	. कामी	देवी	ग्रास्ये		
	kámāu	devāú	ās y è		
I. D. Ab.	कामाभ्याम्	देवाभ्याम्	म्रास्याभ्याम्		
	kämābhyām	devábhyām	āsyābhyām		
G. L.	कामयोस्	देवयोम्	ग्रास्ययोम्		
	kāmayos	deváyos	ãsyà y os		
Plural:					
N. V.	कामाम्	देवास्	म्रास्यानि		
	kāmās	devās	āsyāni		

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A.	कामान्	देवान्	म्रास्यानि
	kámān	deván	āsyāni
I.	कामैम्	देवैम्	म्रास्येम्
	kámāis	devāis	āsyāls
D. Ab.	कामेभ्यम्	देवेभ्यम्	म्रास्येभ्यम्
	kámebhyas	devébbyas	āsyèbhyas
G.	कामानाम्	देवानाम्	ग्रास्यानाम्
	kámānām	devánam	āsyānām È
L.	कामेषु	देवेषु	म्रास्येषु
	kámeşu	devésu	āsyèşu

Examples of the peculiar Vedic forms are:

- a. Sing.: instr. raváthenā, yajñā (such genitive forms as áçvasiā are purely sporadic).
 - b. Du.: nom. etc. masc. devä; gen.-loc. pastyòs (stem pastyà).
- c. Pl.: nom.-voc. masc. deväsas; neut. yugž; instr. devébhis; gen. caráthām, devānaam.
- 331. Among nouns, there are no irregularities in this declension. For irregular numeral bases in a (or an), see 483-4. For the irregularities of pronominal stems in a, which are more or less fully shared also by a few adjectives of pronominal kindred, see the chapter on Pronouns (495 ff).

Adjectives.

- 332. Original adjectives in a are an exceedingly large class, the great majority of all adjectives. There is, however, no such thing as a feminine stem in a; for the feminine, the a is changed to ā—or often, though far less often, to ī; and its declension is then like that of senā or devī (364). An example of the complete declension of an adjective a-stem in the three genders will be given below (368).
- a. Whether a masc.-neut. stem in a shall form its feminine in ā or in ī is a question to be determined in great part only by actual usage, and not by grammatical rule. Certain important classes of words, however, can be pointed out which take the less common ending ī for the feminine: thus, 1. the (very numerous) secondary derivatives in a with vṛddhi of the first syllable (1204): e. g. āmitrá -trī, mānuṣa -ṣī, pāvamāná -nī, pāur-ṇamāsá -sī; 2. primary derivatives in ana with accent on the radical syllable of (1150): e. g. códana -nī, saṃgráhaṇa -ṇī, subhāgaṃkáraṇa -nī; 3. primary derivatives in a, with strengthening of the radical syllable, having a quasi-participial meaning: e. g. divākará -rī, avakrāmá -mī,

rathavāhá -hí (but there are many exceptions); 4. secondary derivatives in maya (1225) and tana (1245 e): e. g. ayasmáya -yī; adyatana -nī; 5. most ordinal numerals (487 h): e. g. pañcamá -mí, navadaçá -çí, trinçattamá -mí. Not a few words make the feminine in either ā or ī: e. g. kévalā or -lī, ugrā or -rí, pāpā or -pí, rāmā or -mí; but ordinarily only one of these is accepted as regular.

- 333. There are no verbal roots ending in a. But a is sometimes substituted for the final ā of a root (and, rarely, for final an), and it is then inflected like an ordinary adjective in a (see below, 354).
- 334. a. A noun ending in a, when occurring as final member of an adjective compound, is inflected like an original adjective in a, making its feminine likewise in a or ī (367).
- b. For the most part, an adjective compound having a noun in a afinal member makes its feminine in ā. But there are numerous exceptions, certain nouns taking, usually or always, ī instead. Some of the commonst of these are as follows: akṣā eye (e. g. lohitākṣī, dvyakṣī, gavākṣī), parņa leaf (e. g. tilaparņī, saptaparņī; but ekaparņā), mukha face (e. g. kṛṣṇamukhī, durmukhī; but trimukhā etc.), anga limb, body (e. g. anavadyāngī, sarvāngī; but caturangā etc.), keça hair (e. g. sukeçī, muktakeçī or -çā, etc.), karņa ear (e. g. mahākarṇī; but gokarņā etc.), udara belly (e. g. lambodarī), mūla root (e. g. pangamūlī; but oftener çatāmūlā etc.). The very great majority of such nouns (as the examples indicate) signify parts of the body.
- c. On the other hand, a feminine noun ending in derivative a shortens its final to a to form a masculine and neuter base: see $367\,\mathrm{c}$
- d. In frequent cases, nouns of consonant ending are, as finals of compounds, transferred to the a-declension by an added suffix a (1209 a) or ka (1222).

Declension II.

Stems (of all genders) in 3 i and 3 u.

- 335. The stems in ξ i and \Im u are inflected in so close accordance with one another that they cannot be divided into two separate declensions. They are of all the three genders, and tolerably numerous—those in ξ i more numerous than those in \Im u, especially in the feminine (there are more neuters in \Im u than in ξ i).
- a. The endings of this declension also differ frequently and widely from the normal, and the irregularities in the older language are numerous.

- 336. Endings: Singular. a. The nom. masc. and fem. adds to the stem the normal ending s. The nom. and acc. neut. is the bare stem, without ending. In the Veda, the final u of a few neuters is lengthened (243 b): thus, urt, purt.
- b. The acc. masc. and fem. adds m to the stem. Vedic forms in iam and uam, and, with n, inam and unam, are excessively rare, and doubtful.
- c. The iustr. fem. in the later language takes the normal ending ā simply, while the masc. and neut. insert n before it, making inā and unā. But in the Veda, forms in yā and vā (or iā and uā) are not infrequent in masc. and neut. also; while inā is found, very rarely, as a fem. ending. Moreover, fem. yā is often (in two thirds of the occurrences) contracted to ī; and this is even sometimes shortened to i. An adverbial instr. in uyā from half-a-dozen stems in u occurs.
- d. The dat. masc. and fem. gunates the final of the stem before the ending e, making aye and ave. These are the prevailing endings in the Veda likewise; but the more normal ye and ve (or ue) also occur; and the fem. has in this case, as in the instr., sometimes the form \(\bar{1}\) for ie. In the later language, the neuter is required in this, as in all the other weakest cases, to insert n before the normal ending: but in the Veda such forms are only sporadic; and the neut. dat. has also the forms aye, ve, ave, like the other genders.
- e. The abl. and gen. masc. and fem. have regularly, both earlier and later, the ending s with gunated vowel before it: thus, es, os; and in the Veda, the neut. forms the cases in the same way; although unas, required later, is also not infrequent (inas does not occur). But the normal forms yas (or ias) and vas (or uas) are also frequent in both masc. and neuter. As masc. ending, unas cocurs twice in RV. The anomalous didyot (so TS.; in the corresponding passages, vidyot VS., didyaut K., didivas MS.) is of doubtful character.
- f. The loc, mase, and fem. has for regular ending in the later language āu, replacing both finals, i and u. And this is in the Veda also the most frequent ending; but, beside it, the i-stems form (about half as often in RV.) their loc, in ā: thus, agnā; and this is found once even in the neuter. The RV has a number of examples of mase, and neut, locatives in avi (the normal ending and the u gunated before it) from u-stems; and certain doubtful traces of a corresponding ayi from i-stems. Half-adozen locatives in ī (regarded by the Vedic grammarians as pragrhya or uncombinable: 138 d) are made from i-stems. The later language makes the neuter locatives in ini and uni; but the former never occurs in the oldest texts, and the latter only very rarely.
- g. The later grammar allows the dat., abl.-gen., and loc. fem. to be formed at will with the fuller fem. terminations of long-vowel stems. namely āi, ās (for which, in Brāhmaṇa etc., āi is substituted: 307 h), ām. Such forms are quite rare in the oldest language even from i-stems (less than 40 occurrences altogether in RV.; three times as many in AV.); and from u-stems they are almost unknown (five in RV. and AV.).

- h. The voc. gunates the final of the stem, in masc. and fem., alike in the earlier and in the later language. In the neut., it is later allowed to be either of the same form or the unaltered stem; and this was probably the usage in the older time also; not instances enough are quotable to determine the question (AV. has u once, and VS. o once).
- 337. Dual. a. The later and earlier language agree in making the nom.-acc.-voc. masc. and fem. by lengthening the final of the stem. The same cases in the neuter (according to the rule given above) end later in inī and unī; but these endings are nearly unknown in the Veda (as, indeed, the cases are of only rare occurrence): AV. has inī twice (RV. perhaps once), VS. has unī once; RV. has uī from one u-stem, and ī, once shortened to i, from one or two i-stems.
- b. The unvarying ending of instr.-dat.-abl., in all genders, is bhyām added to the unchanged stem.
- c. The gen.-loc. of all ages add os to the stem in masc. and fem.; in neut., the later language interposes, as elsewhere in the weakest cases, a n; probably in the earlier Vedic the form would he like that of the other genders; but the only occurrence noted is one unos in AV.
- 338. Plural. a. The nom.-voc. masc. and fem. adds the normal ending as to the gunated stem-final, making ayas and avas. The exceptions in the Veda are very few: one word (ari) has ias in both genders, and few feminines have Is (like \(\bar{\bar{\text{1}}}\)-stems); a very few u-stems have uas. The neut. nom.-acc. ends later in \(\bar{\text{1ni}}\) in aid \(\bar{\text{0ni}}\) if from a: 329 c); but the Veda has \(\bar{\bar{\text{1}}}\) and \(\bar{\text{0}}\) (about equally frequent) much oftener than \(\bar{\text{1ni}}\); and \(\bar{\text{0}}\) and (more usually) u, more than half as often as \(\bar{\text{0ni}}\).
- b. The accus. masc. ends in īn and ūn, for older ins and ūns, of which plain traces remain in the Veda in nearly half the instances of occurrence, and even not infrequently in the later language, in the guise of phonetic combination (208 ft.). The accus. fem. ends in īs and ūs. But both masc. and fem. forms in ias and uas are found sparingly in the Veda.
 - c. The instr. of all genders adds bhis to the stem.
- d. The dat.-abl. of all genders adds bhyas (in V., almost never bhias) to the stem.
- e. The gen. of all genders is made alike in īnām and ūnām (of which the ā is not seldom, in the Veda, to be resolved into aam). Stems with accented final in the later language may, and in the earlier always do, throw forward the accent upon the ending.
 - f. The loc. of all genders adds su (as su: 180) to the stem-final.
- g. The accent is in accordance with the general rules already laid down, and there are no irregularities calling for special notice.
- 389. Examples of declension. As models of i-stems may be taken श्रीम agni m. fire; गति gáti f. gait; वारि vári n. water.

Si			
N.	श्र यिस्	गतिम्	वारि
	agnis	gátis	vári
A.	म्रिग्रिम्	गतिम्	वारि
	agním	gátim	vári
Y.	म्रग्रिना	गत्या	वारिणा
	agninā	gátyā	váriņā
D,	म्राये	गतये, गत्यैः	वारिणे
	agnáye	gátaye, gátyāi	váriņe
Ab. G.	श्रोम्	गतेम् गत्याम्	वारिणास्
	agnés	gátes, gátyās	váriņas
L.	म्रग्री	गती, गत्याम्	वारिणि
	agnāú	gátāu, gátyām	váriņi
v.	म्रो	गते	वारि, वारे
	ágne	gáte	vári, váre
Du	ial:	V	
N. A. V.	म्रग्नी	ਮ ਨੀ	वारिणी
	agnī	gátī	vāriņī
I.D.Ab.	ऋ ग्निभ्याम्	गतिभ्याम्	वारिभ्याम्
	agníbhyām	gátibhyām	váribhyām
G. L.	म्रःयोम्	गत्योम्	वारिणोम्
	agnyós	gátyos	váriņos
	aral:		20
N. V.	श्रमयम्	गतयम्	वारीणि
	agnáyas	gátayas	várīņi
A.	म्रग्नीन्	गतीस्	वारीणि
•	agnín	gátīs	várīņi
I.	म्र ियमिस्	गतिभिस्	वारिभिम्
	agníbhis	gátibhis	váribhis
D. Ab.	म्र ग्निभ्यम्	गतिभ्यम्	वारिभ्यम्
	agnibhyas	gátibhyas	váribhyas
G.	श्र यीनाम्	गतीनाम्	वारीणाम्
	agnīnām	gátīnām	värinām
L.	म्र ग्रिषु	गतिषु	वारिषु
	agnișu	gátişu	várisu

- 340. In order to mark more plainly the absence in Vedic language of some of the forms which are common later, all the forms of Vedic occurrence are added below, and in the order of their frequency.
 - a. Singular. Nom. agnis etc., as above.
- b. Acc.: masc. agnim, yayiam, ūrminam (?); fem. and neut. as above.
- c. Instr.: masc. agninā, rayyā and ūrmiā; fem. acittī, ūtiā, matyā, suvṛkti, dhāsinā; neut. wanting.
 - d. Dat.: masc. agnáye; fem. tujáye, ūtí, turyāí; neut. cúcaye.
- e. Gen.-abl.: masc. agnés, ávyas, ariás; fem. ádites, hetyás and bhúmiās; neut. bhúres.
- f. Loc.: masc. agnāú, agnā, ājáyi(?); fem. āgatāu, úditā, dhánasātayi(?), védī, bhúmyām; neut. apratā, saptáraçmāu.
 - g. Voc.: as above (neut. wanting).
- h. Dual. Nom.-acc.-voc.: masc. hárī; fem. yuvatí; neut. quei, máhi, hárinī(?).
 - i. Instr.-dat.-abl.; as above.
 - j. Gen.-loc.: masc. hários; fem. yuvatyós and jāmiós; neut. wanting.
- k. Plural. Nom.: masc. agnáyas; fem. matáyas, bhúmīs; neut. cúcī, bhúrī, bhúrīṇi.
 - 1. Accus.: masc. agnīn; fem. kṣitīs, çúcayas (?).
 - m. Instr., dat.-abl., and loc.: as above.
 - n. Gen.: masc. fem. kavīnām, rṣīṇaam etc. (neut. wanting).
- 341. As models of u-stems may be taken शत्रु çátru m. enemy; धेनु dhenú f. cow; मधु mádhu n. honey.

	Singular:	_	
N.	शत्रुम्	धेनुम्	मधु
	çátrus	dhenús	mádhu
A.	शत्रुम्	धेनुम्	मधु
	çátrum	dhenúm	mádhu
I.	शत्रुणा	धेन्वा	मधुना
	çátruņā	dhenvá	mádhuņā
D.	शत्रवे	ઘેનવે, ઘેન્વૈ	मधुने
	çátrave	dhenáve, dhenvší	mádhune
Ab.	o. शत्रोस्	धेनोस्, धेन्वास्	मधुनम्
	çátros	dhenós, dhenvás	mádhunas
L.	গ্নী	धेनी, धेन्वाम्	मधुनि
	çátrāu	dhenāú, dhenvám	mádhuni
v.	शत्रो	घेनो	मधु, मधो
	çátro	dhéno	mádhu, mádho

Du	al:		
N. A. V.	গরু	धेनू	मधुनी
	çátrū	dhenű	mádhunī
I. D. Ab.	शत्रुभ्याम्	धेनुभ्याम्	मधुभ्याम्
	çátrubhyām	dhenúbhyām	mádhubhyām
G. L.	शऋोम्	धेन्वोस्	मधुनोम्
	çátrvos	dhenvôs	mádhunos
Ph	aral:		
N. V.	शत्रवम्	धेनव म्	मधूनि
	çátravas	dhenávas	mádhűni
A.	शत्रृन्	धेनृम्	मधूनि
	çátrūn	dhenűs	mádhūni
I.	शत्रुभिस्	ઘેનુમિમ્	मधुभिस्
	çátrubhis	dhenúbhis	mádhubhis
D. Ab.	शत्रुभ्यम्	घेनुभ्यम्	मधुभ्यम्
	çátrubhyas	dhenúbhyas	mádhubhyas
G.	शत्रूगाम्	धेनूनाम्	मधूनाम्
	çátrūņām	dhenūnām	mádhūnām
L.	शत्रुषु	धेन्ष्	मधुषु
	cátrusu	dhenúşu	mádhuşu

342. The forms of Vedic occurrence are given here for the u-stems in the same manner as for the i-stems above.

- a. Singular. Nom.: masc. and fem. as above; neut. urú, urú.
 - b. Accus.: masc. ketúm, ábhīruam, sucetúnam(?); fem. dhenúm.
- c. Instr.: masc. ketúnā, paçvā and krátuā; fem. ádhenuā and panvā, āçuyā; neut. mádhunā, mádhvā.
- d. Dat.: masc. ketáve, çíçve; fem. çárave, íşvāi; neut. páçve(?), uráve, mádhune.
- e. Åbl. gen.: masc. manyos, pitvás, cárunas; fem. síndhos, ísvās; neut. mádhvas and mádhuas, mádhos, mádhunas.
- f. Loc.: masc. pūrāú, sūnávi; fem. síndhāu, rájjvām; neut. sānāu, sānavi, sāno, sānuni.
 - g. Voc.: as above.
- h. Dual. Nom.-acc.-voc.: masc. and fem. as above; neut. urví, .jānunī.
 - i. Instr.-dat.-abl.: as above.
 - j. Gen.-loc.: as above (but vos or uos).
- k. Plural. Nom.: masc. rbhávas, mádhuas and mádhvas; fem. dhenávas, çatakratvas; neut. purúni, purú, purú.

l. Accus.: masc. rtún, paçvás; fem. íşūs, mádhvas.

m. Instr., dat.-abl., and loc.: as above; also gen. (but with the resolution unaam in part).

- 343. Irregular declension. There are no irregular u-stems, and only a very few i-stems.
- a. Sákhi m. friend has for the five strong cases a peculiarly strengthened base (vriddhied), namely sákhāy, which in the nom. sing. is reduced to sákhā (without ending), and in the other cases takes the normal endings. The instr. and dat. sing. have the normal endings simply, without inserted n or guṇa; the abl.-gen. sing. adds us: and the loc. sing. adds āu: the rest is like agní. Thus:

Sing. sákhā, sákhāyam, sákhyā, sákhye, sákhyus, sákhyāu, sákhe; Du. sákhāyāu, sákhibhyām, sákhyos; Pl. sákhāyas, sákhīn, etc. etc.

- b. The Veda has usually sakhāyā du., and often resolves the y to i, in sakhiā, sakhius, etc. The compounds are usually declined like the simple word, unless (1315 b) sakha be substituted.
- c. There is a corresponding fem, sakhi (declined like devī: 364); but the forms of sakhi are also sometimes found used with feminine value
- d. Páti m. is declined regularly in composition, and when it has the meaning lord, master; when uncompounded and when meaning husband, it is inflected like sákhi in the instr., dat., abl.-gen., and loc. sing., forming pátyā, pátye, pátyus, pátyāu. There are occasional instances of confusion of the two classes of forms.
- e. For pati as final member of a possessive compound is regularly and usually substituted patnī in the fem:: thus, jīvapatnī having a living husband; dāsapatnī having a barbarian for master.
 - f. Jáni f. wife has the gen. sing. jányus in the Veda.
- g. Arí eager, greedy, hostile has in the Veda aryás in pl. nom. and accus., masc. and fem. Its accus. sing. is arim or aryám.
- h. Ví bird has in RV. the nom. vés (beside vís). In the plural it accents víbhis, víbhyas, but vínám.
- i. The stems aksi eye, asthi bone, dadhi curds, and sakthi thuyh, are defective, their forms exchanging with and complementing forms from stems in an (aksan etc.): see the stems in an, below (431).
- j. The stem pathi road is used to make up part of the inflection of panthan: see below, 433.
- k. Króstu m. jackal lacks the strong cases, for which the corresponding forms of krostr are substituted.

Adjectives.

344. Original adjective stems in i are few; those in u are much more numerous (many derivative verb-stems forming a participial

adjective in u). Their inflection is like that of nouns, and has been included in the rules given above. In those weak cases, however—namely, the dat., abl.-gen., and loc. sing., and the gen.-loc. dual—in which neuter nouns differ from masculines in the later language by an inserted n (we have seen above that this difference does not exist in the Veda), the neuter adjective is allowed to take either form. The stem is the same for masculine and neuter, and generally (and allowably always) for feminine also.

a. There are a few instances of a feminine noun in $\bar{\imath}$ standing (sometimes with changed accent) beside a masculine in $\bar{\imath}$: thus, krimi m., krimi f.; sákhi (343 a) m., sakhi f.; dundubhi m., dundubhī f.; dhúni m., dhunī f.; çakúni m., çakunī or -ni f. In the later language, especially, there is a very frequent interchange of $\bar{\imath}$ and $\bar{\imath}$ as finals of the same stem. No adjective in $\bar{\imath}$ makes a regular feminine in $\bar{\imath}$.

- b. With stems in u the case is quite different. While the feminine may, and in part does, end in u, like the masculine and neuter, a special feminine-stem is often made by lengthening the u to ū, or also by adding ī; and for some stems a feminine is formed into two of these three ways, or even in all the three: thus, kārū, -dipsū, çundhyū, cariṣṇi, vacasyū; -aṇvī, urvī, gurvī, pūrvī (with prolongation of u before recompare 245 b), bahvī, prabhvī, raghvī, sādhvī, svādvī; -pṛthu and pṛthvī, vibhū and vibhvī, mṛdū and mṛdvī, laghu and laghvī, vasu and vasvī; babhrū and babhrū, bībhatsū and bibhatsū, bhīrū and bhīrū; —tanú and tanū and tanvī, phalgū and phalgū and phalgū and phalgū, mādhu and madhū and mādhvī. There are also some femining noun-stems in ū standing (usually with changed accent) beside masculines in u: thus, ágru m., agrū f.; kādru m., kadrū f.; gúggulu m., guggulū f.; jatu m., jatū f.; pṛdāku m., pṛdākū f.
 - 345. Roots ending in i or u (or r: 376 b) regularly add a t when used as root-words or as root-finals of compounds; and hence there are no adjectives of the root-class in this declension.
 - a. Yet, in the Veda, a few words ending in a short radical u are declined as if this were suffixal: thus, asmrtadhru, susti; and the AV. has prtanāji (once). Roots in ū sometimes also shorten ū to u: thus, prabhis, vibhu, etc. (354); go (361e) becomes gu in composition; and re perhaps becomes ri (361e); while roots in ā sometimes apparently weaken ā to i (in -dhi from p'dhā etc.: 1155).
 - 346. Compound adjectives having nouns of this declension as final member are inflected in general like original adjectives of the same endings.
 - a. But in such compounds a final i or u is sometimes lengthened to form a femiuine stem: thus, sucroni, svayoni or -ni, -gātrayaṣṭi or -ti; vāmorū or -ru, durhaņū or -nu, varatanū, mātrbandhū; and RV. has ácicvi from cícu.

Declension III.

Stems in long vowels: য় ā, য় ī, ऊ ū.

847. The stems ending in long vowels fall into two well-marked classes or divisions: A. monosyllabic stems — mostly bare roots — and their compounds, with a comparatively small number of others inflected like them; B. derivative feminine stems in π and ξ τ , with a small number in τ τ which in the later language have come to be inflected like them. The latter division is by far the larger and more important, since most feminine adjectives, and considerable classes of feminine nouns, ending in τ τ τ or τ τ τ belong to it.

A. Root-words, and those inflected like them.

- 348. The inflection of these stems is by the normal endings throughout, or in the manner of consonant-stems (with হাম am, not ম m, in the accus. sing.); peculiarities like those of the other vowel-declensions are wanting. The simple words are, as nouns, with few exceptions feminine, as adjectives (rarely), and in adjective compounds, they are alike in masculine and feminine forms. They may, for convenience of description, be divided into the following subclasses:
- 1. Root-words, or monosyllables having the aspect of such. Those in ā are so rare that it is hardly possible to make up a whole scheme of forms in actual use; those in ī and ū are more numerous, but still very few.
- 2. Compounds having such words, or other roots with long final vowels, as last member.
- 3. Polysyllabic words, of various origin and character, including in the Veda many which later are transferred to other declensions.
- 4. As an appendix to this class we may most conveniently describe the half-dozen stems, mostly of regular inflection, ending in diphthongs.

- 349. Monosyllabic stems. Before the endings beginning with vowels, final \(\bar{\text{i}}\) is changed to iy and \(\bar{\text{u}}\) to uv; while final \(\bar{\text{a}}\) is dropped altogether, except in the strong cases, and in the acc. pl., which is like the nominative (according to the grammarians, \(\bar{\text{a}}\) is lost here also: no instances of the occurrence of such a form appear to be quotable). Stems in \(\bar{\text{a}}\) and \(\bar{\text{u}}\) are in the later language allowed to take optionally the fuller endings \(\bar{\text{a}}\)i, \(\bar{\text{a}}\), \(\bar{\text{m}}\) in the singular (dat., abl.-gen., loc.); but no such forms are ever met with in the Veda (except bhiy\(\bar{\text{a}}\)[P], RV., once). Before \(\bar{\text{a}}\) m of gen. pl., n may or may not be inserted; in the Veda it is regularly inserted, with a single exception (dhiy\(\bar{\text{a}}\)m, once). The vocative is like the nominative in the singular as well as the other numbers; but instances of its occurrence in uncompounded sten s are not found in the Veda, and must be extremely rare everywhere. The earlier Vedic dual ending is \(\bar{\text{a}}\) instead of \(\bar{\text{a}}\).
- 350. To the ī- and ū-stems the rules for monosyllabic accent apply: the accent is thrown forward upon the endings in all the weak cases except the accus. pl., which is like the nom. But the ā-stems appear (the instances are extremely few) to keep the accent upon the stem throughout.
- 351. Examples of declension. As models of monosyllabic inflection we may take st já f. progeny; tit dhí f. thought; and n bhú f. earth.
- a. The first of these is rather arbitrarily extended from the four cases which actually occur; of the loc. sing. and gen.-lcc. du., no Vedic examples from a-stems are found.

	Singular:	-	
N.	जाम्	धीम्	भूम्
	jás	dhís	bhtis
A,	न्नाम्	धियम्	भुवम्
	jấm	dhiyam	bhúvam
J,	न्ना	धिया	भुवा
	já	dhiyā	bhuvá
D. '	न्ने	धिये, धियै	મુ વે, મુવૈ
	jé	dhiyé, dhiyaí	bhuvé, bhuvāí
Ab. G	. जम्	धियस्, धियास्	भुवस्, भुवाम्
	jás	dhiyás, dhiyās	bhuvás,bhuvás
L.	ন্নি	धियि, धियाम्	મુવિ, મુવામ્
	jí	dhiyí, dhiyấm	bhuví, bhuvám
v.	ज्ञास्	धीस्	भूम्
	jás	dhís	bhús

Duai

N. A. V.	নী	धियौ	भ्वी
	jāú	dhíyāu	bhúvāu
I, D. Ab.	ज्ञाभ्याम <u>्</u>	धीभ्याम्	भूम्याम्
	jábhyām	dhībhyām	bhūbhyām
G. L.	जोम्	धियोस्	भुवोस्
	jós	dhiyós	bhuvós
F	lural:		
N.	जा म्	धियम्	भ्वम्
	jás	dhíyas	bhúvas
Λ.	जास् (जस्?)	धियम्	भुवस्
	jás, jás	dhíyas	bhúvas
I.	ज्ञाभिम्	धीभिम्	મૂ ગિમ્
	jábhis	dhībhís	bhūbhís
D. Ab.	ज्ञाभ्यम्	धीभ्यम्	भू -यस्
	jábhyas	dhībhyás	k hūbhyás
G.	ज्ञानाम् (ज्ञाम्?)	धियाम्, धीनाम्	भुवाम्, भूनाम्
	jánām, jám	dhiyam, dhīnam	bhuvám, bhūnám
L.	ज्ञामु	घीषु	भूष
	jásu	dhīșú	bhūṣú

352. Monosyllabic stems in composition. When the nouns above described occur as final member of a compound, or when any root in ā or ī or ū is found in a like position, the inflection of an ā-stem is as above. But ī- and ū-stems follow a divided usage: the final vowel before a vowel-ending is either converted into a short vowel and semivowel (iy or uv, as above) or into a semivowel simply y or v). The accent is nowhere thrown forward upon the endings: and therefore, when ī and ū become y and v, the resulting syllable is circumflex (83-4). Thus:

Masc. and fem. Singular:

N. V.	-dhís		-bhūs	
A.	-dhíyam	-dhyàm	-bhúvam	-bhvàm
I.	-dhíyā	-dhyā	-bhúvā	-bhvà
D.	-dhiye	-dhyè	-bhúve	-bhvè
Ab. G.	-dhiyas	-dhyàs	-bhúvas	-bhvàs
L.	-dhíyi	-dh y i	-bhúvi	-bhvì

Dual:

N. A. V.	-dhíyāu	-dhyāù	-bhúvāu	-bhvāù
I. D. Ab.	-dh	íbhyām	-bhū́bhyām	
G. L.	-dhiyos	-dhyòs	-bhúvos	-bhvòs
Plu	ıral:			
N. A. V.	-dhíyas	-dhyàs	-bhúvas	-bhvàs
I.	-dhíbhis		-bht	ibhis
D. Ab.		Íbhyas	-bhť	ibhyas
G.	{-dhíyām {-dhínām	-dhyàm	{-bhúvām }-bhűnām	-bhvàm
L.	-dh	Íṣu	-bhű	ișu

- a. As to the admissibility of the fuller endings āi, ās, and ām in the singular (feminine), grammatical authorities are somewhat at variance; but they are never found in the Veda, and have been omitted from the above scheme as probably unreal.
- b. If two consonants precede the final $\bar{\mathbf{i}}$ or $\bar{\mathbf{u}}$, the dissyllabic forms, with $\mathbf{i}\mathbf{y}$ and $\mathbf{u}\mathbf{v}$, are regularly written; after one consonant, the usage is varying. The grammarians prescribe $\mathbf{i}\mathbf{y}$ and $\mathbf{u}\mathbf{v}$ when the monosyllabic stem has more the character of a noun, and \mathbf{y} and \mathbf{v} when it is more purely a verbal root with participial value. No such distinction, however, is to be seen in the Veda—where, moreover, the difference of the two forms is only graphic, since the $\mathbf{y}\bar{\mathbf{a}}$ and $\mathbf{v}\bar{\mathbf{a}}$ -forms and the rest are always to be read as dissyllabic: $\mathbf{i}\bar{\mathbf{a}}$ or $\mathbf{i}\bar{\mathbf{a}}$ and $\mathbf{u}\bar{\mathbf{a}}$ or $\mathbf{i}\bar{\mathbf{a}}$, and so on.
 - c. As to neuter stems for such adjectives, see 367.
- 353. A few further Vedic irregularities or peculiarities may be briefly noticed.
- a. Of the ā-stems, the forms in ās, ām, ā (du.) are sometimes to be read as dissyllables, aas, aam, aa. The dative of the stem used as infinitive is áí (as if ā+e): thus, prakhyāí, pratimāí, parādāí.
- b. Irregular transfer of the accent to the ending in compounds is seen in a case or two: thus, avadyabhiyá (RV.), ādhiá (AV.).
- 354. But compounds of the class above described are not infrequently transferred to other modes of inflection: the ā shortened to a for a masculine (and neuter) stem, or declined like a stem of the derivative ā-class (below, 364) as feminine; the ī and ū shortened to i and u, and inflected as of the second declension.
- a. Thus, compound stems in -ga, -ja, -da, -stha, -bhu, and others, are found even in the Veds, and become frequent later (being made from all, or nearly all, the roots in ā); and sporadic cases from yet others occur: for example, crtapán, vayodhāís and ratnadhébhis, dhanasāís (all RV.); and, from ī and ū compounds, veṣaçrís (TS.), áhrayas (RV.), gaṇaçríbhis (RV.), karmanís (ÇB.) and rtaníbhyas (RV.) and senāníbhyas (VS.) and grāmaníbhis (TB.), supúnā (AV.), citibhráve (TS.).
 - b. Still more numerous are the feminines in ā which have lost their

root-declension: examples are prajā (of which the further compounds in part have root-forms), svadhā, çraddhā, pratimā, and others.

- c. Then, in the later language, a few feminines in I are made from the stems in a shortened from ā: thus, gopī, goṣṭhī, pannagī, pankajī, bhujagī, bhujaṅgī, surāpī.
- 355. Polysyllabic Stems. Stems of this division (A) of more than one syllable are very rare indeed in the later language, and by no means common in the earlier. The Rig-Veda, however, presents a not inconsiderable body of them; and as the class nearly dies out later, by the disuse of its stems or their transfer to other modes of declension, it may be best described on a Vedic basis.
- a. Of stems in ā, masculines, half-a-dozen occur in the Veda: pánthā, mánthā, and rbhukṣā are otherwise viewed by the later grammar: see below, 433-4; uçánā (nom. pr.) has the anomalous nom. sing. uçánā (and loc. as well as dat. uçáne); mahā great is found only in accus. sing. and abundantly in composition; ātā frame has only ātāsu not derivable from āta.
- b. Of stems in ī, over seventy are found in the Veda, nearly all feminines, and all accented on the final. Half of the feminines are formed from masculines with change of accent: thus, kalyāni (m. kalyāna), puruṣi (m. púruṣa); others show no change of accent: thus, yami (m. yamá); others still have no corresponding masculines: thus, nadi, lakṣmi, sūrmi. The masculines are about ten in number: for example, rathi, prāvi, starī, ahi, āpathi.
- c. Of stems in ū, the number is smaller: these, too, are nearly all feminines, and all accented on the final. The majority of them are the feminine adjectives in ū to masculines in ū or u (above, 344 b): thus, caranyū, cariṣṇū, jighatsū, madhū. A few are nouns in ū, with change of accent: thus, agrū (ágru), pṛdākū (pṛdāku), cvaçrū (çváçura); or without change, as nṛtū. And a few have no corresponding masculines: thus, tanū, vadhū, camū. The masculines are only two or three: namely, pṛāçū, kṛkadāçū, makṣū (?); and their forms are of the utmost rarity.
- 356. The mode of declension of these words may be illustrated by the following examples: rathí m. charioteer; nadí f. stream; tanú f. body.
- a. No one of the selected examples occurs in all the forms; forms for which no example at all is quotable are put in brackets. No loc. sing. from any 1-stem occurs, to determine what the form would be. The stem nadi is selected as example partly in order to emphasize the difference between the earlier language and the later in regard to the words of this division: nadi is later the model of derivative inflection.

Singular:			
N.	rathÍs	nadís	tantis
A.	rathiam	nadíam	tanúam
1.	rathíā	nadíā	tanúā
D.	rathie	nadíe	tanúe
Ab. G.	rathías	nadías	tanúas
L.			tanúi
v.	ráthi (?)	nádi	tánu
Dual:			
N. A. V.	rathíā	nadíā	tanúā
I. D. Ab.	[rathíbhyām]	nadībhyām	[tanū́bhyām]
G. L.	[rathios]	nadios	tanúos
Plural:			
N. A.	rathías	nadías	tanúas
I.	[rathibhis]	nadíbhis	tanū́bhis
D. Ab.	[rathibhyas]	nadíbhyas	tanúbhyas
G.	rathinam	nadínām	tanünām
L.	[rathíșu]	nadíșu	tanüşu

b. The cases—nadíam, tanúam, etc.—are written above according to their true phonetic form, almost invariably belonging to them in the Veda; in the written text, of course, the stem-final is made a semi-vowel, and the resulting syllable is circumflexed: thus, nadyam, tanvam, etc.; only, as usual, after two consonants the resolved forms iy and uv are written instead; and also where the combination yv would otherwise result: thus, cakríyā, [agrúvāi,] and mitrāyúvas. The RV. really reads staryam etc. twice, and tanvas etc. four times; and such contractions are more often made in the AV. The ending ā of the nom.-acc.-voc. du. is the equivalent of the later āu. The nom. sing. in 8 from ī-stems is found in the older language about sixty times, from over thirty stems.

357. Irregularities of form, properly so called, are very few in this division: camú as loc. sing. (instead of camvi) occurs a few times; and there is another doubtful case or two of the same kind; the final û is regarded as pragrhya or uncombinable (138); tanúi is lengthened to tanvi in a passage or two; -yúvas is once or twice abbreviated to -yús.

358. The process of transfer to the other form of ī- and ū-declension (below, 362 ff.), which has nearly extinguished this category of words in the later language, has its beginnings in the Veda; but in RV. they are excessively scanty: namely, dūtiām, loc. sing., once, and çvaçruām, do., once, and dravitnuā, instr. sing., with two or three other doubtful cases. In the Atharvan, we find the acc. sing. kuhūm, tanūm, vadhūm; the instr. sing. palāliā and one or two others; the dat. sing. vadhvāi, çvaçruāi, agrūvāi; the abl.-gen. sing. punarbhūvās, pṛdākuās, çvaçruās; and the loc. sing. tanūām (with anomalous accent). Accusatives plural in īs and ūs are nowhere met with.

359. Adjective compounds from these words are very few; those which occur are declined like the simple stems: thus, hiranyavāçīs and sahásrastarīs, átaptatanūs and sarvatanūs, all nom. sing. masculine.

Stems ending in diphthongs.

- 360. There are certain monosyllabic stems ending in diphthongs, which are too few and too diverse in inflection to make a declension of, and which may be most appropriately disposed of here, in connection with the stems in $\bar{\imath}$ and \bar{u} , with which they have most affinity. They are:
 - a. stems in āu: nāú and glāú;
 - b. stems in āi: rāí;
 - c. stems in o: gó and dyó (or dyú, dív).
- 361. a. The stem nāú f. ship is entirely regular, taking the normal endings throughout, and following the rules for monosyllable accentuation (317) except that the accus. pl. is said (it does not appear to occur in accented texts) to be like the nom. Thus: nāús, nāvam, nāvá, nāvé, nāvás, nāví; návāu, nāubhyám, nāvós; návas, návas, nāubhís, nāubhyás, nāvám, nāuşú. The stem glāú m. ball is apparently inflected in the same way; but few of its forms have been met with in use.
- b. The stem rāi f. (or m.) wealth might be better described as rā with a union-consonant y (258) interposed before vowel endings, and is regularly inflected as such, with normal endings and monosyllabic accent. Thus: rās, rāyam, rāyā, rāyē, rāyás, rāyí; rāyāu, rābhyām, rāyós; rāyas, rāyás, rābhis, rābhyás, rāyám, rāsú. But in the Veda the accus. pl. is either rāyás or rāyas; for accus. sing. and pl. are also used the briefer forms rām (RV. once: rāyam does not occur in V.) and rās (SV., once); and the gen.-sing. is sometimes anomalously accented rāyas.
- c. The stem gó m. or f. bull or cow is much more irregular. In the strong cases, except accus. sing., it is strengthened to gāu, forming (like nāu) gāus, gāvāu, gāvas. In accus. sing. and pl. it has (like rāi) the brief forms gām and gās. The abl.-gen. sing. is gós (as if from gu). The rest is regularly made from go, with the normal endings, but with accent always remaining irregularly upon the stem. thus, gāvā, gāve, gāvi, gāvos, gāvām; góbhyām, góbhis, góbhyas, góṣu. In the Veda, another form of the gen. pl. is gónām; the normetc. du. is (as in all other such cases) also gāvā; and gām, gós, and gās are not infrequently to be pronounced as dissyllables. As accupl. is found a few times gāvas
- d. The stem dyó f. (but in V. usually m.) sky, day is yet more anomalous, having beside it a simpler stem dyu, which becomes div before a vowel-ending. The native grammarians treat the two as

independent words, but it is more convenient to put them together. The stem dyó is inflected precisely like gó, as above described. The complete declension is as follows (with forms not actually met with in use bracketed):

Singular.		Dual.		Plural.		
N.	dyi diyam	āús dyām	[dívāu]	dyávāu	dívas divás, dyún	dyávas [dyás]
A. I.	di vá	โล้ซล์ซลิไ			dwithhia	[dyóbhis]
D.	divé divás	dyáve dyós	[dyúbhyām	dyóbhyām]	[dyúbhyas	dyóbhyas]
G. L.	divás diví	dyós dyávi	}[divós	dyávos]	, [divấm dyúșu	dyávām] [dyóşu]

- e. The dat. sing. dyáve is not found in the early language. Both dívas and divás occur as accus. pl. in V. As nom. etc. du., dyávā is, as usual, the regular Vedic form: once occurs dyávī (du.), as if a neuter form; and dyāús is found once used as ablative. The cases dyāus, dyām and dyūn (once) are read in V. sometimes as dissyllables; and the first as accented vocative then becomes dyāûs (i. e. díāus: see 314 b).
- f. Adjective compounds having a diphthongal stem as final member are not numerous, and tend to shorten the diphthong to a vowel. Thus, from nāu we have bhinnanu; from go, several words like águ, saptágu, sugu, bahugú (f. -gú TB.); and, correspondingly, rāi seems to be reduced to ri in bṛhádraye and ṛdhádrayas (RV.). In derivation, go maintains its full form in gotra, agótā, -gava (f. -gavī), etc.; as first member of a compound, it is variously treated: thus, gávāçir, gáviṣṭi (but gaāçir, gaïṣṭi K.), etc.; goaçvá or goʻçva, góṛjīka, góopaça, etc. In certain compounds, also, dyu or dyo takes an anomalous form: thus, dyāurdā (K.), dyāurloká (ÇB.), dyāusamçita (AV.). In revánt (unless this is for rayivant) rāi becomes re. RV. has ádhrigāvas from ádhrigu (of questionable import); and AV. has ghṛtastāvas, apparently accus. pl. of ghṛtastū or -stó.

B. Derivative stems in ā, ī, ū.

- 362. To this division belong all the ā and ī-stems which have not been specified above as belonging to the other or root-word division; and also, in the later language, most of the I and ū-stems of the other division, by transfer to a more predominant mode of inflection. Thus:
- a. The great mass of derivative feminine ä-stems, substantive and adjective.
- b. The inflection of these stems has maintained itself with little change through the whole history of the language, being almost precisely the same in the Vedas as later.

- 2. c. The great mass of derivative feminine I-stems.
- d. This class is without exception in the later language. In the earlier, it suffers the exception pointed out above (355 b): that feminines made with change of accent follow this mode of declension only when the accent is not on the i: thus, tavisi, parusni, palikni, rohini.
- e. The I-stems of this division in general are regarded as made by contraction of an earlier ending in yā. Their inflection has become in the later language somewhat mixed with that of the other division, and so far different from the Vedic inflection: see below, 363 g.
- f. Very few derivative stems in $\bar{\imath}$ are recognized by the grammarians as declined like the root-division; the Vedic words of that class are, if retained in use, transferred to this mode of inflection.
- g. A very small number of masculine ī-stems (half-a-dozen) are in the Veda declined as of the derivative division; they are a few rare proper names, mātalī etc.; and rāṣṭrī and sirī (only one case each).
- 3. h. The ū-stems are few in number, and are transfers from the other division, assimilated in inflection to the great class of derivative ī-stems (except that they retain the ending s of the nom. sing.).
- 363. Endings. The points of distinction between this and the other division are as follows:
- a. In nom, sing, the usual s-ending is wanting: except in the \overline{u} -stems and a very few \overline{i} -stems namely, laksmi, tari, tantri, tandri which have preserved the ending of the other division.
 - b. The accus. sing. and pl. add simply m and s respectively,
- c. The dat., abl.-gen., and loc. sing. take always the fuller endings \(\textbf{ai}\), \(\textbf{am}\); and these are separated from the final of the \(\textbf{a}\)-stems by an interposed y. In Br\(\text{a}\) manager, \(\text{ai}\) is generally substituted for \(\text{as}\) (307 h).
- d. Before the endings $\bar{\mathbf{a}}$ of instr. sing. and os of gen.-loc. du., the final of $\bar{\mathbf{a}}$ -stems is treated as if changed to $\bar{\mathbf{e}}$; but in the Veda, the instr. ending $\bar{\mathbf{a}}$ very often (in nearly half the occurrences) blends with the final to $\bar{\mathbf{a}}$. The $y\bar{\mathbf{a}}$ of $\bar{\mathbf{i}}$ -stems is in a few Vedic examples contracted to $\bar{\mathbf{i}}$, and even to $\bar{\mathbf{i}}$. A loc. sing. in $\bar{\mathbf{i}}$ occurs a few times.
- e. In all the weakest cases above mentioned, the accent of an ī- or ū-stem having acute final is thrown forward upon the ending. In the remaining case of the same class, the gen. pl., a n is always interposed between stem and ending, and the accent remains upon the former (in RV., however, it is usually thrown forward upon the ending, as in i and u-stems)
 - f. In voc. sing., final a becomes e; final i and u are shortened.
- g. In nom.-acc,-voc. du. and nom. pl. appears in $\bar{1}$ (and \bar{u})-stems a marked difference between the earlier and later language, the latter borrowing the forms of the other division. The du. ending $\bar{a}u$ is unknown in RV., and very rare in AV.; the Vedic ending is $\bar{1}$ (a corresponding dual of \bar{u} -stems does not occur). The regular later pl. ending as has only a

doubtful example or two in RV., and a very small number in AV.; the case there (and it is one of very frequent occurrence) adds s simply; and though yas-forms occur in the Brāhmanas, along with īs-forms, both are used rather indifferently as nom. and accus. (as, indeed, they sometimes interchange also in the epics). Of ā-stems, the du. nom. etc. ends in e, both earlier and later; in pl., of course, s-forms are indistinguishable from as-forms. The RV. has a few examples of āsas for ās.

h. The remaining cases call for no remark.

364. Examples of declension. As models of the inflection of derivative stems ending in long vowels, we may take सेना sénā f. army; कान्या kanyà f. girl; रेवी deví f. goddess; वध् vadhú f. woman.

Singul	ar:
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N.	मेना	कन्या	देवी	वधूस्
	sénā	kanyà	deví	vadhūs
A.	सेनाम्	बन्याम्	देवीम्	वधृम्
•	sénām	kanyām	devím	vadhū́m
I.	से नया	कन्यया	देव्या	वध्वा
	sénayā	kanyàyā	devyá	vadhvá
D.	मेनां ये	वन्यायै	देव्यै	वध्वे
	sénāyāi	kanyāyāi	devyāí	vadhvāí
Ab. G.	सेनायास्	वन्यायास्	देव्यास्	वध्वाम्
•	sénāyās	kanyāyās	devyás	vadhväs
L.	सेनायाम्	कन्यायाम्	देव्याम्	वध्वाम्
	sénāyām	kanyàyām	devyám	vadhvám
v.	मेने	वान्ये	देवि	वधु
•	séne	kánye	dévi	vádhu
	Dual:			
N. A. V.	सेने	कन्ये	देव्यी	वध्वी
	séne	kanyè	devyāù	vadhvāú
I.D. Ab.	सेनाभ्याम्	कन्या भ्याम्	देवीभ्याम्	वधुभ्याम्
	sénābhyām	kanyābhyām	devíbhyām	vadhübhyām
G. L.	सेनयोस्	नान्ययोस्	देव्योम्	वध्वोम् .
	sénayos	kanyàyos	devyós	vadhvós

	Plural: •			
N. V.	सेनास्	कन्यास्	देव्यस्	वध्वस्
	sénās	kanyās	devyas	vadhvàs
A.	ं सेनासू •	कन्यास्	देवीस्	वधूम्
	sénās	kanyās	devis	vadhtis
I.	सेनाभिस्	कन्याभिस्	देवीभिम् ः	वधूभिस्
	sénābhis	kanyābhis	devíbhis	vadhübhis
D. Ab.	सेनाभ्यस्	कन्याभ्यम्	देवीभ्यम्	वधुभ्यस्
	sénābhyas	kanyābhyas	devíbhyas	vadhūbhyas
G.	सेना नाम्	कन्यानाम्	देवीनाम्	वधूनाम्
	sénānām	kanyànām	devínām	vadhtinām
L.	सेनास्	वन्याम्	देवीष्	वधृष्
	sénāsu	kanyàsu	devisu	vadhúsu

a. In the Veda $vadh\vec{u}$ is a stem belonging to the other division (like $tan\vec{u}, above, 356$).

365. Examples of Vedic forms are:

a. ā-stems: instr. sing. manīṣā (this simpler form is especially com- mon from stems in tā and iā); nom. pl. vaçāsas (about twenty examples); accus. pl. araṁgamāsas (a case or two). Half the bhyas-cases are to be read as bhias; the ām of gen. pl. is a few times to be resolved into aam; and the ā and ām of nom. accus. sing. are, very rarely, to be treated in the same manner.

b. ī-stems: instr. sing. çámī, çámi; loc. gāurī; nom. etc. du. deví; nom. pl. devís; gen. pl. bahvīnām. The final of the stem is to be read as a vowel (not y) frequently, but not in the majority of instances: thus. deviā, deviās, deviām, ródasios.

- c. The sporadic instances of transfer between this division and the preceding have been already sufficiently noticed.
- d. Of the regular substitution made in the Brāhmaṇa language (307 h, 336 g, 363 c) of the dat. sing. ending āi for the gen.-abl. ending ās, in all classes of words admitting the latter ending, a few examples may be given here: abhibhūtyāi rūpam (AB.) a sign of overpowering; tristubhaç ca jagatyāi ca (AA.) of the metres tristubh and jayatī; vāco dāivyāi ca mānuāyāi ca (AA.) of speech, both divine and human; striyāi payaḥ (AB.) woman's milk; dhenvāi vā etad rétaḥ (TB.) that, forsooth, is the seed of the cow; jūrnāyāi tvacaḥ (KB.) of dead skin; jyāyasī yājyāyāi (AB.) superior to the yājyā; abyāi divo 'smād antarikṣāt (ÇÇS.) from this heaven, from this atmosphere. The same substitution is made once in the AV.: thus, svapantv asyāi jūātáyaḥ let her relatives sleep.

366. The noun stri f. woman (probably contracted from sūtri generatrix), follows a mixed declension: thus, stri, striyam or strim, striyā, striyā, striyās, striyām, stri; striyāu, strībhyām, striyos; striyas, striyas or stris, strībhis, strībhyas, strīnām, strīşú (but the accusatives strim and stris are not found in the older language, and the voc. stri is not quotable). The accentuation is that of a root-word; the forms (conspicuously the nom. sing.) are those of the other or derivative division.

Adjectives.

- 367. a. The occurrence of original adjectives in long final vowels, and of compounds having as final member a stem of the first division, has been sufficiently treated above, so far as masculine and feminine forms are concerned. To form a neuter stem in composition, the rule of the later language is that the final long vowel be shortened; and the stem so made is to be inflected like an adjective in i or u (339, 341, 344).
- b. Such neuter forms are very rare, and in the older language almost unknown. Of neuters from ī-stems have been noted in the Veda only hariçríyam, acc. sing. (a masc. form), and suādhías, gen. sing. (same as masc. and fem.); from ū-stems, only a few examples, and from stem-forms which might be masc. and fem. also: thus, vibhú, subhú, etc. (nomacc. sing.: compare 354); supúā and mayobhúvā, instr. sing.; and mayobhú, acc. pl. (compare purú: 342 k); from ā-stems occur only half-a-dozen examples of a nom. sing. in ās, like the masc. and fem. form.
 - c. Compounds having nouns of the second division as final member are common only from derivatives in \bar{a} ; and these shorten the final to a in both masculine and neuter: thus, from a not and prajā progeny come the masc. and neut. stem apraja, fem. aprajā childless. Such compounds with nouns in \bar{i} and \bar{u} are said to be inflected in masc. and fem. like the simple words (only with \bar{i} n and \bar{u} n in acc. pl. masc.); but the examples given by the grammarians are fictitious.
 - d. Stems with shortened final are occasionally met with: thus, eka-patni, āttalakṣmi; and such adverbs (neut. sing. accus.) as upabhāimi, abhyujjayini. The stem strī is directed to be shortened to stri for all genders.
 - sos. It is convenient to give a complete paradigm, for all genders, of an adjective-stem in 和 a. We take for the purpose 呵呵 pāpá evil, of which the feminine is usually made in 和 ā in the later language, but in 衰 ī in the older.

	Singula	r:			
	m.	1	n,	f.	f.
N.	पापस्	पाप	म्	पापा	पापी
	pāpás	pāp	pám	pāpā ,	pāpi
A.		पापम्		पापाम्	पापीम्
	٠.	pāpám		pāpām	pāpim
I.		पापेन		पापया	पाप्या
		pāpėna		. pāpáyā	pāpyā
ρ.		पापाय		पापायै	पाप्यै
		pāpāya		pāpáyāi	pāpyāí
Ab.		पापात्		पापायाम्	पाप्याम्
		pāpāt		pāpāyās	pāpyās
G.		पापस्य	•	पापायाम्	पाप्यास्
		pāpásya		pāpāyās	pāpyās
L.		पापे		वाषायाम्	पाप्याम्
		papé		pāpāyām	pāpyām
v.		पाप		पापे	पापि
•		pā́pa		påpe	pápi
	Dual:				
N. A. V.	पापी	पाय	Ì	पापे	पाप्यी
•	pāpāú	pāj	pé	pāpé	papyāú
I. D. Ab.		पापाभ्याम्		पापा-याम्	पापीभ्याम्
		pāpābhyār	m	pāpābhyām	pāpibhyām
G. L.		पापयोस्		पापयोम्	पाप्योम्
		pāpáyos		pāpáyos	pāpyós
	Plural:				
N.	पापास्	पाप	ग्रानि *	पापाम्	पाप्यस्
	pāpās		páni	pāpās	pāpyàs
A.	पापान्		ग्रानि	पापाम्	पापीस्
	pāpán	pā	päni	pāpās	pāpis
I.		पापैम्		पापाभि स्	पापीभिम्
		pāpāls		pāpābhis	pāpībhis
D. Ab.		<u>पापेभ्यम्</u>		पापाभ्यम्	पापीभ्य म्
		pāpébhyas	8	pāpābhyas	pāpibhyas

G.	पापानाम्	पापानाम्	पापीनाम्
	pāpānām	pāpānām	pāpinām
L.	पापेषु	पापासु	पापीषु
	pāpéşu	pāpāsu	_{Pāpíṣu}

Declension IV.

Stems in A r (or A ar).

- 369. This declension is a comparatively limited one, being almost entirely composed of derivative nouns formed with the suffix π tr (or π tar), which makes masculine nomina agentis (used also participially), and a few nouns of relationship.
- a. But it includes also a few nouns of relationship not made with that suffix: namely devṛ m., svásṛ and nánāndṛ f.; and, besides these, nṛ m., stṛ (in V.) m., usṛ (in V.) f., savyaṣṭhṛ m., and the feminine numerals tisṛ and catasṛ (for which, see 482 e, g). The feminines in tṛ are only mātṛ, duhitṛ, and yắtṛ.
- b. The inflection of these stems is quite closely analogous with that of stems in i and u (second declension); its peculiarity, as compared with them, consists mainly in the treatment of the stem itself, which has a double form, fuller in the strong cases, briefer in the weak ones.
- 370. Forms of the Stem. In the weak cases (excepting the loc. sing.) the stem-final is \mathbf{r} , which in the weakest cases, or before a vowel-ending, is changed regularly to \mathbf{r} (129). But as regards the strong cases, the stems of this declension fall into two classes: in one of them which is very much the larger, containing all the nomina agentis, and also the nouns of relationship naptr and svas, and the irregular words str and savyasthr the \mathbf{r} is vriddhied, or becomes \mathbf{ar} ; in the other, containing most of the nouns of relationship, with \mathbf{nr} and \mathbf{usr} , the \mathbf{r} is gunated, or changed to \mathbf{ar} . In both classes, the loc. sing. has \mathbf{ar} as stem-final.
- 371. Endings. These are in general the normal, but with the ollowing exceptions:
- a. The nom. sing. (maso. and fem.) ends always in ā (for original ars or ārs). The voc. sing. ends in ar.
- b. The accus. sing. adds am to the (strengthened) stem; the accus. a pl. has (like i- and u-stems) n as maso ending and s as fem. ending, with the r lengthened before them.

- . o. The abl.-gen. sing. changes r to ur (or us: 169 b).
- d. The gen. pl. (as in i and u-stems) inserts n before am, and lengthens the stem-final before it. But the r of nr may also remain short.
- e. The above are the rules of the later language. The older presents certain deviations from them. Thus:
- f. The ending in nom.-acc.-voc. du. is (as universally in the Veda) regularly ā instead of āu (only ten āu-forms in RV.).
- g. The i of loc. sing is lengthened to ī in a few words: thus, kartárī. h. In the gen. pl., the RV. has once svásrām, without inserted n, and narām instead of nṛṇām is frequent.
- i. Other irregularities of nf are the sing dat. náre, gen. náras, and loc. nári. The Veda writes always nrnám in gen. pl., but its r is in a majority of cases metrically long.
- j. The stem usr f. dawn has the voc. sing. uşar, the gen. sing. usrás; and the accus. pl. also usrás, and loc. sing. usrám (which is metrically trisyllabic: usrám), as if in analogy with I and ū-stems. Once occurs usrí in loc. sing., but it is to be read as if the regular trisyllabic form, uşári (for the exchange of s and ş, see 181 a).
 - k. From str come only taras (apparently) and strbhis.
- In the gen.-loc. du., the r is almost always to be read as a separate syllable, r, before the ending os: thus, pitrós, etc. On the contrary. nánāndari is once to be read nánāndri.
 - m. For neuter forms, see below, 375.

N.

A.

- 372. Accent. The accentuation follows closely the rules for i- and u-stems: if on the final of the stem, it continues, as acute, on the corresponding syllable throughout, except in the gen. pl., where it may be (and in the Veda always is) thrown forward upon the ending; where, in the weakest cases, r becomes r, the ending has the accent. The two monosyllabic stems, nr and str, do not show the monosyllabic accent: thus (besides the forms already given above), nr bhis, nr gu.
- 373. Examples of declension. As models of this mode of inflection, we may take from the first class (with আৰু ār in the strong forms) the stems হান dāti m. girer and লেন্ svásr f. sister; from the second class (with আৰু ar in the strong forms), the stem বিন piti m. father.

dātāram	svásāram	pitáram
दातारम्	स्वसारम्	पितरम्
dātá	svásā	pitá
दाता	स्वमा	पिता
oguiar.		

[-	-3	73

		, •	-
I.	दात्रा	स्वस्ना	पित्रा
	dātrā	svásrā	pitrá
D.	दात्रे	स्वम्ने	पित्रे
	dātré	svásre	pitré
Ąb. G.	दातु ग्र	स्वमुर् •	<u> पितुर्</u>
	dātúr	svásur	pitúr
L.	ँ दातिः	स्वसिर्	पितरि
	dātári	svásari	pitári
v.	दात्र	स्वसर्	पित्र
	dátar	svásar	pitar
Du	al:		
N. A. V.	दातारी	स्वसारी	पितरी
	dātārāu	svásārāu	pitárāu
I. D. Ab.	दातृ-याम्	स्वसृभ्याम्	पितृ भ्याम्
	dātŕbhyām	svásrbhyām	pitŕbhyām
G. L.	दात्रोस्	स्वस्रोम्	पित्रोस्
	dātrós	svásros	pitrós
Plu	ıral:		
N. V.	दातारम्	स्वमारम्	पितर्म्
	dātāras	svásāras	pitáras
A.	दातृन्	स्वमृम्	पितृन्
	dātṛ́n	avásta	pitrn
I.	दातृभिम्	स्वमृभिस्	पितृभिम्
	dātŕbhis	svasrbhis	pitŕbhis
D. Ab.	<i>दात्</i> भ्यम्	स्वसृभ्यस्	पितृभ्यम्
	dātŕbhyas	svásrbhyas	pitŕbhyas
G. "	दातृषाम्	स्वमॄणाम्	पितृणाम्
	dātrņām	svásřnám	pitrņām
L.	दातृषु	स्वमृषु	<u>વિતૃષુ</u> 😱
	dātŕsu	svásrsu	pitŕsu

dātṛṣu svásṛṣu pitṛṣu
a. The feminine stem मातृ mātṛ, mother, is inflected precisely like पितृ pitṛ, excepting that its accusative plural is मातृम् mātṛs.

- b. The peculiar Vedic forms have been sufficiently instanced above; the only ones of other than sporadic occurrence being the nom. etc. du. dātārā, svásārā, pitārā, and the gen. pl. of nŗ, narām.
- c. The nom. pl. forms pitaras and mātaras etc. are found used $a {\rm ls}_{\rm 0}$ as accus, in the epics.
- 374. The stem krosty m. jackal (lit'ly howler) substitutes in the middle cases the corresponding forms of krostu (343 k).
- 375. Neuter forms. The grammarians prescribe a complete neuter declension also for bases in tr, precisely accordant with that of vari or madhu (above, 339, 341). Thus, for example:

	Sing.	Du.	Plar.
N. A.	dhātŕ	dhātṛṇī	dhātṛ̈́ni
I.	dhātṛṇā	dhātŕbhyām	dhātṛbhis
G.	dhātṛṇas	dhātṛ́ņos	dhātṛṇấm
V.	dhätr, dhátar	dhátrnī	dhấtṛṇi.

- a. The weakest cases, however (as of i- and u-stems used adjectively: 344), are allowed also to be formed like the corresponding masculine cases: thus, dhātrấ etc.
- b. No such neuter forms chance to occur in the Veda, but they begin to appear in the Brahmanas, under influence of the common tendency (compare Germ. Retter, Retterin; Fr. menteur, menteuse) to give the nomen agentis a more adjective character making it correspond in gender with the noun which it (oppositively) qualifies. Thus, we have in TB. bharti and janayiti, qualifying antarikṣam; and bhartini and janayitini, qualifying nakṣatrāni, as, in M., grahītīni, qualifying indriyāni.
- c. When a feminine noun is to be qualified in like manner, the usual feminine derivative in \(\tilde{\text{i}}\) is employed; thus, in TB, bhartry\(\text{as}\) and bhartry\(\text{ab}\), janayitry\(\text{as}\) and janayitry\(\text{ab}\), qualifying \(\text{apas}\) and ahor\(\text{a}\)tree; and such instances are not uncommon.
- d. The RV. shows the same tendency very curiously once in the accus. pl. mātṛn, instead of mātṛs, in apposition with masculine nouns (RV. x. 35.2).
- e. Other neuter forms in RV. are sthātúr gen. sing., dhmātárī lor sing.; and for the nom. sing., instead of -tr, a few more or less doubtful cases, sthātar, sthātúr, dhartári.

Adjectives.

- 376. a. There are no original adjectives of this declension: for the quasi-adjectival character of the nouns composing it, see above (375b). The feminine stem is made by the suffix \(\bar{\bar{1}}\): thus, d\(\bar{\bar{a}}\)tr\(\bar{\bar{1}}\), dh\(\bar{\bar{a}}\)tr\(\bar{\bar{1}}\).
 - b. Roots ending in r (like those in 1 and u: 345) add a t to make a declinable stem, when occurring as final member of a compound:

thus, karmakŕt (γ kr), vajrabhŕt (γ bhr), balihŕt (γ hr). From some r-roots, also, are made stems in ir and ur: see below, 383 a, b.

- c. Nouns in r as finals of adjective compounds are inflected in the same manner as when simple, in the masculine and feminine; in the neuter, they would doubtless have the peculiar neuter endings in nom.-acc.-voc. of all numbers.
 - d. But TS. has once tvátpitāras, nom. pl., having thee for father.

Declension V.

Stems ending in Consonants.

- 377. All stems ending in consonants may properly be classed together, as forming a single comprehensive declension: since, though some of them exhibit peculiarities of inflection, these have to do almost exclusively with the stem itself, and not with the declensional endings.
- 378. In this declension, masculines and feminines of the same final are inflected alike; and neuters are peculiar (as usually in the other declensions) only in the nom.-acc.-voc. of all numbers.
- a. The majority of consonantal stems, however, are not inflected in the feminine, but form a special feminine derivative stem in $\frac{5}{5}$ I (never in $\overline{5}$ I), by adding that ending to the weak form of the masculine.
- b. Exceptions are in general the stems of divisions A and B—namely, the radical stems etc., and those in as and is and us. For special cases, see below.
- 379. Variations, as between stronger and weaker forms, are very general among consonantal stems: either of two degrees (strong and weak), or of three (strong, middle, and weakest): see above, 311.
- a. The peculiar neuter forms, according to the usual rule (311 b), are made in the plural from the strong stem, in singular and dual from the weak or, when the gradation is threefold, in singular from the middle stem, in dual from the weakest.

- b. As in the case of stems ending in short vowels (āsyāni, vārīni, mādhūni, dātṛni, etc.), a nasal sometimes appears in the spacial neuter plural cases which is found nowhere else in inflection. Thus, from the stems in as, is, us, the nom-acc.-voc. pl. in -ānsi, -īnṣi, -ūnṣi are very common at every period. According to the grammarians, the radical stems etc. (division A) are treated in the same way; but examples of such neuters are of extreme rarity in the language; no Vedic text offers one, and in the Brāhmaṇas and Sūtiray have been noted only -hunti (AB. vii. 2. 3), -vṛnti (PB. xvi. 2. 7 et al.), -bhānji (KB. xxvii. 7), -bhṛnti (ÇB. viii. 1. 3¹), and -yunji (LÇS. ii. 1. 8·; while in the later language is found here and there a case, like --çrunti (Ragh.), -pūnṣi (Çlç.); it may be questioned whether they are not later analogical formations.
- 380. The endings are throughout those given above (310) as the "normal".
- a. By the general law as to finals (150), the s of the nom. sing, masc. and fem. is always lost; and irregularities of treatment of the final of the stem in this case are not infrequent.
- b. The gen. and abl. sing. are never distinguished in form from one another nor are, by ending, the nom. and accus. pl.: but these sometimes differ in stem-form, or in accent, or in both.
- 381. Change in the place of the accent is limited to monosyllabic stems and the participles in ant (accented on the final). For details, see below, under divisions A and E.
- a. But a few of the compounds of the root and or ac show an irregular shift of accent in the oldest language: see below, 410.
- 382. a. For convenience and clearness of presentation, it will be well to separate from the general mass of consonantal stems certain special classes which show kindred peculiarities of inflection, and may be best described together. Thus:
 - B. Derivative stems in as, is, us;
 - C. Derivative stems in an (an, man, van);
 - D. Derivative stems in in (in, min, vin);
 - E. Derivative stems in ant (ant, mant, vant);
 - F. Perfect active participles in vāns;
 - G. Comparatives in yans or yas.
- b. There remain, then, to constitute division A, especially radical stems, or those identical in form with roots,

together with a comparatively small number of others which are inflected like these.

They will be taken up in the order thus indicated.

- A. Root-stems, and those inflected like them.
- 383. The stems of this division may be classified as follows:
- I. a. Root-stems, having in them no demonstrable element added to a root: thus, fc verse, gir song, påd foot, die direction, måh (V.) great.

b. Such stems, however, are not always precisely identical in form with the root: thus, vac from /vac, sraj from /srj, mus from /mus, vríç from /vraçc(?), us from /vas shine;—from roots in final r come stems in ir and ur: thus, gír, ā-çír, stír; jur, tur, dhur, pur, mur, stúr, sphur; and psur from /psar.

- c. With these may be ranked the stems with reduplicated root, as cikit, yavīyúdh, vánīvan, sasyád.
- d. Words of this division in uncompounded use are tolerably frequent in the older language: thus, in RV. are found more than a hundred of them; in AV., about sixty; but in the classical Sanskrit the power of using any root at will in this way is lost, and the examples are comparatively few. In all periods, however, the adjective use as final of a compound is very common (see below, 401).
 - e. As to the infinitive use of various cases of the root-noun, see 971.
- II. f. Stems made by the addition of t to a final short vowel of a root.
- g. No proper root-stem ends in a short vowel, although there are (354) examples of transfer of such to short-vowel-declensions; but i or u or r adds a t to make a declinable form: thus, -jít, -çrút, -krt. Roots in r, however, as has just been seen (b), also make stems in ir or ur.
- h. As regards the frequency and use of these words, the same is true as was stated above respecting root-stems. The Veda offers examples of nearly thirty such formations, a few of them (mít, rít, stút, hrút, vŕt, and dyút if this is taken from dyu) in independent use. Of roots in r, t is added by kr, dhr, dhvr, bhr, vr, sr, spr, hr, and hvr. The roots gā (or gam) and han also make -gát and -hát by addition of the t to an abbreviated form in a (thus, adhvagát, dyugát, dvigat, navagát, and samhát).
- III. i. Monosyllabic (also a few apparently reduplicated) stems not certainly connectible with any verbal root in the language, but having the aspect of root-stems, as containing no traceable suffix

thus, tvác skin, páth road, hfd heart, áp and vár water, dvár door, as mouth, kakúbh and kakúd summit.

j. Thirty or forty such words are found in the older language, and some of them continue in later use, while others have been transferred to other modes of declension or have become extinct.

k. Stems more or less clearly derivative, but made with suffixes of rare or even isolated occurrence. Thus:

- 1. derivatives (V.) from prepositions with the suffix vat: arvāvāt, āvāt, udvāt, nivāt, parāvāt, pravāt, samvāt; 2. derivatīves (V.) in tāt (perhaps abbreviated from tātī), in a few isolated forms: thus uparātāt, devātāt, vrķātāt, satyātāt, sarvātāt; 3. other derivatīves in t preceded by various vowels: thus, daçāt, vehāt, vahāt, sravāt, sacçāt, vāghāt; nāpāt; tadīt, divīt, yoṣīt, rohīt, sarīt, harīt; marūt; yākrt, çākrt; and the numerals for 30, 40, 50, trinçāt ete (475); 4. stems in ad: thus, drṣād, dhrṣād, bhasād, vanād, çarād, samād; 5. stems in j preceded by various vowels: thus, tṛṣṇāj, dhṛṣāj, sanāj, bhiṣāj; uçīj, vaṇīj, bhurīj, niṇīj(?); āṣrj; 6. a few stems ending in a sibilant apparently formative thus, jūās, -das, bhās, mās, bhīs; 7. a remnant of unclassifiable cases, such as viṣṭāp, vipāç, kāpṛth, çurūdh, iṣīdh, pṛkṣūdh, raghāṭ(?), sarāgh, visrūh, uṣṇīh, kavāṣ.
- 384. Gender. The root-stems are regularly feminine as nomen actionis, and masculine as nomen agentis (which is probably only a substantive use of their adjective value: below, 400. But the feminine noun, without changing its gender, is often also used concretely e. g., druh f. (y'druh be inimical) means harming, enmity, and also harmer, hater, enemy—thus bordering on the masculine value. And some of the feminines have a completely concrete meaning. Through the whole division, the masculines are much less numerous than the feminines, and the neuters rarest of all.
- a. The independent neuter stems are hrrd (also -hard), dam, var, svar, mās flesh, ās mouth, bhās, dós (with which may be mentioned the indeclinables cam and yos); also the apparent derivatives yakrt, cakrt, kaprth, asrj.
- 385. Strong and weak stem-forms. The distinction of these two classes of forms is usually made either by the presence or absence of a nasal, or by a difference inthe quantity of the stem-vowel, as long or short; less often, by other methods.
- 386. A nasal appears in the strong cases of the following words
 1. Compounds having as final member the root ac or acc: see below,
 407 ff.; and RV. has once uruvyancam from root vyac;—2. The

stem yuj, sometimes, in the older language: thus, nom. sing. yúñ (for yúñk), accus. yúñjam, du. yúñjā (but also yújam and yújā); — 3. The stem -drc, as final of a compound in the older language; but only in the nom. sing. masc., and not always: thus, anyādfī, idfī, kidfī, tādfī, etādrī, etādrī, sadfī and pratisadfī: but also īdfk, tādfk, svardfk, etc.; — 4. For path and pums, which substitute more extended stems, and for dant, see below, 394—6.

387. The vowel a is lengthened in strong cases as follows:

- 1. Of the roots vac, sac, sap, nabh, ças, in a few instances (V.), at the end of compounds;—2. Of the roots vah and sah, but irregularly; see below, 403—5;—3. Of ap water (see 393); also in its compound rītyàp;—4. Of pad foot: in the compounds of this word, in the later language, the same lengthening is made in the middle cases also; and in RV. and AV. the nom. sing. neut. is both -pat and -pāt, while RV has once -pāde, and pādbhis and pātsu occur in the Brāhmaṇas;—5. Of nas nose (? nāsā nom. du. fom., RV., once);—6. Sporadic cases (V.) are: yāj (?), voc. sing.; pāthás and -rāpas, accus. pl.; vánīvānas, nom. pl. The strengthened forms bhāj and rāj are constant, through all classes of cases.
- 388. Other modes of differentiation, by elision of a or contraction of the syllable containing it, appear in a few stems:
- 1. In -han: see below, 402; 2. In kṣam (V.), along with prolongation of a: thus, kṣāmā du., kṣāmas pl.; kṣamā instr. sing., kṣāmi loc. sing., kṣmās abl. sing.; 3. In dvār, contracted (V.) to dur in weak cases (but with some confusion of the two classes); 4. In svar, which becomes, in RV., sūr in weak cases; later it is indeclinable.
 - 389. The endings are as stated above (380).
- a. Respecting their combination with the final of the stem. as well as the treatment of the latter when it occurs at the end of the word, the rules of euphonic combination (chap. III.) are to be consulted; they require much more constant and various application here than anywhere else in declension.
- b. Attention may be called to a few exceptional cases of combination (V.): mādbhís and mādbhyás from mās month; the wholly anomalous padbhís (RV. and VS.: AV. has always padbhís) from pád; and saráţ and saráqbhyas corresponding to a nom. pl. sarághas (instead of saráhas: 222). Dán is apparently for dám, by 143a.
- c. According to the grammarlans, neuter stems, unless they end in a masal or a semivowel, take in nom.-acc.-voc. pl. a strengthening nasal before the final consonant. But no such cases from neuter noun-stems appear ever to have been met with in use; and as regards adjective stems ending in a root, see above, 379 b.

- 390. Monosyllabic stems have the regular accent of such, throwing the tone forward upon the endings in the weak cases.
- a. But the accusative plural has its normal accentuation as a weak case, upon the ending, in only a minority (hardly more than a third) of the stems: namely in datás, pathás, padás, nidás, apás, uṣás, jñāsás, puṁsás, māsás, mahás; and sometimes in vācás, srucás, hrutás, sridhás, kṣapás, vipás, durás, iṣás, dviṣás, druhás (beside vācas etc.).
- b. Exceptional instances, in which a weak case has the tone on the stem, occur as follows: sådā, nådbhyas, tánā (also tanā) and táne, bādhe (infin.), ráṇe and ráṅsu, váṅsu, svánt, vípas, kṣámi, sắrā and sắras (but sūrė), áṅhas, and vánas and bṛhas (in vánaspáti, bṛhaspáti). On the other hand, a strong case is accented on the ending in mahás, nom. pl., and kāsám (AV.: perhaps a false reading). And preṣā, instr. sing., is accented as if préṣ were a simple stem, instead of pra-fṣ. Vimṛdháḥ is of doubtful character. For the sometimes anomalous accentuation of stems in ac or añe, see 410.
- 391. Examples of inflexion. As an example of normal monosyllabic inflection, we may take the stem বাঘ vắc f. voice (from vঘ্ৰ vac, with constant prolongation); of inflection with strong and weak stem, ঘুর pád m. foot; of polysyllabic inflection, দানে marút m. wind or wind-god; of a monosyllabic root-stem in composition, সিমূন trivṛt three-fold, in the neuter. Thus:

	Singular:			
N. V.	वाक्	पात्	ं महत्	त्रिवृत्
	vák	pắt	marút	trivŕt
A.	वाचम्	पार्म्	मरुतम्	त्रिवृत्
	vácam	pådam	marútam	trivŕt
I.	वाचा	परा	महता	त्रिवृता
	vācā	padá	marútā	trivŕtā
D.	वाचे	परे	मरुते	त्रिवृते
	vācé	padé	marúte	trvŕte
Ab. G.	वाचम्	पर्म्	मरुतम्	त्रिवृतम्
	vācás	padás	marútas	trivŕtas
L.	वाचि	पदि	मरुति	त्रिवृति
	văcí	padí	marúti	trivŕti

	Dual:			
N. A. V.	वाची	पादी	महती	त्रिवृती
•	vácāu	pádāu	marútāu	trivŕtī
I, D. Ab.	वाग्भ्याम्	पद्माम्	मरुद्याम्	त्रिव् द्याम्
	vāgbhyām	padbhyám	marúdbhyām	trivrdbhyām
G. L.	वाचोम्	पदोस्	म रुतोम्	त्रिवृतोम्
	vācós	padós	marútos	trivŕtos
	Plural:			
N. V.	वाचम्	पाइस्	महतम्	त्रिवृत्ति
	vācas	pādas	marútas	trivŕnti
A.	वाचम्	पद्स्	गरुतस्	त्रिवृति ं
	vācás, vácas	pádas	marútas	trivŕnti
I.	वाग्भिम्	पितम्	मफ्रिडिस्	त्रिवृद्धिम्
	vāgbhís	padbhís	marúdbhis	trivŕdbhis
D. Ab.	वाग्भ्यम्	पद्मम्	मरुद्यम्	त्रिवृद्यम्
	vāgbhyás	padbhyás	marúdbhyas	trivŕdbhyas
G,	वाचाम्:	पदाम्	मरुताम्	त्रिवृताम्
	vācām	padám	marútām	trivŕtām
L.	वातु	पत्मु	मरूत्सु	त्रिवत्मु
	vākņú	patsú	marútsu	trivŕtsu

By way of illustration of the leading methods of treatment of a stem-final, at the end of the word and in combination with caseendings, characteristic case-forms of a few more stems are here added. Thus:

- a. Stems in j: yuj-class (219 a, 142), bhiṣáj physician: bhiṣák, bhiṣájam, bhiṣágbhis, bhiṣákṣu;—mṛj-class (219 b, 142), samrāj universal ruler: samrāt, samrājam, samrādbhis, samrātsu.
- b. Stems in dh: -vṛdh increasing: -vṛt, -vṛdham, -vṛdbhis, -vṛtsu; -búdh (155) waking: -bhút, -búdham, -bhúdbhis, -bhútsu,
- c. Stems in bh: -stúbh praising: -stúp, -stúbham, -stúbbhis, -stúpsu.
- d. Stems in ç: díç (218 a, 145) direction: dík, díçam, digbhís, dikṣú; víç (218, 145) the people: vít, víçam, viḍbhís, viṭsú (V. vikṣú: 218 a).
- e. Stems in a (226 b, 145): dvía enemy: dvít, dvíam, dvidbhía, dvitsú.
 - f. Stems in h: duh-class (232-3 a, 155 b, 147), -dúh milking,

yielding: -dhúk, -dúham, -dhúgbhis, -dhúkṣu; — ruh-class (223 b, 147), -lih licking: -liţ, -liham, -liḍbhis, -liţsu.

- g. Stems in m (143 a, 212 a: only praçán, nom. sing., quotable): -cam quieting: -cán, -cánam, -cánbhis, -cánsu.
- 392. The root-stems in ir and ur (383 b) lengthen their vowel when the final r is followed by another consonant (245 b), and also in the nom. sing. (where the case-ending s is lost).
- a. Thus, from gír f. song come gír (giḥ), gíram, girá etc.; gírāu, girbhyām, girós; gíras, gīrbhís, gīrbhyás, girám, gīrṣú (165); and, in like manner, from púr f. stronghold come púr (púḥ), púram, purā, etc.; púrāu, pūrbhyám, purós; púras, pūrbhís, pūrbhyás, purām, pūrṣú.
- b. There are no roots in is (except the excessively rare pis) or in us; but from the root çās with its ā weakened to i (250) comes the noun āçís f. blessing, which is inflected like gír: thus, āçís (āçíh), āçíṣam, āçíṣā, etc.; āçíṣāu, āçírbhyām, āçíṣos; āçíṣas, āçírbhis, āçírbhyas, āçíṣām, āçíḥṣu. And sajús together is apparently a sterestyped nominative of like formation from the root jus. The form aṣṭáprūṭ (TS.), from the root-stem prus, is isolated and anomalous.
- c. These stems in ir, ur, is show a like prolongation of vowel also in composition and derivation: thus, gīrvāṇa, pūrbhíd, dhūrgata, dhūstva, āçīrdā, āçīrvant, etc. (but also gīrvan, gīrvaṇas).
- d. The native grammar sets up a class of quasi-radical stems like jigamis desiring to go, made from the desiderative conjugation-stem (1027), and prescribes for it a declension like that of āçís: thus, jigamīs, jigamīṣā, jigamīḥṣu, etc. Such a class appears to be a mere figment of the grammarians, since no example of it has been found quotable from the literature, either earlier or later, and since there is, in fact, no more a desiderative stem jigamīs than a causative stem gamay.
- 393. The stem ap f. water is inflected only in the plural, and with dissimilation of its final before bh to d (151e): thus, apas, apas, adbhís, adbhyas, apam, apsu.
- a. But RV. has the sing instr. apā and gen. apās. In the earlier language (especially AV.), and even in the epics, the nom. and accus. pl forms are occasionally confused in use, apas being employed as accus., and apās as nominative.
- b. Besides the stem ap, case-forms of this word are sometimes used in composition and derivation: thus, for example, abjä, āpodevata, āpomáya, apsumant.
- 394. The stem pums m. man is very irregular, substituting pumans in the strong cases, and losing its s (necessarily) before initial bh of a case-ending, and likewise (by analogy with this, or by an abbreviation akin with that noticed at 231) in the loc. plural. The vocative is (in accordance with that of the somewhat similarly

inflected perfect participles: see 462 a) púman in the later language, but púmas in the earlier. Thus: púmān, púmānsam, pumsā, pumsé, pumsés, pumsás, pumsís, púman; púmānsau, pumbhyám, pumsós; púmānsas, pumsás, pumbhís, pumbhyás, pumsám, pumsú.

- a. The accentuation of the weak forms, it will be noticed, is that of a true monosyllabic stem. The forms with bh-endings nowhere occur in the older language, nor do they appear to have been cited from the later. Instances of the confusion of strong and weak forms are occasionally met with. As to the retention of s unlingualized in the weakest cases (whence necessarily follows that in the loc. pl.), see 183 a.
- b. This stem appears under a considerable variety of forms in composition and derivation: thus, as pums in pumçcalī, pumstva, pumsvant, -pumska, ctc.; as pum in pumvata, pumrupa, pumvat, pumartha, etc.; as pumsa in pumsavant; at the end of a compound, either with its full inflection, as in strīpums etc.; or as pumsa, in strīpumsa, mahāpumsa; or as puma in strīpuma (TS. TA.).
- 395. The stem path m. road is defective in declension, forming only the weakest cases, while the strong are made from pantha or panthan, and the middle from pathi: see under an-stems, below, 433.
- 396. The stem dánt m. tooth is perhaps of participial origin, and has, like a participle, the forms dánt and dát, strong and weak: thus (V.), dán, dántam, datá, etc.; datás acc. pl. etc. But in the middle cases it has the monosyllabic and not the participial accent: thus, dadbhís, dadbhyás. In nom. pl. occurs also -datas instead of -dantas. By the grammarians, the strong cases of this word are required to be made from dánta.
- 397. A number of other words of this division are defective, making part of their inflection from stems of a different form.
- a. Thus, hṛd heart, māns or mās n. meat, mās m. menth, nās f. nose, niç f. night (not found in the older language), pṛt f. army, are said by the grammarians to lack the nom. of all numbers and the accussing and du. (the neuters, of course, the acc. pl. also), making them respectively from hṛdaya, mānsa, māsa, nāsikā, niçā, pṛtanā. But the usage in the older language is not entirely in accordance with this requirement: thus, we find mās flesh accus sing.; mās month nom. sing.; and nāsā nostrils du. From pṛt occurs only the loc. pl. pṛtsú and (RV., once) the same case with double ending, pṛtsúṣu.
- 398. On the other hand, certain stems of this division, allowed by the grammarians a full inflection, are used to fill up the deficiencies of those of another form.
- a. Thus, as in blood, caket n. ordure, yaket n. liver, dos n. (also m.) fore-arm, have beside them defective stems in an: see below; 432. Of none of them, however, is anything but the nom.-acc. sing. found in the older language, and other cases later are but very scantily represented.

- b. Of as n. mouth, and úd water, only a case or two are found, in the older language, beside asán and asya, and udán and údaka (432).
- 399. Some of the alternative stems mentioned above are instances of transition from the consonant to a vowel declension: thus, dánta, māsa. A number of other similar cases occur, sporadically in the older language, more commonly in the later. Such are -pāda, -māda, -dāça, bhrājá, viṣṭápa, dvāra and dura, pura, dhura, -dṛça, nāsā, nidā, kṣípā, kṣapā, āçā, and perhaps a few others.
- a. A few irregular stems will find a more proper place under the head of Adjectives.

Adjectives.

- 400. Original adjectives having the root-form are comparatively rare even in the oldest language.
- a. About a dozen are quotable from the RV., for the most part only in a few scattering cases. But mah great is common in RV., though it dies out rapidly later. It makes a derivative feminine stem, mahī, which continues in use, as meaning earth etc.
- 401. But compound adjectives, having a root as final member, with the value of a present participle, are abundant in every period of the language.
- a. Possessive adjective compounds, also, of the same form, are not very rare: examples are yatásrue with offered bowl; súryatvae sun-skinned; cátuspad four-footed; suhárd kind-hearted, friendly; rītyàp (i. e. rītí-ap) having streaming waters; sahásradvār furnished with a thousand doors.
- b. The inflection of such compounds is like that of the simple rootstems, masculine and feminine being throughout the same, and the neuter varying only in the nom.-acc.-voc. of all numbers. But special neuter forms are of rare occurrence, and masc.-fem. are sometimes used instead.
- c. Only rarely is a derivative feminine stem in $\bar{\imath}$ formed: in the older language, only from the compounds with ac or anc (407 ff.), those with han (402), those with pad, as ékapadī, dvipádī, and with dant, as vṛṣadatī, and mahī, ámucī (AV.), úpasadī (?CB).

Irregularities of inflection appear in the following:

402. The root han slay, as final of a compound, is inflected somewhat like a derivative noun in an (below, 420 ff.), becoming hā in the nom. sing., and losing its n in the middle cases and its a in the weakest cases but only optionally in the loc. sing.). Further, when the vowel is lost, h in contact with following n reverts to its original gh. Thus:

	Singular.	Dual.	Plural.
N.	vŗtrahā	\vrtraháņāu	vṛtraháṇas
A.	vṛtraháṇam) vi or amanaa	vṛtraghnás
I.	vrtraghná)	vṛtrahábhis
D.	vrtraghné	vrtrahábhyām	vṛtrahábhyas
Ab.	vrtraghnás	}	Vitranabnyas
G.) vi or agninas	vrtraghnós	vŗtraghnám
L.	vrtraghní, -háni	\viriaginos	vṛtrahásu
v.	vŕtrahan	vŕtrahaņāu	vŕtrahaņas.

- a. As to the change of n to n, see 193, 195.
- b. A feminine is made by adding ī to, as usual, the stem-form shown in the weakest cases: thus, vṛtraghnī.
- c. An accus. pl. -hánas (like the nom.) also occurs. Vṛṭrahábhis (RV., once) is the only middle case-form quotable from the older language. Transitions to the a-declension begin already in the Veda: thus, to -há (RV. AV.), -ghná (RV.), -hana.
- 403. The root vah carry at the end of a compound is said by the grammarians to be lengthened to vāh in both the strong and middle cases, and contracted in the weakest cases to ūh, which with a preceding a-vowel becomes āu (137 c): thus, from havyaváh sacrifice-bearing (epithet of Agni), havyavát, havyaváham, havyaváhā, havyaváhāu, havyaváhāu, havyaváhas, havyaváhas, havyavádbhis, etc. And çvetaváh (not quotable) is said to be further irregular in making the nom. sing. in vās and the vocative in vas or vās.
- a. In the earlier language, only strong forms of compounds with vah have been found to occur: namely. -vāt, -vāham, -vāhāu or -vāhā, and -vāhas. But feminines in ī, from the weakest stem as turyāuhī, dityāuhī, paṣṭhāuhī are met with in the Brāhmaṇas. TS. has the irregular nom. sing. paṣṭhavāt.
- 404. Of very irregular formation and inflection is one common compound of vah, namely anadváh (anas + vah burden-bearing or cart-drawing, i. e. ox). Its stem-form in the strong cases is anadváh, in the weakest anadúh, and in the middle anadúd (perhaps by dissimilation from anadúd). Moreover, its nom and voc. sing. are made in vān and van (as if from a vant-stem). Thus:

	Singular.	Dual.	Plural,
Ν.	anadván	anadvähau	anadváhas
A.	anadváham	anaqvanau	anaduhas
I.	anadúhā	j	anadúdbhis
D.	anadúhe	anadúdbhyām	anadúdbhyas
Ab.	\anadúhas	•	anaquabnyas
G.	anaqunas	anadúhos	anadúhām
L,	anadúhi	anaqunos	anadútsu
V.	ánadvan	ánadvāhāu	ánadvāhas

- a. Anadúdbhyas (AV., once) is the only middle case-form quotable from the older language. But compounds showing the middle stem - as anaducchata, anadudarha - are met with in Brahmanas etc.
- b. The corresponding feminine stem (of very infrequent occurrence) is cither anaduhí (CB.) or anadvähī (K. MS.).
- 405. The root sah overcome has in the Veda a double irregularity. its s is changeable to s even after an a-vowel - as also in its single occurrence as an independent adjective (RV., tvám sat) - while it sometimes remains unchanged after an i or u-vowel; and its a is either prolonged or remains unchanged, in both strong and weak cases. The quotable forms are: -ṣāt, -ṣāham or -sāham or -sāham, -sāhā, -sāhe or -sāhe, -ṣāhas or -sahas or -sahas; -sahā (du.); -sahas or -sahas.
- 408. The compound avayaj (yyaj make offering) a certain priest or (BR.) a certain sacrifice is said to form the nom. and voc. sing. avayas. and to make its middle cases from avayas.
- a. Its only quotable form is avayas, f. (RV. and AV., each onco). If the stem is a derivative from ava+/yaj conciliate, avayas is very probably from ava + /yā, which has the same meaning. But sadhamās (RV., once) and purodás (RV. twice) show a similar apparent substitution in nom, sing, of the case-ending s after long a for a final root-consonant (d and c respectively). Compare also the alleged cvetavās (above, 403)
- 407. Compounds with anc or ac. The root ac or anc makes, in combination with prepositions and other words, a considerable class of familiarly used adjectives, of quite irregular formation and inflection, in some of which it almost loses its character of root and becomes an ending of derivation.
- a. A part of these adjectives have only two stem-forms: a strong in anc (yielding an, from anks, in nom. sing. masc.), and a weak in ac: others distinguish from the middle in ac a weakest stem in c. before which the a is contracted with a preceding i or u into ī or u.
- b. The feminine is made by adding I to the stem-form used in the weakest cases, and is accented like them.
- 408. As examples of inflection we may take pranc forward, east, pratyane opposite, west, visvane going apart.

	Singular:	•		•		·
N. V.	práň	prák	pratyáñ	pratyák	vişvan	ví svak
A.	präñcam	prák	pratyáñcam	pratyák	vísvañcam	vís vak
I.	prác	ā.	prat	tīcā	vișūc	Ā
D,	prāc	е	prat	tīcé	vişūc	е
Ab. G.	prác	as	prat	tīcás	víșūc	as
L.	prác	i	prat	tīcí	√iņūc	i
	Dual:		•			
N. A. V.	práncau	práci	pratyáñcāu	pratīci	vísvañcāu	víșūcī
	. prágbh		pratvágbl		ชายกา	hvām

pratyágbhyām

praticós

visvagbhyām

vísücos

prägbhyām

prácos

G. L.

Plural:

N. V.		pratyáñcas pratyáñci	
A.	prácas práñci	pratīcás pratyáñci	visūcas visvanci
I.	prágbhis	pratyágbhis	vísvagbhis
D. Ab.	prägbhyas	p raty ágbhyas	vísvagbhyas
G.	prácam	pratīcām	viṣūcām
L.	_ práksu	pratyáksu	vísvaksu

- a. The feminine stems are pracī, pratīci, vişūcī, respectively.
- b. No example of the middle forms excepting the nom. etc. sing. neut. (and this generally used as adverb) is found either in RV. or AV. In the same texts is lacking the nom. etc. pl. neut. in neit, but of this a number of examples occur in the Brahmanas thus, pranci, pratyanci, arvanci, samyanci, sadhryanci, anvanci.
- 409. a. Like pranc are inflected apanc, avanc, paranc, arvanc, adharanc, and others of rare occurrence.
- b. Like pratyanc are inflected nyanc (i. e. níanc), samyanc (sam + anc, with irregularly inserted i), and údanc (weakest stem údic: ud + anc, with i inserted in weakest cases only), with a few other rare stems.
- c. Like vísvaňc is inflected anváňc, also three or four others of which only isolated forms occur.
- d. Still more irregular is tiryanc, of which the weakest stem is tirace (tiras + ac: the other stems are made from tir + anc or ac, with the inserted i).
- 410. The accentuation of these words is irregular, as regards both the stems themselves and their inflected forms. Sometimes the one element has the tone and sometimes the other, without any apparent reason for the difference. If the compound is accented on the final syllable, the accent is shifted in RV. to the ending in the weakest cases provided their stem shows the contraction to ī or ū: thus, prācā, arvācā, adharācas, but pratīcā, anūcás, samīcī. But AV. and later texts usually keep the accent upon the stem: thus, pratīcī, samīcī, anūcī (RV. has pratīcīm once). The shift of accent to the endings, and even in polysyllabic stems, is against all usual analogy.

B. Derivative stems in as, is, us.

- 411. The stems of this division are prevailingly neuter; but there are also a few masculines, and one or two feminines.
- 412. The stems in अन् as are quite numerous, and mostly made with the suffix अस् as (a small number also

e, 21/4

with तम् tas and नम् nas, and some are obscure); the others are few, and almost all made with the suffixes इम् is and उम् us.

- 413. Their inflection is almost entirely regular. But masculine and feminine stems in 知识 as lengthen the vowel of the ending in nom. sing.; and the nom.-acc.-voc. pl. neut. make the same prolongation (of 知 a or 表 i or 3 u) before the inserted nasal (anusvāra).
- 414. Examples of declension. As examples we may take मनम् mánas n. mind; मङ्गिस् áñgiras m. Angirus; रुविस् havís n. oblation.

Singular:

	•		
N.	मनम्	ग्रङ्गिराम्	क्विस्
	mánas	áñgirās `	havis
A.	मनम्	ग्रङ्गिरमम्	क्विस्
	mánas	áñgirasam	havís `
I.	मनमा	म्रङ्गिरसा	क् विया
	mánasā	ángirasā	havisā
D.	मनमे	ग्र िङ्गरमे	कृविषे
	mánase	ångirase	havíse
Ab. G.	मनसम्	ग्र िङ्गरमम्	क् विपम्
	mánasas	ángirasas	havisas
L.	मनमि	ग्रिङ्गिसी	क्विपि
	mánasi	ángirasi	, havíși
v.	मनम्	म्रङ्गिरम्	<u>रुविस्</u>
	mánas	áñgiras	havís
Dı	ıal:		
N. A. V.	मनमी	म्रङ्गिर्मी	रुविषी
	mánasī	áñgirasāu	havíșī
I. D. Ab.	मनोभ्याम्	म्रङ्गिरोभ्याम्	क्विभ्याम्
	mánobhyām	ángirobhyām	havírbhyām
G. L.	मनसोस्	ग्रङ्गिरमोम्	कृ विषोम्
	mánasos	ángirasos	havișos `

Plural:

N. A. V.	मनांसि	म्र ङ्गिरसम्	क् वीषि
	mánäňsi	áñgirasas	havīnsi
I.	मनोभिम्	ग्रङ्गिरोभिस्	क् विर्भिम्
	mánobhis	áñgirobhis	havírbhis
D. Ab.	मनोभ्यम्	म्रङ्गिरोभ्यम्	क्विभ्र्यम्
	mánobhyas	ángirobhyas	havírbhyas
G.	मनसाम्	म्रङ्गिरसाम्	क्विषाम्
	mánasām	ángirasam	havísām
L.	मनःमु	म्रङ्गिरःम्	क्विःष्
	mánaḥsu	áñgiraḥsu	havíḥṣu

In like manner, चतुम् cákṣus n. eye forms चतुमा cákṣuṣā, चतुभ्याम् cákṣurbhyām, चतुंपि cákṣūṅṣi, and so on.

- 415. Vedic etc. Irregularities. a. In the older language, the endings -asam (acc. sing.) and -asas (generally nom.-acc. pl.; once or twice gen.-abl. sing.) of stems in as are not infrequently contracted to -ām, -ās e.g. āçām, vedhām; surādhās, ánāgās and out of such forms grow, both earlier and later, substitute-stems in ā, as āçā, jarā, medhā. So from other forms grow stems in a and in asa, which exchange more or less with those in as through the whole history of the language.
- b. More scattering irregularities may be mentioned, as follows: 1. The usual mase, and fem. du. ending in ā instead of āu;—2. uṣás f. daun often prolongs its a in the other strong cases, as in the nom. sing.: thus, uṣāsam, uṣāsa, uṣāsas (and once in a weak case, uṣāsas); and in its instr. pl. occurs once (RV.) uṣādbhis instead of uṣōbhis;—3. from toçás is once (RV.) found a similar dual, toçāsā;—4. from svavas and svātavas occur in RV. a nom. sing. masc. in vān, as if from a stem in vant; and in the Brāhmaṇas is found the dat.—abl. pl. of like formation svātavadbhyas.
- c. The stems in is and us also show transitions to stems in i and u, and in isa and usa. From janús is once (RV.) made the nom. sing. janús, after the manner of an as-stem (cf. also janūrvāsas CB.).
- 416. The grammarians regard uçánas m. as regular stem-form of the proper name noticed above (355 a), but give it the irregular nom. uçánā and the voc. uçanas or uçanā or uçanan. Forms from the as-stem, even nom., are sometimes met with in the later literature.
- a. As to forms from as-stems to ahan or ahar and ūdhan or ūdhar, see below, 480.

Adjectives.

- 417. a. A few neuter nouns in as with accent on the radical syllable have corresponding adjectives or appellatives in ás, with accent on the ending: thus, for example, ápas work, apás active; táras quickness, tarás quick; yáças glory, yaçás glorious. A few other similar adjectives as tavás mighty, vedhás pious are without corresponding nouns.
- b. Original adjectives in is do not occur (as to alleged desiderative adjectives in is, see 392 d). But in us are found as many adjectives as nouns (about ten of each class); and in several instances adjective and noun stand side by side, without difference of accent such as appears in the stems in as: e. g. tapus heat and hot; vapus wonder and wonderful.
- 418. Adjective compounds having nouns of this division as fival member are very common: thus, sumanas favorably minded; dirghavus long-lived; qukraçocis having brilliant brightness. The stemform is the same for all genders, and each gender is inflected in the usual manner, the stems in as making their nom sing mass. and fem. in as (like angiras, above). Thus, from sumanas, the nom and accus. are as follows:

- N. sumánās -nas sumánasāu -nasī sumánasas -nans A. sumánasam -nas sumánasas -nans and the other cases (save the vocative) are alike in all genders.
- a. In Veda and Brāhmaṇa, the neut nom. sing is in a considerable number of instances made in $\bar{a}s$, like the other genders.
 - b. From dīrghāyus, in like manner:
- N. dīrghāyus
 A. dīrghāyuṣam -yus
 dīrghāyuṣāu -yuṣī dīrghāyuṣas -yūṅṣi
 I. dīrghāyuṣā dīrghāyurbhyām dīrghāyurbhis
 etc. etc. etc.
- 410. The stem anehás unrivalled (defined as meaning time in the later language) forms the nom. sing. masc. and fem. anehá.

C. Derivative stems in an.

- 420. The stems of this division are those made by the three suffixes হান্ an, দান্ man, and হান্ van, together with a few of more questionable etymology which are inflected like them. They are almost exclusively masculine and neuter.
 - 421. The stem has a triple form. In the strong cases

of the masculine, the vowel of the ending is prolonged to π \bar{a} ; in the weakest cases it is in general struck out altogether; in the middle cases, or before a case-ending beginning with a consonant, the final $\bar{\gamma}$ n is dropped. The $\bar{\gamma}$ n is also lost in the nom. sing. of both genders (leaving $\bar{\pi}$ \bar{a} as final in the masculine, $\bar{\pi}$ \bar{a} in the neuter).

a. The peculiar cases of the neuter follow the usual analogy (311 b): the nom.-acc.-voc. pl. have the lengthening to 知 ā, as strong cases; the nom.-acc.-voc. du., as weakest cases, have the loss of 된 a — but this only optionally, not necessarily.

b. In the loc. sing., also, the a may be either rejected or retained (compare the corresponding usage with r-stems: 373). And after the m or v of man or van, when these are preceded by another consonant, the a is always retained, to avoid a too great accumulation of consonants.

- 422. The vocative sing is in masculines the pure stem; in neuters, either this or like the nominative. The rest of the inflection requires no description.
- 423. As to accent, it needs only to be remarked that when, in the weakest cases, an acute á of the suffix is lost, the tone is thrown forward upon the ending.
- 424. Examples of declension. As such may be taken নাজন rajan m. king; মানেন atman m. soul, self; নানন namen n. name. Thus:

Singular:

D. राज्ञे म्रात्मने नाम्रे	N	राजा rája	ग्रात्मा ātmā	नाम náma
rájňa atmána námni		राजानम् rājānam		
D. राज्ञे म्रात्मने नाम्रे rajne ātmāne nāmne	I.			নাদ্মা námnā
	D.	राज्ञे rájñe		नामे nämne

Ab. G.	राजम् ·	म्रात्मनम्	नाम्नम् .
	rájňas	ātmánas	nāmnas
L.	राज्ञि, राजनि	म्रात्मनि	नाम्नि, नामनि
	rājñi, rājani	ātmáni	n āmni, nāma ni
v.	राजन्	म्रात्मन्	नामन्, नाम
	rájan	ātman	nāman, nāma
	Dual:		
N. A. V.	राजानी	न्रात्मानी	नाम्नी, नामनी
	rájanau	ātmānāu	námnī, námanī
1. D. Ab.	राजभ्याम्	ग्रात्मभ्याम्	नामभ्याम्
	rájabhyām	ātmábhyām	námabhyām
G. L.	राज्ञोम्	म्रात्मनोस्	नाम्रोस्
	rājños	ātmános	námnos
	Plural:		
N.	राजानम्	म्रात्मानम्	नामानि
	rājānas	ātmánas	námāni
A.	राज्ञम्	म्रात्मनम्	नामानि 🔹
	rājñas	ātmánas	nāmāni
I.	राजभिम्	म्रात्मभिस्	नामभिस्
	rājabhis	ātmábhis	námabhis
D. Ab.	राजभ्यस्	ग्रात्मभ्यम्	नामभ्यम्
	rájabhyas	ātmábhyas	námabhyas
G.	राज्ञाम्	ग्रात्मनाम्	नाम्नाम्
	rājňām	ātmánām	nāmnām
L.	राजम्	ग्रात्मम	नागम
	rájasu	ātmásu	nā mas u

a. The weakest cases of mūrdhán m. head, would be accented mūrdhná, mūrdhné, mūrdhnós, mūrdhnás (acc. pl.), mūrdhnám, etc.; and so in all similar cases (loc. sing., mūrdhní or mūrdhání)

425. Vedic Irregularities. a. Here, as elsewhere, the ending of the nom.-acc.-voc. du. masc. is usually ${\bf \bar a}$ instead of ${\bf \bar a} {\bf u}$.

b. The briefer form (with ejected a) of the loc. sing,, and of the neutnom.-acc.-voc. du., is quite unusual in the older language. RV. writes once catadávni, but it is to be read catadávani; and similar cases occur in AV. (but also several times -mni). In the Brāhmaṇas, too, such forms as dhāmani and sāmanī are very much more common than such as ahni and lomnī.

- to. But throughout both Veda and Brāhmaṇa, an abbreviated form of the loc. sing., with the ending i omitted, or identical with the stem, is of considerably more frequent occurrence than the regular form: thus, mūrdhán, kárman, ádhvan, beside mūrdháni etc. The n has all the usual combinations of a final n: e. g. mūrdhann asya, mūrdhant sa, mūrdhans tvē.
- d. In the nom.-acc. pl. neut., also, an abbreviated form is common, ending in ā or (twice as often) a, instead of āni: thus, bráhma and bráhmā, beside bráhmāṇi: compare the similar series of endings from a-stems, 329 c.
- e. From a few stems in man is made an abbreviated instr. sing., with loss of m as well as of a: thus, mahinā, prathinā, variņā, dānā, preņā, bhūnā, for mahimnā etc. And drāghmā and raçmā (RV., each once) are perhaps for drāghmāṇā, raçmānā.
- f. Other of the weakest cases than the loc. sing. are sometimes found with the a of the suffix retained: thus, for example, bhúmanā, dāmane, yāmanas, ukṣāṇas (accus. pl.), etc. In the infinitive datives (970 d)—trāmaņe, vidmāne, dāvāne, etc.—the a always remains. About as numerous are the instances in which the a, omitted in the written form of the text, is, as the metre shows, to be restored in reading.
- g. The voc. sing in vas, which is the usual Vedic form from stems in vant (below, 454 b) is found also from a few in van, perhaps by a transfer to the vant-declension: thus, rtāvas, evayāvas, khidvas (?), prātaritvas, mātariçvas, vibhāvas.
- $\boldsymbol{h}.$ For words of which the \boldsymbol{a} is not made long in the strong cases, see the next paragraph.
- 426. A few stems do not make the regular lengthening of a in the strong cases (except the nom. sing.). Thus:
- a. The names of divinities, pūṣán, aryamán: thus, pūṣá, pūṣá, ṇam, pūṣṇá, etc.
- b. In the Veda, ukṣan, bull (but also ukṣāṇam); yoṣan maiden; vṛṣan virile, bull (but vṛṣāṇam and vṛṣāṇas are also met with); tmán, abbreviation of ātmán; and two or three other scattering forms: anarváṇam, jómanā. And in a number of additional instances, the Vedic metre scems to demand a where ā is written.
- 427. The stems cván m. dog and yúvan young have in the weakest cases the contracted form cún and yún (with retention of the accent); in the strong and middle cases they are regular. Thus, cvá, cvánam, cúnā, cúne, etc., cvábhyām, cvábhis, etc.; yúvā, yúvānam, yúnā, yúvabhis, etc.
 - a. In dual, RV. has once yūnā for yuvānā.
- 428. The stem maghávan generous (later, almost exclusively a name of Indra) is contracted in the weakest cases to maghón: thus, maghávā, maghávānam, maghónā, maghóne, etc.

- a. The RV, has once the weak form maghonas in nom, pl.
- b. Parallel with this is found the stem maghávant (division E); and from the latter alone in the older language are made the middle cases: thus, maghavadbhis, maghavatsu, etc. (not maghavabhis etc.).
- 429. a. Stems in a, ma, va, parallel with those in an, man, van, and doubtless in many cases derived from them through transitional forms, are frequent in both the earlier and the later language, particularly as final members of compounds.
- b. A number of an-stems are more or less defective, making a part of their forms from other stems. Thus:
- 430. a. The stem ahan n. day is in the later language used only in the strong and weakest cases, the middle (with the nonning, which usually follows their analogy) coming from ahar or ahas namely, ahar nom.-acc. sing., ahobhyām, ahobhis, etc. (PB. has aharbhis); but ahnā etc., ahni or ahani (or ahan), ahnī or ahani, ahāni (and, in V., ahā).
- b. In the oldest language, the middle cases ahabhis, ahabhyas, ahasu also occur.
- c. In composition, only ahar or ahas is used as preceding member; as final member, ahar, ahas, ahan, or the derivatives aha, ahna.
- d. The stem údhan n. udder exchanges in like manner, in the MI language, with údhar and údhas, but has become later an as-stem only (except in the fem. ūdhnī of adjective compounds): thus, údhar or údhas, údhnas, údhan or údhani, údhabhis, údhaḥsu. As derivatives from it are made both ūdhanyà and ūdhasya.
- 431. The neuter stems akṣán eye, asthán bone, dadhán curds, sakthán thigh, form in the later language only the weakest cases, akṣṇā, asthné, dadhnás, sakthní or saktháni, and so on; the rest of the inflection is made from stems in i, ákṣi etc.: see above. 343 i.
- a. In the older language, other cases from the an-stems occur: thus, akṣāni, akṣābhis, and akṣasu; asthāni, asthābhis, and asthābhyas; sakthāni.
- 432. The neuter stems asán blood, yakán liver, çakán ordure. asán mouth, udán water, dosán fore-arm, yūsán broth, are required to make their nom.-acc.-voc. in all numbers from the parallel stems ásrj, yákrt, çákrt, āsyà, údaka (in older language udaká), dós. yūsá, which are fully inflected.
 - a. Earlier occurs also the dual dosanī.
- 433. The stem panthan m. road is reckoned in the later language as making the complete set of strong cases, with the irregularity that the nom-voc sing adds a s. The corresponding middle cases are made from path, and the weakest from path. Thus:

from pánthan — pánthās, pánthānam; pánthānāu; pánthānas; from pathí — pathíbhyām; pathíbhis, pathíbhyas, pathísu; from path — pathá, pathé, pathás, pathí; pathós; pathás or páthas (accus), pathām.

- a. In the oldest language (RV.), however, the strong stem is only pantha: thus, panthas, nom. sing.; pantham, acc. sing.; panthas, nom. pl.; and even in AV., pantham and panthamas are rare compared with the others. From pathi occur also the nom. pl. pathayas and gen. pl. pathīnām. RV. has once pāthās, acc. pl., with long ā.
- 434. The stems mánthan m. stirring-stick, and rbhukgán m., an epithet of Indra, are given by the grammarians the same inflection with pánthan; but only a few cases have been found in use. In V. occur from the former the acc. sing. mánthām, and gen. pl. mathīnām (like the corresponding cases from pánthan); from the latter, the nom. sing. rbhukṣās and voc. pl. rbhukṣās, like the corresponding Vedic forms of pánthan; but also the acc. sing. rbhukṣānam and nom. pl. rbhukṣānas, which are after quite another model.

Adjectives.

- 435. Original adjective stems in an are almost exclusively those made with the suffix van, as yajvan sacrificing, sutvan pressing the soma, jitvan conquering. The stem is mase and neut only (but sporadic cases of its use as fem. occur in RV.); the corresponding fem. stem is made in varī: thus, yajvarī, jitvarī.
- 436. Adjective compounds having a noun in an as final member are inflected after the model of noun-stems; and the masculine forms are sometimes used also as feminine; but usually a special feminine is made by adding ī to the weakest form of the masculine stem: thus, sómarājnī, kīlālodhnī, ékamūrdhnī, durnámnī.
- 437. But (as was pointed out above: 420 a) nouns in an occurring as final members of compounds often substitute a stem in a for that in an: thus, -rāja, -janma, -adhva, -aha; their feminine is in ā. Occasional exchanges of stems in van and in vant also occur: thus, vivásvan and vivásvant.
- a. The remaining divisions of the consonantal declension are made up of adjective stems only.

D. Derivative stems (adjective) in in.

438. The stems of this division are those formed with the suffixes হন in, নিন min, and বিন্ vin. They are maswhitney, Grammar. 8. ed. culine and neuter only; the corresponding feminine is made by adding $\frac{1}{5}$ 1.

- a. The stems in in are very numerous, since almost any noun in a in the language may form a possessive derivative adjective with this suffix: thus, bala strength, balin m. n. balin f. possessing strength, strong. Stems in vin (1232), however, are very few, and those in min (1231) still fewer.
- 439. Their inflection is quite regular, except that they lose their final $\bar{\eta}$ n in the middle cases (before an initial consonant of the ending), and also in the nom. sing., where the masculine lengthens the $\bar{\xi}$ i by way of compensation. The voc. sing. is in the masculine the bare stem; in the neuter, either this or like the nominative.
- a. In all these respects, it will be noticed, the in-declension agrees with the an-declension; but it differs from the latter in never losing the vowel of the ending.
- 440. Example of inflection. As such may be taken অলিনু balin strong. Thus:

	Singular.		Du	Dual.		Plural.	
	m.	n.	m.	n.	m.	n.	
N.	बली	वलि)					
	balí	balí	विलिनी	बलिनी	वलिनस्	बलींग	
Α.	वलिनम्	विल (balínāu	b al ínī	balinas	balini	
	balinam	balí)					
1.	वलिना	1			बलिभि		
	balinā				balíbh	is	
D.	वितने		वलि	भ्याम्)	==		
	balíne	ì	balik	hyām }	बलिभ्र		
Ab.) .			J	balibh	iyas	
	∫ व्रलिनम्						
G.	balinas) }			बलिना	म्	
		l	बलि	नोस् 🔧	balína	m	
L.	ं बलिनि	}	balír	108 ,	बलिषु		
	b alíni	J		•	balişu		
v.	्बलिन् बलि	प्, बलि	बलिनी	वलिनी	बलिनम्	बलीनि	
	bálin bálin	, báli	bálināu	b álin ï	bálinas	bálīni	

- a. The derived feminine stem in inī is inflected, of course, like any other feminine in derivative ī (364).
- 441. a. There are no irregularities in the inflection of in-stems, in either the earlier language or the later—except the usual Vedic dual ending in ā instead of āu.

b. Stems in in exchange with stems in i throughout the whole history of the language, those of the one class being developed out of those of the other often through transitional forms. In a much smaller number of cases, stems in in are expanded to stems in ina e. g. çākiná (RV.), çuşmiņa (B.), barhiņa, bhajina.

E. Derivative stems (adjective) in ant (or at).

442. These stems fall into two sub-divisions: 1. those made by the suffix ঘন ant (or ঘন at), being, with a very few exceptions, active participles, present and future; 2. those made by the possessive suffixes দন mant and বন vant (or দন mat and বন vat). They are masculine and peuter only; the corresponding feminine is made by adding $\frac{1}{5}$ 1.

1. Participles in ant or at.

- 443. The stem has in general a double form, a stronger and a weaker, ending respectively in হাল and হাল at. The former is taken in the strong cases of the masculine, with, as usual, the nom.-acc.-voc. pl. neuter; the latter is taken by all the remaining cases.
- a. But, in accordance with the rule for the formation of the feminine stem (below, 449), the future participles, and the present participles of verbs of the tud-class or accented &-class (752), and of verbs of the adclass or root-class ending in ā, are by the grammarians allowed to make the nom.-acc.-voc. du. neut. from either the stronger or the weaker stem; and the present participles from all other present-stems ending in a are required to make the same from the strong stem.
- 444. Those verbs, however, which in the 3d pl. pres. active lose \(\frac{7}{4}\) n of the usual ending in nti (550 b), lose it also in the present participle, and have no distinction of strong and weak stem.

- a. Such are the verbs forming their present-stem by reduplication without added a: namely, those of the reduplicating or hu-class (655) and the intensives (1012): thus, from \(\nu\)hu, present-stem juhu, participle-stem juhvat; intensive-stem johu, intensive participle-stem johvat. Further, the participles of roots apparently containing a contracted reduplication: namely, caksat, daçat, dasat, casat, saccat; the acrist participle dhaksat, and vaghat(?). Vavydhant (RV., once), which has then notwithstanding its reduplication, comes, like the desiderative participles (1032), from a stem in a: compare vavydhanta, vavydhasva.
- b. Even these verbs are allowed by the grammarians to make the nom.-acc.-voc. pl. neut. in anti.
- 445. The inflection of these stems is quite regular. The nom. sing. masc. comes to end in হানু an by the regular (150) loss of the two final consonants from the etymological form সহন্ ants. The vocative of each gender is like the nominative.
- 446. Stems accented on the final syllable throw the accent forward upon the case-ending in the weakest cases (not in the middle also).
- a. In the dual neut. (as in the feminine stem) from such participles, the accent is anti if the n is retained, atī if it is lost.
- 447. Examples of declension. As such may serve भवत् bhávant being, घदत्त् adánt eating, जुदात् júhvat sucrificing. Thus:

Singular:

N.	भवन्	भवत्	म्रदन्	ग्रदत्	ज्दत्	बुद्धत्
	bhávan	bhávat	adán	adát	júhvat	júhvat
A.	भवतम्	भवत्	म्रदत्तम्	भ्रदृत्	ज् द्धतम्	बुद्धत्
	bhávantam	bhávat	adántan	adát	júhvatam	•
I.	भवता		म्रदता		बुह्नता	•
	bhávatā	i	adata	i	júhvat	ā
D.	ਮਕਨੇ		म्रदते		बुद्धते	
	bhávate	,	adaté	•	júhvai	te
Ab. G.	भवतम्		श्रदतस	Į.	जुद्धतम	į
	bhávata	.8	adatá	is	júhvat	•
L.	भवति		म्रदित		बुद्धति	
	bhávati		adatí		júhvat	i

,						
v.	भवन्	भवत्	म्रदन्	म्रदत्	<u>जुद्धत्</u>	
	bhávan	bhávat	ádan	ádat	júhva	t
	Dual:					
N. A.V.	भवती	भवती	म्रदत्ती	ग्रदती	बुद्धती	बुह्नती
	bhávantāu	bhávantī	adántāu	adatí	júhvatāu	júhvatī
I.D.Ab.	भवझाम्	Ţ	म्बद्द्या	म्	बुद्धाः	म्
	bhávad	lbhyām	adádb	hyām	_	bhyām
G. L.	भवतोम्		म्रदतोस	Į	बुद्धतोस	Ī
	bhávat	ов	adató	В	júhvat	`
	Plural	:				
N. V.	भवत्तम्	भवित	ग्रदत्तम्	ग्रदित	बुद्धतम्	जुव्हति
	bhávantas	bhávanti	adántas	adánti	júhvatas	~
A	भवतम्	भवित	घ दतम्	ग्रदित	बुद्धतम्	ज्ङाति
	bhávatas	bhávanti	adatás	adánti	júhvatas	
I.	भवदिस्		म्रद्रिस	Ą.	बुक्तदिव	म्
	bhávad	lbhis	adádb	his	júhvad	_
P. Ab.	भवद्यस्		भ द ह्यम	[बुद्धग्रम	Ţ
	bhávad	lbhyas	adádb	hyas	júhvad	•
G	भवताम्		ग्रदताम	<u>[</u>	जुद्धताम	Ţ
	bhávat	ām	adatá	m	júhvat	`
L.	भवत्म्		म्रदत्स्		जुद्धत्म्	
	bhávat	su	adátsı	1	júhvat	su
a. The future participle bhavisyant may form in nom. etc. dual						

a. The future participle bhavişyant may form in nom. etc. dual neuter either bhavişyanti or bhavişyati; tudant, either tudanti or tudati; yänt (/yā), either yāntī or yātī. And júhvat, in nom. etc. plural neuter, may make also júhvanti (beside júhvati, as given in the paradigm above).

b. But these strong forms (as well as bhavantī, du., and its like from present-stems in unaccented a) are quite contrary to general analogy, and of somewhat doubtful character. No example of them is quotable, either from the older or from the later language. The cases concerned, indeed, would be everywhere of rare occurrence.

448. The Vedic derivations from the model as above given are few. The dual ending au is only one sixth as common as a. Anomalous accent is seen in a case or two: acodáte, rathirāyátām, and vāghádbhis (if this is a participle). The only instance in V. of nom. etc. pl. neut. is santi, with lengthened a (compare the forms in anti, below, 451 a, 454 c); one or two examples in anti are quotable from B.

- 449. The feminine participle-stem, as already stated, is made by adding $\frac{5}{5}$ T to either the strong or the weak stem-form of the masc.-neut. The rules as to which of the two forms shall be taken are the same with those given above respecting the nom. etc. dual neuter; namely:
- a. Participles from tense-stems ending in unaccented a add $\bar{\imath}$ to the strong stem-form, or make their feminine in ant $\bar{\imath}$.
- b. Such are the bhū or unaccented a-class and the dīv or ya-class of present-stems (chap. IX.), and the desideratives and causatives (chap. XIV.): thus, from pbhū (stem bháva), bhávantī; from pdīv (stem dívya), dívyantī; from búbhūṣa and bhāváya (desid. and caus. of pbhū). búbhūṣantī and bhāváyantī.
- c. Exceptions to this rule are now and then met with, even from the carliest period. Thus, RV. has jaratī, and AV. the desiderative siṣāsati; in B. occur vadatī, çocatī, tṛpyatī, and in S. further tiṣṭhatī, and the causative namayatī, while in the epics and later such cases (including desideratives and causatives) are more numerous (about fifty are quotable). though still only sporadic.
- d. Participles from tense-stems in accented a may add the feminine-sign either to the strong or to the weak stem-form, or may make their feminines in antī or in atī (with accent as here noted).
- e. Such are the present-stems of the tud or accented ά-class (751 11 1), the s-futures (932 ff.), and the denominatives (1053 ff.): thus, from γtud (stem tudá), tudántī or tudatī; from bhaviṣyá (fut. of γbhū), bhaviṣyántī or bhaviṣyatī; from devayá (denom. of devá), devayántī or devayatī.
- f. The forms in anti from this class are the prevailing ones. No future fem. participle in ati is quotable from the older language. From pres.-stems in a are found there raijati and sincati (RV.), tudati and pinvati (AV.). From denominatives, devayati (RV.), durasyati and catruyati (AV.). In BhP. occurs dhakeyati.
- g. Verbs of the ad or root-class (611 ff.) ending in a are given by the grammarians the same option as regards the feminine of the present participle: thus, from vyā, yāntī or yātī. The older language affords no example of the former, so far as noted.
- h. From other tense-stems than those already specified—that is to say, from the remaining classes of present-stems and from the intensives—the feminine is formed in atī (or, if the stem be otherwise accented than on the final, in atī) only.
- i. Thus, adati from \(\rho ad; \) juhvatī from \(\rho hu; \) yunjati from \(\rho u; \) kurvatī from \(\rho kr; \) krīņati from \(\rho kri; \) dédiçati from dédiç (intens. of \(\rho diç).

- j. Feminine stems of this class are occasionally (but the case is much less frequent than its opposite: above, c) found with the nasal: thus, yanti (AV., once), undanti (CB.; but probably from the secondary a-stem), grimanti (S.), and, in the epics and later, such forms as bruvanti, rudanti, cinvanti, kurvanti, jananti, musnanti.
- 450. A few words are participial in form and inflection, though not in meaning. Thus:
- a. bṛhánt (often written vṛhánt) great; it is inflected like a participle (with bṛhatī and bṛhánti in du. and pl. neut.).
- b. mahánt great; inflected like a participle, but with the irregularity that the a of the ending is lengthened in the strong forms: thus, mahán, mahántam; mahántāu (neut. mahatí); mahántas, mahánti: instr. mahatá etc.
 - c. preant speckled, and (in Veda only) ruçant shining.
- d. jágat movable, lively (in the later language, as neuter noun, world), a reduplicated formation from ygam go; its nom. etc. neut. pl. is allowed by the grammarians to be only jáganti.
 - e. rhant small (only once, in RV., rhaté).
- f. All these form their feminine in atī only: thus, bṛhati, mahati, pṛṣatī and rucatī (contrary to the rule for participles), jágatī.
- g. For dant tooth, which is perhaps of participial origin, see above, 396.
- 451. The pronominal adjectives fyant and kiyant are inflected like adjectives in mant and vant, having (452) fyān and kiyān as nom. masc. sing., fyatī and kiyatī as nom. etc. du. neut. and as feminine stems, and fyanti and kiyanti as nom. etc. plur. neut.
- a. But the neut. pl. iyanti and the loc. sing. (9) kiyati are found in RV.

2. Possessives in mant and vant.

- 452. The adjectives formed by these two suffixes are inflected precisely alike, and very nearly like the participles in আন্ধাৰমা. From the latter they differ only by lengthening the স a in the nom. sing. masc.
- a. The voc. sing. is in an, like that of the participle (in the later language, namely: for that of the oldest, see below, 454 b). The neut. nom. etc. are in the dual only atī (or átī), and in the plural anti (or ánti).
- b. The feminine is always made from the weak stem: thus matī, vatī (or mátī, vátī). One or two cases of nī instead of ī are með with: thus, antárvatnī (B. and later), patiyatnī (C.).

- c. The accent, however, is never thrown forward (as in the participle) upon the case-ending or the feminine ending.
- 453. To illustrate the inflection of such stems, it will be sufficient to give a part of the forms of प्यामन paçumant possessing cattle, and भावन bhagavant fortunate, blessed. Thus:

Singular:

	VIII BUILDI .				
	m.	n.	\mathbf{m}_{ullet}	n.	
N.	पश्मान्	प्रमुमत्	भगवान्	भगवत्	
	paçumān	paçumát	bhágavān	bhágavat	
A.	प्रमुमत्तम्	पशुमत्	भगवत्तम्	भगवत्	
	paçumántam	n paçumát	bhágavantam	bhágavat	
I.	वश्म	ता	भगवत	रा	
	paçu	ımátā	bhág	avatā	
	•	etc.	e	tc.	
v.	पश्मन्	पशुमत्	भगवन्	भगवत्	
	paçuman	páçumat	bhagavan	bhágavat	
	Dual:				
N. A. V.	पशुमत्ती	पशुमती	भगवती	भगवती	
	paçumántāu	paçumátī	bhágavantāu	bhágavatí	
	et	c.	etc.		
	Plural:	_		_	
N. V.	पश्मन्तम्	पशुमसि	भगवत्तम्	भगवित	
	paçumántas	paçumánti	bhágavantas	bhágav anti	
A.	पशुमतम्	पशुमित	भगवतम्	भगवित्त	
	paçumátas	paçumánti	bhágavatas	bhágavantı	
I.	पशुर्मा	देस्	भगर्वा	देस्	
	paçu	mádbhis	bhágavadbhis		
	•	etc.		etc.	

454. Vedic Irregularities. a, In dual mass. nom. etc., ā (for āu) is the greatly prevailing ending.

b. In voc. sing. mase., the ending in the oldest language (RV.) is almost always in as instead of an (as in the perfect participle: below, 462 a): thus, adrivas, harivas, bhānumas, havişmas. Such vocatives in RV. occur more than a hundred times, while not a single unquestionable instance of one in an is to be found. In the other Vedic texts, vocatives in as are extremely rare (but bhagavas and its contraction bhagos are met with, even in the later language); and in their production of RV.

passages the as is usually changed to an. It was pointed out above (425 g) that the RV. makes the voc. in as also apparently from a few an-stems.

- o. In RV., the nom. etc. pl. neut., in the only two instances that occur, ends in anti instead of anti: thus, ghṛtávānti, paçumánti. No such forms have been noted elsewhere in the older language: the SV. reads anti in its version of the corresponding passages, and a few examples of the same ending are quotable from the Bṛāhmaṇas: thus, tāvanti, etávanti, yāvanti, ghṛtávanti, pravanti, ṛtumanti, yugmanti. Compare 448, 451.
- d. In a few (eight or ten) more or less doubtful cases, a confusion of strong and weak forms of stem is made; they are too purely sporadic to require reporting. The same is true of a case or two where a masculine form appears to be used with a feminine noun.
- 455. The stem arvant running, steed, has the nom. sing. arva, from arvan; and in the older language also the voc. arvan and accus. arvanam.
- 456. Besides the participle bhavant, there is another stem bhavant, frequently used in respectful address as substitute for the pronoun of the second person (but construed, of course, with a verb in the third person), which is formed with the suffix vant, and so declined, having in the nom. sing. bhavān; and the contracted form bhos of its old-style vocative bhavas is a common exclamation of address: you, sir! Its origin has been variously explained; but it is doubtless a contraction of bhagavant.
- 457. The pronominal adjectives távant, etávant, yávant, and the Vedic Ívant, mávant, tvávant, etc., are inflected like ordinary derivatives from nouns.

F. Perfect Participles in vans.

- 458. The active participles of the perfect tense-system are quite peculiar as regards the modifications of their stem. In the strong cases, including the nom.-acc.-voc. pl. neut., the form of their suffix is नाम vāns, which becomes, by regular process (150), vān in the nom. sing., and which is shortened to न्य van in the voc. sing. In the weakest cases, the suffix is contracted into उच us. In the middle cases, including the nom.-acc.-voc. neut. sing., it is changed to न्य vat.
- a. A union-vowel i, if present in the strong and middle cases, disappears in the weakest, before us.

459. The forms as thus described are masculine and neuter only; the corresponding feminine is made by adding ξ I to the weakest form of stem, ending thus in 3 \widehat{q} \widehat{q} \widehat{q} .

460. The accent is always upon the suffix, whatever be its form.

461. Examples of inflection. To show the inflection of these participles, we may take the stems विद्यास् vidvāns knowing (which has irregular loss of the usual reduplication and of the perfect meaning) from $\sqrt{|a|}$ vid, and तस्यियांन् tasthivāns having stood from $\sqrt{|a|}$ sthā.

Singular:

	m.	n.	m.	n.	
N.	विद्यान्	विहत्	तस्थिवान्	तस्यिवन्	
	vidvān	vidvát	tasthivān	tasthivát	
A.	विद्यांसम्	विद्यत्	तस्थिवांसम्	तस्यिवत्	
	vidvánsam	vidvát	tasthivānsam	tasthivat	
I.	विद्यपा	ī	तस्युपा		
	vidúși	ā	tasth		
D.	विद्वेष		तर्स्यूपे		
	vidúșe	e	tasth	íșe	
Ab. G.	विद्यप	Ą	तस्युपम्		
	vidúșa	3.S	tasthúsas		
L.	विद्विप		तस्थुपि		
	viđúși		tasthúși		
v.	विद्यन्	विदत्	तस्थिवन्	तम्यिवन्	
	vídvan	vídvat	tásthivan	tásthivat	
	Dual:				
N. A. V.	विद्यांसी	विदुषी	तस्थिवांसी	तस्थ्पी	
	vidvánsau	vidúsī	tasthivänsäu	tasthúsi	
I. D. Ab.	विदद्याम्		तस्थिवद्याम्		
	vidvádbhyām		tasthivádbhyām		
G. L.	विद्वषो	म् ्	तस्युषोम्		
	vidúșc	- •	tasthúsos		

- 11	ur	aI	:

N. V.	विद्यांसम् vidvānsas	विद्यांसि vidváhsi	तस्थिवांसम् tasthivānsas	तस्थिवांसि tasthivánsi	
Α.	विद्वषम् vidúşas	विद्यांसि vidváńsi	तस्युपस् tasthúsas	तस्थिवांसि tasthiyāṅsi	
I.	विद्वद्वि vidvá	`	तस्यिवद्भिम् tasthiyádbhis		
D.	विहस्र	म्	तस्थिवद्यस्		
Ab. G.	vidvá विदुषा	dbhyas म्	tasthivádbhyas तस्यपाम्		
L.	vidúși विदत्स		tasthúṣām तस्यिवत्स		
	vidvá	•		vátsu	

a. The feminine stems of these two participles are विद्यों viduși and तस्य्यों tasthus.

b. Other examples of the different stems are:

- from /kr cakrváńs, cakrvát, cakrús, cakrúsi;
- from /nī ninīvans, ninīvat, ninyus, ninyusī;
- from /bhū babhūvans, babhūvat, babhūvus, babhūvusi;
- from /tan teniváns, tenivát, tenús, tenúsī.

462. a. In the oldest language (RV.), the vocative sing. masc. (like that of vant and mant-stems: above, 454 b) has the ending vas instead of van: thus, cikitvas (changed to -van in a parallel passage of AV.), titirvas, dīdivas, mīḍhvas.

b. Forms from the middle stem, in vat, are extremely rare earlier: only three (tatanvát and vavrtvát, neut. sing., and jägyvádbhis. instr. pl.), are found in RV., and not one in AV. And in the Veda the weakest stem (not, as later, the middle one) is made the basis of comparison and derivation: thus, vidústara, ádāçustara, mīdhústama, mīdhúsmant.

- c. An example or two of the use of the weak stom-form for cases regularly made from the strong are found in RV.: they are cakrusam, acc. sing., and abibhyusas, nom. pl.; emusam, by its accent (unless an error), is rather from a derivative stem emusa; and CB. has prosusam. Similar instances, especially from vidvans, are now and then met with later (see BR., under vidvans).
- d. The AV, has once bhaktivānsas, as if a participial form from a noun; but K. and TB. give in the corresponding passage bhaktivānas; cakhvānsam (RV., once) is of doubtful character; okivānsā (RV., once) shows a reversion to guttural form of the final of yue, elsewhere unknown.

G. Comparatives in yans or yas.

- 463. The comparative adjectives of primary formation (below, 467) have a double form of stem for masculine and neuter: a stronger, ending in यांस् प्रकां (usually ईयांस् प्रकां), in the strong cases, and a weaker, in यस प्रका (or ईयस् प्रका), in the weak cases (there being no distinction of middle and weakest). The voc. sing. masc. ends in यस प्रका (but for the older language see below, 465 a).
- a. The feminine is made by adding ξ $\bar{\imath}$ to the weak mass.-neut. stem.
- 464. As models of inflection, it will be sufficient to give a part of the forms of ग्रेयम् çréyas better, and of ग्रीयम् gárīyas heavier. Thus:

` `					
	Singular:	_	•	_	
N.	श्रेयान्	श्रीयम्	गरीयान्	गरीयम्	
	çréyān	çréyas	gárīyān	gárīyas 😱	
Λ.	श्रेयांसम्	श्रेयम्	गरीयांसम्	गरीयस्	
	çréyānsam	çréyas	gárīyānsam	gárīyas	
I.	श्रेयम	ग	गरीय	ासा	
	çréy	asā	gárīj	yasā	
	et	te.	et	c.	
v.	श्रेयन्	श्रेयम्	गरीयन्	गरीयम्	
	çréyan	çréyas	gárīyan	gáriyas	
	Dual:				
N. A. V.	म्रेयांसी	श्रेयमी	गरीयांसी	गरीयमी	
	çréyāńsāu	çréyasī	gárīyānsāu	gárīyasī	
	eto,	etc.	etc.	etc.	
	Plural:	~ .c	<u> </u>	O	
N. V.	श्रेयसिम्	श्रेयांसि	गरीयांसम्	गरीयांमि	
	çréyānsas	çréyānsi	gárīyānsas	gárīyānsi	
A.	श्रेयसम्	श्रेयांसि	गरीयमम्	गरीयांगि	
	çréyasas	çréyānsi	garīyasas	garīyānsi	
1.	श्रेयो	भिम्	गरीयोभिम्		
	çréy	obhis	gárīyobhis		
	etc.		etc.		

- a. The feminine stems of these adjectives are श्रेयमी çréyasī and गरीयमी gárīyasī.
- 465. a. The Vedic voc. masc. (as in the two preceding divisions: 454 b, 462 a) is in yas instead of yan: thus, ojīyas, jyāyas (RV.: no examples elsewhere have been noted).
 - b. No example of a middle case occurs in RV. or AV.
- c. In the later language are found a very few apparent examples of strong cases made from the weaker stem-form: thus, kanīyasam and yavīyasam acc. masc., kanīyasau du., yavīyasas nom. pl.

Comparison.

- 466. Derivative adjective stems having a comparative and superlative meaning or often also (and more originally) a merely intensive value are made either directly from roots (by primary derivation), or from other derivative or compound stems (by secondary derivation).
- a. The subject of comparison belongs more properly to the chapter of defivation; but it stands in such near relation to inflection that it is, in accordance with the usual custom in grammars, conveniently and suitably enough treated briefly here.
- 467. The suffixes of primary derivation are उँचम् iyas (or ईयाम् iyāns) for the comparative and इष्ठ istha for the superlative. The root before them is accented, and usually strengthened by gunating, if capable of it—or, in some cases, by nasalization or prolongation. They are much more frequently and freely used in the oldest language than later; in the classical Sanskrit, only a limited number of such comparatives and superlatives are accepted in use; and these attach themselves in meaning for the most part to other adjectives from the same root, which seem to be their corresponding positives; but in part also they are artificially connected with other words, unrelated with them in derivation.
- a. Thus, from vksip hurl come ksépiyas and ksépistha, which belong in meaning to ksiprá quick; from vvr encompass come váriyas and váristha, which belong to urú broad; while, for example,

kánīyas and kánistha are attached by the grammarians to yúvan young, or álpa small; and vársīyas and vársīstha to vyddhá old.

- 468. From Veda and Brahmana together, considerably more than a hundred instances of this primary formation in īyas and intha (in many cases only one of the pair actually occurring) are to be quoted.
- a. About half of these (in RV., the decided majority) belong, in meaning as in form, to the bare root in its adjective value, as used especially at the end of compounds, but sometimes also independently: thus, from /tap burn comes tapistha excessively burning; from /yaj offer come yajiyas and yajistha better and best (or very well) sacrificing; from /yauh fight comes yodhiyas fighting better;—in a few instances, the simple root is also found used as corresponding positive: thus, ju hasty, rapid with javiyas and javistha.
- b. In a little class of instances (eight), the root has a preposition prefixed, which then takes the accent: thus, agamiatha especially coming hither; vicayiatha best clearing away;—in a couple of cases (agramiatha, aparavapiatha, astheyas), the negative particle is prefixed;—in a single word (gambhaviatha), an element of another kind.
- c. The words of this formation sometimes take an accusative object (see 271e).
- d. But even in the oldest language appears not infrequently the same attachment in meaning to a derivative adjective which (as pointed out above) is usual in the later speech.
- e. Besides the examples that occur also later, others are met with like varistha choicest (vara choice), barhistha greatest (brhant great), osistha quickest (osam quickly), and so on. Probably by analogy with these, like formations are in a few cases made from the apparently radical syllables of words which have no otherwise traceable root in the language thus, kradhīyas and kradhiṣtha (K.) from kṛdhú, sthávīyas and stháviṣtha from sthūrá, çáçīyas (RV.) from çáçvant, ánīyas (AV.) and ániṣtha (TS.) from anú; and so on. And yet again, in a few exceptional cases, the suffixes īyas and iṣtha are applied to stems which are themselves palpably derivative: thus, āçiṣtha from āçû (RV.: only case), tíkṣnīyas (AV.) from tīkṣṇá, bráhmīyas and bráhmiṣtha (TS. etc.) from bráhman, dhármiṣtha (TA.) from dhárman, dráḍhiṣt (TA. instead of dárhiṣtha) from dṛḍhá, rághīyas (TS.) from raghu. These are beginnings, not followed up later, of the extension of the formation to unlimited use.
- f. In náviyas or návyas and návistha, from náva new, and in sányas from sána old (all RV.), we have also formations unconnected with verbal roots.
- 469. The stems in istha are inflected like ordinary adjectives in a, and make their feminines in a; those in Iyas have a peculiar declension which has been described above (463 ff.).

- 470. Of pecularities and irregularities of formation, the following may be noticed:
- a. The suffix īyas has in a few instances the briefer form yas, generally as alternative with the other: thus, távīyas and távyas, návīyas and návyas, vásīyas and vásyas, pánīyas and pányas; and so from rabh and sah; sányas occurs alone. From bhū come bhūyas and bhūyiṣṭha, beside which RV. has also bhávīyas.
- b. Of roots in ā, the final blends with the initial of the suffix to e: thus, sthéyas, dhéstha, yéstha; but such forms are in the Veda generally to be resolved, as dháistha, yáistha. The root jyā forms jyéstha, but jyāyas (like bhűyas).
- c. The two roots in ī, prī and çrī, form préyas and préstha and çréyas and çréstha.
- d. From the root of rjú come, without strengthening, rjīyas and rjiştha; but in the older language also, more regularly, rájīyas and rájīştha.
- 471. The suffixes of secondary derivation are \overline{n} tara and \overline{n} tame. They are of almost unrestricted application, being added to adjectives of every form, simple and compound, ending in vowels or in consonants—and this from the earliest period of the language until the latest. The accent of the primitive remains (with rare exceptions) unchanged; and that form of stem is generally taken which appears before an initial consonant of a case-ending (weak or middle form).
- a. Examples (of older as well as later occurrence) are: from vowel-stems, priyátara, váhnitama, rathítara and rathítama (RV.), cărutara, potítama, samraktatara;— from consonant-stems, çámtama, çáçvattama, mṛḍayáttama, tavástara and tavástama, tuvíṣtama, vápuṣṭara, tapasvítara, yaçasvítama, bhágavattara, hiranyavāçīmattama;— from compounds, ratnadhātama, abhibhūtara, sukittara, pūrbhíttama, bhūyiṣṭhabhāktama, bhūridāvattara, çúcivratatama, strīkāmatama.
- b. But in the Veda the final n of a stem is regularly retained: thus, madintara and madintama, vṛṣántama; and a few stems even add a nasal: thus, surabhintara, rayintama, madhúntama. In a case or two, the strong stem of a present participle is taken: thus, vrādhanttama, sáhanttama; and, of a perfect participle, the weakest stem: thus, vidúatara, mīdhúaṭama. A feminine final ī is shortened: thus, devitamā (RV.), tejasviņitamā (K.).

e ' con a transfer

- c. In the older language, the words of this formation are not much more frequent than those of the other: thus, in RV. the stems in tara and tama are to those in Iyas and istha as three to two; in AV., only as six to five: but later the former win a great preponderance.
- 472. These comparatives and superlatives are inflected like ordinary adjectives in a, forming their feminine in ā.
- 473. a. That (especially in the Veda) some stems which are nouns rather than adjectives form derivatives of comparison is natural enough, considering the uncertain nature of the division-line between substantive and adjective value. Thus, we have vīrátara, vīrátama, váhnitama, mātŕtama, nýtama, marúttama, and so on.
- b. The suffixes tara and tama also make forms of comparison from some of the pronominal roots, as ka, ya, i (see below, 520); and from certain of the prepositions, as ud; and the adverbially used accusative (older, neuter, -taram; later, feminine, -tarām) of a comparative in tara from a preposition is employed to make a corresponding comparative to the preposition itself (below, 1119); while -tarām and -tamām make degrees of comparison from a few adverbs: thus, natarām, natamām, kathamtarām, kutastarām, addhātamām, nīcāistarām, etc.
- c. By a wholly barbarous combination, finding no warrant in the earlier and more genuine usages of the language, the suffixes of comparison in their adverbial feminine form, -tarām and tamām, are later allowed to be added to personal forms of verbs: thus, sīdatetarām (R.: the only case noted in the epics) is more despondent, vyathayatitarām disturbs more, alabhatatarām obtained in a higher degree, hasişyatitarām will laugh more. No examples of this use of -tamām are quotable.
- d. The suffixes of secondary comparison are not infrequently added to those of primary, forming double comparatives and superlatives: thus, gariyastara, cresthatara and cresthatama, pāpīyastara, pāpisthatara and -tama, bhūyastaram, etc.
- e. The use of tama as ordinal suffix is noted below (487f,, with this value, it is accented on the final, and makes its feminine in I: thus, catatama m. n., catatami f., hundredth.
- 474. From a few words, mostly prepositions, degrees of comparison are made by the briefer suffixes ra and ma: thus, adhara and adhama, apara and apama, avara and avama, upama, antara, antama, parama, madhyama, carama, antima, ma, paçcima. And ma is also used to make ordinals (below, 487).

CHAPTER VI.

NUMERALS.

475. The simple cardinal numerals for the first ten numbers (which are the foundation of the whole class), with their derivatives, the tens, and with some of the higher members of the decimal series, are as follows:

1	ट् क	10	द्श	100	থান
	éka		dáça		çatá
2	ह्य	20	विंशति	1000	सक्स्र
	dvá		vinçatí		sahásra
3	त्रि	30	त्रिंशत्	10,000	ग्र युत
	trí		trinçát		ayúta
4	चतुर्	40	चतारिंशत्	100,000	लन
	catúr		catvārinçát		lakṣá
5	पञ्च	50	पञ्चाशत्	1,000,000	प्रयुत
	páñca		pañcāçát		prayúta
6	षष्	60	षष्टि	10,000,000	कोटि
	şáş Î		şaştí		kóţi
7	सप्त	70	मप्तति	108	मर्बुद्
	saptá		saptatí		arbudá
8	म्रष्ट	80	म्रशीति	109	मक्हार्बुद
	așțá		açītí		mahärbuda
9	า อ์	90	नवति	1010	खर्व
	náva		navatí		kharvá
10	दश	100	ঘন	1011	निवर्व
	dáça		çatá		nikharva

a. The accent saptá and astá is that belonging to these words in all accentuated texts; according to the grammarians, they are sapta and asta in the later language. See below, 483.

b. The series of decimal numbers may be carried still further; but there are great differences among the different authorities with Whitney, Grammar. 3. ed. 12

regard to their names; and there is more or less of discordance even from ayúta on.

- c. Thus, in the TS. and MS. we find ayúta, niyáta, prayúta, árbuda, nyàrbuda, samudrá, mádhya, ánta, parārdhá; K. reverse, the order of niyúta and prayúta, and inserts badva after nyarbuda (reading nyarbudha): these are probably the oldest recorded series.
- d. In modern time, the only numbers in practical use above thousand are lakes (lac or lakh) and koti (crore), and an Indian sum is wont to be pointed thus: 123,45,67,890, to signify 123 crores, 45 lakhs, 67 thousand, eight hundred and ninety.
- e. As to the alleged stem-forms pañcan etc., see below, 484. As to the form ṣakṣ instead of ṣaṣ, see above, 146 b. The stem dva appears in composition and derivation also as dvā and dvi; catúr in composition is accented cátur. The older form of aṣṭa is aṣṭā: see below, 483 Forms in -çat and -çati for the tens are occasionally interchanged: e g vinçat (MBh. R.), trinçati (AB.), pañcāçati (RT.).
- f. The other numbers are expressed by the various composition and syntactical combination of those given above. Thus:
- 476. The odd numbers between the even tens are made by prefixing the (accented) unit to the ten to which its value is to be added: but with various irregularities. Thus:
 - a. eka in 11 becomes ekā, but is elsewhere unchanged;
- b. dva becomes everywhere dvā; but in 42-72 and in 92 it is interchangeable with dvi, and in 82 dvi alone is used;
- c. for tri is substituted its nom. pl. mase. tráyas; but tri itself is also allowed in 43-73 and in 93, and in 83 tri alone is used;
- d. sas becomes so in 16, and makes the initial d of daça liu.u.d (199 d); elsewhere its final undergoes the regular conversion (226 b, 198 b) to t or d or n; and in 96 the n of navati is assimilated to it (199 c).
- e. așța becomes așțā (483) in 18-38, and has either form in the succeeding combinations.
 - f. Thus:

11	ékādaça	31	ékatrinçat	61 ékaşaşti	81	ékāçīti
12	dvádaça	32	dvátrińcat	62 dvásasti dvísasti	82	dvy àçīti
13	tráyodaça	33	tráyastrińçat	63 tráyahşaşti tríşaşti	83	tryà çīti
14	cáturdaça	34	cátustrinçat	64 cátuhsasti	84	caturaçiti
15	páñcadaça	35	páñcatrincat	65 pancasasti	85	páñcāçīti
16	șódaça	36	sáttrincat	66 șáțșașți	86	ņ ádacīti
17	saptádaça	37	saptátrincat	67 saptáşaşti	87	saptáciti
18	așțádaça	38	aşţātrinçat	68 aşţáşaşţi aşţáşaşţi	88	așțăçīti
19	návadaça	39	návatrińcat	69 návasasti	89	náv āçīti

- g. The numbers 21-29 are made like those for 31-39; the numbers 41-49, 51-59, 71-79, and 91-99 are made like those for 61-69.
- h. The forms made with dvā and trayas are more usual than those with dvi*and tri, which are hardly to be quoted from the older literature (V. and Br.). The forms made with aṣṭā (instead of aṣṭa) are almost exclusively used in the older literature (483), and are not infrequent in the later.
- 477. The above are the normal expressions for the odd numbers. But equivalent substitutes for them are also variously made. Thus:
- a. By use of the adjectives una deficient and adhika redundant, in composition with lesser numbers which are to be subtracted or added, and either independently qualifying or (more usually) in composition with larger numbers which are to be increased or diminished by the others: thus, tryunagaştih sixty deficient by three (i. e. 57); aştādhikanavatih ninety increased by eight (i. e. 98); ekādhikam çatam a hundred increased by one (i. e. 101); pañconam çatam 100 less 5 (i. e. 95). For the nines, especially, such substitutes as ekonavinçatih 20 less 1, or 19, are not uncommon; and later the eka 1 is left off, and unavinçati etc. have the same value.
- b. A case-form of a smaller number, generally éka one is connected by ná not with a larger number from which it is to be deducted: thus, ékayā ná trinçát (CB. PB. KB.) not thirty by one (29); dvábhyām ná 'çītím (CB.) not eighty by two (78); pañcábhir ná catvári çatáni (CB.) not four hundred by five (395); ékasmān ná pañcāçát (in ordinal) 49 (TS.); ékasyāi (abl. fcm.: 307 h) ná pañcāçát 49 (TS.); most often, ékān (1. e. ékāt, irregular abl. for ékasmāt) ná vinçatín 19; ékān ná çatám 99. This last form is admitted also in the later language; the others are found in the Brāhmaṇas.
- o. Instances of multiplication by a prefixed number are occasionally met with: thus, trisaptá thrice seven; trinavá thrice nine; tridaçá thrice ten.
- d. Of course, the numbers to be added together may be expressed by independent words, with connecting and: thus, nava ca navatic ca, or nava navatic ca ninety and nine; dvāú ca vincatic ca two and twenty. But the connective is also (at least, in the older language) not seldom omitted: thus, navatir nava 99; trincatam trin 33; açītir aṣṭāú 88.
- 478. The same methods are also variously used for forming the odd numbers above 100. Thus:
- a. The added number is prefixed to the other, and takes the accent: for example, ékāçatam 101; aṣṭāçatam 108; triṅçacchatam 130; aṣṭāviṅçatiqatam 128; cátuḥsahasram (RV.: unless the accent is wrong) 1004; açītisahasram 1080.

- b. Or, the number to be added is compounded with adhika redundant, and the compound is either made to qualify the other number or is further compounded with it: thus, pañcādhikam çatam or pañcādhikaçatam 105. Of course, ūna deficient (as also other words equivalent to ūna or adhika) may be used in the same way: thus, pañconam çatam 95, sastih pañcavarjitā 55; çatam abhyadhikam şaştitah 160.
- c. Syntactical combinations are made at convenience: for example dáça gatám oa 110; gatám ékam ca 101.
- 479. Another usual method (beginning in the Brāhmaṇas) of forming the odd numbers above 100 is to qualify the larger number by an adjective derived from the smaller, and identical with the briefer ordinal (below, 488): thus, dvādaçám çatám, 112 (lit'ly a hundred of a 12-sort, or characterised by 12); catuçcatvārinçám çatám 144; şaṭṣaṣṭám çatám 166.
- 480. To multiply one number by another, among the higher or the lower denominations, the simplest and least ambiguous method is to make of the multiplied number a dual or plural, qualified by the other as any ordinary noun would be; and this method is a common one in all ages of the language. For example: páños paños-çátas five fifties (250); náva navatáyas nine nineties (810); açātibhis tisýbhis with three eighties (240); páños quatáni five hundreds; trigi sahásrāni three thousands; şaṣtín sahásrāni 60,000; daça ca sahasrāny aṣṭāu ca çatāni 10,800: and, combined with addition, tríni çatāni tráyastrinçatam ca 333; sahasre dve pañoonam çatam eva ca 2095.
- a. In an exceptional case or two, the ordinal form appears to take the place of the cardinal as multiplicand in a like combination: thus, sattringanc ca catúran (RV.) 36×4 (lit. four of the thirty-six kind), trinr ekādaçān (RV.) or traya ekādaçāsan (ÇÇS. viii. 21. 1) 11×3.
- b. By a peculiar and wholly illogical construction, such a combination as trīņi şaṣṭiçatāni, which ought to signify $480 \ (3 \times 100 + 60)$, is repeatedly used in the Brāhmanas to mean $300 \ (3 \times 100 + 60)$; so also dvé catustrincé çaté $234 \ (\text{not } 268)$; dvāṣaṣṭāni trīṇi çatāni 362; and other like cases. And even R. has trayah çataçatārdhāh 350.
- 481. But the two factors, multiplier and multiplied, are also, and in later usage more generally, combined into a compound (accented on the final); and this is then treated as an adjective, qualifying the numbered noun; or else its neuter or feminine (in ī) singular is used substantively: thus, daçaçatás 1000; şaţçatāiḥ padātibhiḥ (MBh.) with 600 foot-soldiers; trayastrihçat triçatāḥ şaţsahasrāḥ (AV.) 6333; dviçatām or dviçatī 200; aṣṭādaçaçatī 1800.
- a. In the usual absence of accentuation, there arises sometimes a question as to how a compound number shall be understood: whether astactam, for example, is astacatam 100 or astacatam 800, and the like.

482. Inflection. The inflection of the cardinal numerals is in many respects irregular. Gender is distinguished only by the first four.

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- a. Eka one is declined after the manner of a pronominal adjective (like sarva, below, 524); its plural is used in the sense of some. certain ones. Its dual does not occur.
- b. Occasional forms of the ordinary declension are met with: thus, éke (loc. sing.), ékāt (477 b).
- c. In the late literature, eka is used in the sense of a certain or even sometimes almost of a, as an indefinite article. Thus, eko vyāghraḥ (H.) a certain tiger; ekasmin dine on a certain day; haste dandam ekam ādāya 'H.) taking a stick in his hand.
- d. Dva two is dual only, and is entirely regular: thus, N. A. V. dvāú (dvā, Veda) m., dvé f. n.; I. D. Ab. dvábhyām; G. L. dváyos.
- e. Tri three is in mase and neut nearly regular, like an ordinary stem in i; but the genitive is as if from trayá (only in the later language: the regular trīnām occurs once in RV.). For the feminine it has the peculiar stem tist, which is inflected in general like an r-stem; but the nom and accus are alike, and show no strengthening of the r; and the r is not prolonged in the gen. (excepting in the Veda). Thus:

	\mathbf{m} .	n.	f.
N.	tráyas	tr í ņi	tisrás
A.	trīn	trīņi	tisrás
I.	tribb	ís	tisŕbhis
D. Ab.	tribhyás		tisŕbhyas
G.	tray	iņām	tisrņām
L.	trișú		tisŕsu

- f. The Veda has the abbreviated neut. nom. and accus. trí. The accentuation tisrbhís, tisrbhyás, tisrnām, and tisrsú is said to be also allowed in the later languago. The stem tisr occurs in composition in tisrdhanyá (B.) a bow with three arrows
- g. Câtúr four has catvár (the more original form) in the strong cases; in the fem. it substitutes the stem cátasṛ, apparently akin with tisṛ, and inflected like it (but with anomalous change of accent, like that in the higher numbers: see below, 483). Thus:

	m.	n.	f.
N.	catváras	catvári	cátasras
A.	catúras	catvári	cátasras
I.	catúrb	his	catasfbhis
D, Ab.	catúrb	hyas	catasŕbhyas
G.	caturņ	ám	catasrņám
L.	catúrș	u	catastșu.

h. The use of n before am of the gen. masc. and neut. after a final consonant of the stem is (as in sas: below, 483) a striking irregularity. The more regular gen. fem. catasṛṇām also sometimes occurs. In the later language, the accentuation of the final syllable instead of the penult is said to be allowed in instr., dat.-abl., and loc.

483. The numbers from 5 to 19 have no distinction of gender, nor any generic character. They are inflected, somewhat irregularly, as plurals, save in the nom.-acc., where they have no proper plural form, but show the bare stem instead. Of \$\frac{\phi}{2}\phi_2\$ (as of catúr), nām is the gen. ending, with mutual assimilation (198 b) of stem-final and initial of the termination. Astá (as accented in the older language) has an alternative fuller form, astá, which is almost exclusively used in the older literature (V. and B.), both in inflection and in composition (but some compounds with asta are found as early as the AV.); its nom.-acc. is astá usual later: found in RV. once, and in AV., or astá (RV.), or astá (most usual in RV.; also in AV., B., and later).

a. The accent is in many respects peculiar. In all the accented toxis, the stress of voice lies on the penult before the endings bhis, bhyas, and su, from the stems in a, whatever be the accent of the stem: thus, paù-càbhis from pàñca, navàbhyas from náva, daçásu from dáça, navàdaçàbhis from návadaça, ekādaçábhyas from ékādaça, dvādaçásu from dvádaça (according to the grammarians, either the penult or the inal is accented in these forms in the later language). In the gen. pl. the accent is on the ending (as in that of i-, u-, and r-stems): thus, pañ-cadaçānām, saptadaçānām. The cases of ṣaṣ, and those made from the stem-form aṣṭā, have the accent throughout upon the ending.

b. Examples of the inflection of these words are as follows:

N. A.	páñca pañcábhis	șáț sadbhís	așțăú așțābhis	așțá astábhis
1,	рапсаоны	ģadoma	aştanmış	whiantri
D. Ab.	pañcábhyas	şadbhyás	așțābhyás	așțábhyas
G. .	pañcānām	ខុឧហ្ កុ ង់m	ឧទុវុធ	inám
L.	pañcásu	șațsú	așțāsú 🦼	așțásu.

- c. Sapta (in the later language sapta, as asta for asta) and nava and daça, with the compounds of daça (11-19), are declined like panca, and with the same shift of accent (or with alternative shift to the endings as pointed out above).
- 484. The Hindu grammarians give to the stems for 5 and 7-19 a final n: thus, pañcan, saptan, astan, navan, daçan, and ekādaçan etc. This, however, has nothing to do with the damonstrably original final nasal of 7, 9, and 10 (compare septem, novem, decem; seven, nine, ten); it is only owing to the fact that, starting from such a stem-form, their inflection is made to assume a more regular aspect, the nom.-acc. having the form of a neut. sing. in an, and the instr., dat.-abl., and loc that of a neut. or masc. pl. in an: compare nāma, nāmabhis, nāma-

bhyas, nāmasu— the gen. alone being, rather, like that of an a-stem: compare daçānām with indrāṇām and nāmnām or ātmiānām. No trace whatever of a final n is found anywhere in the language, in inflection or derivation or composition, from any of these words (though CB. has twice daçamdaçin, for the usual daçadaçin).

- 485. a. The tens, vinçatí and trinçat etc., with their compounds, are declined regularly, as feminine stems of the same endings, and in all numbers.
- b. Çatá and sahásra are declined regularly, as neuter (or, rarely, in the later language, as masculine) stems of the same final, in all numbers.
- c. The like is true of the higher numbers which have, indeed, no proper numeral character, but are ordinary nouns.
- 486. Construction. As regards their construction with the nouns enumerated by them —
- a. The words for 1 to 18 are in the main used adjectively, agreeing in case, and, if they distinguish gender, in gender also, with the nouns: thus, daçábhir vīrāih with ten heroes; ye devā divy ékādaçā stha (AV.) what eleven gods of you are in heaven; pañcásu jánesu among the five tribes; catasíbhir gīrbhih with four songs. Rarely occur such combinations as dáça kaláçānām (RV.) ten pitchers, rtūnām sat (R.) six seasons.
- b. The numerals above 19 are construed usually as nouns, either taking the numbered noun as a dependent genitive, or standing in the singular in apposition with it: thus, çatam dāsīḥ or çatam dāsīḥām a hundred slaves or a hundred of slaves; vinçatyā háribhih with twenty bays; şaṣṭyām çarātsu in 60 autumns; çatēma pāçāiḥ with a hundred fetters, çatām sahāsram ayūtam nyarbudam jaghāna çakró dāsyūnām (AV.) the mighty [Indra] slev a hundred, a thousand, a myriad, a hundred million, of demons. Occasionally they are put in the plural, as if used more adjectively: thus, pañcāçad-bhir bāṇāiḥ with fifty arrows.
- c. In the older language, the numerals for 5 and upward are sometimes used in the nom.-acc. form (or as if indeclinably) with other cases also: thus, pañca kṛṣṭiṣu among the five races; sapta ṛṣṇṇām of seven bards; saḥasram ṭṣibhiḥ with a thousand bards; çatam pūrbhiḥ with a hundred strongholds. Sporadic instances of a like kind are also met with later.
- 487. Ordinals. Of the classes of derivative words coming from the original or cardinal numerals, the ordinals are by far the most important; and the mode of their formation may best be explained here.

Some of the first ordinals are irregularly made: thus,

- a. éka 1 forms no ordinal; instead is used prathamá (i. e. pratama foremost); ādya (from ādi beginning) appears first in the Sūtras and ādima much later;
- b. from dvá 2, and trí 3, come dvitíya and trtíya (secondarily, through dvita and abbreviated trita);
- c. catúr 4, sás 6, and saptá 7, take the ending tha: thus caturthá, sasthá, saptátha; but for fourth are used also turiya and túrya, and saptátha belongs to the older language only; pañcatha for fifth, is excessively rare;
- d. the numerals for 5 and 7 usually, and for 8, 9, 10, add ma forming pancamá, saptamá, astamá, navamá, daçamá;
- e. for 11th to 19th, the forms are ekādaçá, dvādaçá, and so on (the same with the cardinals, except change of accent); but ekā daçama etc. occasionally occur also;
- f. for the tens and intervening odd numbers from 20 onward the ordinal has a double form—one made by adding the full (super lative) ending tamá to the cardinal: thus, vinçatitamá, trinçattamá açītitamá, etc.; the other, shorter, in a, with abbreviation of the cardinal: thus, vinçá 20th; trinçá 30th; catvārinçá 40th; pañeāçi 50th; şaṣtá 60th; saptatá 70th; açītá 80th; navatá 90th; and \$\preceq\$ likewise ekavinçá 21st; catustrinçá 34th; aṣṭācatvārinçá 48th dvāpañeāçá 52d; ekaṣaṣtá 61st; and ekānnavinçá and ūnavinça and ekonavinçá 19th;— and so on. Of these two forms, the latte and briefer is by far the more common, the other being not quotabl from the Veda, and extremely rarely from the Brāhmaṇas. From 50t on, the briefer form is allowed by the grammarians only to the odnumbers, made up of tens and units; but it is sometimes met with even in the later language, from the simple ten.
- g. Of the higher numbers, çatá and sahásra form çatatamá an sahasratamá; but their compounds have also the simpler form: thus ekaçatá or ekaçatatama 101st.
- h. Of the ordinals, prathamá (and ādya), dvitíya, tṛtīya, an turiya (with túrya) form their feminine in ā; all the rest. make in ī.
- 488. The ordinals, as in other languages, have other than ordin offices to fill; and in Sanskrit especially they are general adjectives to the cardinals, with a considerable variety of meanings, as fractionals, as sign fying composed of so many parts or so-many-fold, or containing so many or (as was seen above, 479) having so many added.
- a. In a fractional sense, the grammarians direct that their accent I shifted to the first syllable: thus, dvitiya half; trija third part; catu: tha quarter; and so on. But in accented texts only trija third, at caturtha (CB.) and turiya quarter, are found so treated; for half occu

only ardná; and caturthá (MS. etc.), pañcamá, and so on, are accented as in their ordinal use.

489. There are other numeral derivatives: thus --

- a. multiplicative adverbs, as dvis twice, tris thrice, catús four times;
- b. adverbs with the suffixes dhā (1104) and ças (1106): for example, ekadhā in one way, çatadhā in a hundred ways; ekaças one by one, çataçās by hundreds;
- · o. collectives, as dvítaya or dvayá *a pair*, dáçataya or daçát *a decade*:
- d. adjectives like dvika composed of two, pancaka consisting of five or fives;

and so on; but their treatment belongs rather to the dictionary, or to the chapter on derivation.

CHAPTER VII.

PRONOUNS.

490. The pronouns differ from the great mass of nouns and adjectives chiefly in that they come by derivation from another and a very limited set of roots, the so-called pronominal or demonstrative roots. But they have also many and marked peculiarities of inflection—some of which, however, find analogies in a few adjectives; and such adjectives will accordingly be described at the end of this chapter.

Personal Pronouns.

491. The pronouns of the first and second persons are the most irregular and peculiar of all, being made up of fragments coming from various roots and combinations of roots. They have no distinction of gender.

a. Their inflection in the later language is a follows:

Singular	:	
	1st pers.	2d pers.
N.	ग्रहम्	वम्
	ahám	tvám
Α.	माम्, मा	त्राम्, त्रा
	mām, mā	tvám, tvá
I.	मया	त्रया
	máyā ~	tváyā ⊃
D.	मकाम्, मे	तुभ्यम्, ते
	máhyam, me	túbhyam, te
Ab.	मत् .	ब त्
	mát	tvát
G.	मम, मे	तव ते
	máma, me	táva, te
L.	मिय	व्रिय
	máyi	tváyi
Dual:		
N. A. V.	ग्रावाम्	ग्रुवा म्
	āvấ m	yuvām
I. D. Ab.		युवाभ्याम्
	āvābhyām	yuvábhyám
G, L.	ग्रावयो म्	युवयोम्
	āváyos	yuváyos
and A.D.G.	নী	वाम्
	nāu	vām
Plural:		
N.	वयम्	यूयम्
	vayám	yūyám
A.	म्रस्मान्, नस्	युष्मान्, वस्
	asmán, nas	yuşmân, vas
I.	ग्रस्माभिस्	युष्माभिम्
	asmābhis	yuşmābhis
D.	ग्रस्मभ्यम्, नम्	युष्मभ्यम्, वस्
	asmábhyam, nas	yuşmábhyám, vas

Ab.	ग्रस्मत्	युष्मत्
	asmát	yuşmát
G.	ग्रस्माकम्, नस् asmākam, nas	युष्माकाम्, वस् yuşmákam, vas
L.	म्रस्मासु	युष्मासु
	asmásu	yusmásu

- b. The briefer second forms for accus., dat., and gen., in all numbers, are accentless; and hence they are not allowed to stand at the beginning of a sentence, or elsewhere where any emphasis is laid.
- c. But they may be qualified by accented adjuncts, as adjectives: c. g. te jáyatah of thee when a conqueror, vo vrtábhyah for you that were confined, nas tribhyáh to us three (all RV.).
 - d. The ablative mat is accentless in one or two AV. passages.
- 492. Forms of the older language. All the forms given above are found also in the older language; which, however, has also others that afterward disappear from use.
- a. Thus, we find a few times the instr. sing. två (only RV.: like manīṣā for manīṣāyā); further, the loc. or dat. sing. mé (only VS.) and tvé, and the dat. or loc. pl. asmé (which is by far the commonest of these e-forms) and yuşmé: their final e is uncombinable (or pragrhya: 138b). The VS. makes twice the acc. pl. fem. yuşmās (as if yuşmān were too distinctively a masculine form). The datives in bhyam are in a number of cases written, and in yet others to be read as if written, with bhya, with loss of the final nasal; and in a rare instance or two we have in like manner asmāka and yuşmāka in the gen. plural. The usual resolutions of semivowel to vowel are made, and are especially frequent in the forms of the second person (tuám for tvám etc.).
- b. But the duals, above all, wear a very different aspect earlier. In Veda and Brāhmana and Sūtra the nominatives are (with occasional exceptions) āvám and yuvám, and only the accusatives āvám and yuvám (but in RV. the dual forms of 1st pers. chance not to occur, unless in vām[?],*once, for āvám); the instr. in RV. is either yuvábhyām (occurs also once in AÇS.) or yuvábhyām; an abl. yuvát appears once in RV., and āvát twice in TS.; the gen.-loc. is in RV. (only) yuvós instead of yuváyos. Thus we have here a distinction (elsewhere unknown) of five different dual cases, by endings in part accordant with those of the other two numbers.
- 493. Peculiar endings. The ending am, appearing in the nom. sing and pl. (and Vedic du.) of these pronouns, will be found often, though only in sing., among the other pronouns. The bhyam (or hyam) of dat. sing, and pl. is met with only here; its relationship with the bhyam, bhyas, bhis of the ordinary declension is palpable. The t (or

- d) of the abl., though here preceded by a short vowel, is doubtless the same with that of the a-declension of nouns and adjectives. That the nom., dat., and abl. endings should be the same in sing. and pl. (and in part in the earlier du. also), only the stem to which they are added being different, is unparalleled elsewhere in the language. The element sma appearing in the plural forms will be found frequent in the inflection of the singular in other pronominal words: in fact, the compound stem asma which underlies the plural of aham seems to be the same that furnishes part of the singular forms of ayam (501), and its value of we to be a specialisation of the meaning these persons. The genitives singular, mama and tava, have no analogies elsewhere; the derivation from them of the adjectives māmaka and tāvaka (below, 516b) suggests the possibility of their being themselves stereotyped stems. The gen. pl., asmakam and yuşmākam, are certainly of this character: namely, neuter sing. caseforms of the adjective stems asmāka and yuşmāka, other cases of which are found in the Veda.
- 494. Stem-forms. To the Hindu grammarians, the stems of the personal pronouns are mad and asmad, and tvad and yuşmad, because these are forms used to a certain extent, and allowed to be indefinitely used, in derivation and composition (like tad, kad, etc. see below, under the other pronouns). Words are thus formed from them even in the older language namely, mátkyta and mátsakhi and asmátsakhi (RV.), tvádyoni and mattás (AV.), tvátpitr and tvádvivācana (TS.), tvátprasūta and tvaddevatyà and yuvaddevatyà and yuşmaddevatyà (ÇB.), asmaddevatyà (PB.); but much more numerous are those that show the proper stem in a, or with the a lengthened to ā: thus, mávant; asmatrá, asmadrúh, etc. tváyata, tvávant, tvádatta, tvāníd, tvávasu, tváhata, etc.; yuṣmádatta, yuṣméṣita, etc.; yuṣávant, yuváku, yuvádhita, yuvádatta, yuvánīta, etc. And the later language also has a few words made in the same way, as mādrç.
- a. The Vedas have certain more irregular combinations, with complete forms: thus, tvāmkāma, tvāmāhuti, māmpaçyā, mamašatyā, asméhiti, ahampūrvā, ahamuttarā, ahamyū, ahamsana.
- b. From the stems of the grammarians come also the derivative adjectives madiya, tvadiya, asmadiya yuşmadiya, having a possessive value: see below, 516 a.
 - c. For sva and svayám, see below, 513.

Demonstrative Pronouns.

495. The simplest demonstrative, 77 ta, which answers also the purpose of a personal pronoun of the third person, may be taken as model of a mode of declension usual in

so many pronouns and pronominal adjectives that it is fairly to be called the general pronominal declension.

a. But this root has also the special irregularity that in the nom sing. masc. and fem. it has sás (for whose peculiar euphonic treatment see 176a,b) and sá, instead of tás and tá (compare Gr. δ , $\dot{\gamma}$, $\tau\dot{\delta}$, and Goth. sa, so, thata). Thus:

	,,			
Singul				
NT.	m.		n.	^{f.} मा
N.	सस्		तत् _, tát	ซา ซลี่
	BÁS ——			
A.	तम्		तत्	ताम्
	tám .	_	tát	tām!
I,		તેન		तया
		téna;		táyā
D.	7	तस्मै		तस्यै
	1	tásmāi		tásyāi
Ab.	6	तस्मात्		तस्याम्
	1	tásmāt		tásyās
G.	7	तस्य।		तस्याम्
	t	tásya		tásyās
L.	7	तस्मिन्		तस्याम्
	1	tásmin		tásyām
Dual:				
N. A. V.	ส์โ		ते	ते
	tāú		té	té
I. D. Ab.	;	ताभ्याम	Ι. ΄	ताभ्याम्
		tábhyā		tábhyām:
G. L.	•	तयोम्		तयोम्
		táyos)	táyos
Plural	:			
N.	ते		तानि	ताम्
	té		tấni	tás `
A.	तान्		तानि	ताम्
	tán		táni	tāsij
I.		ਜੈ ਸ		ताभिम्
		tāís		tābhis

D. Ab.	तेभ्यम्	ताभ्यम्
	tébhyas	tábhyas
G.	तेषाम्	तासाम्
	téşām	tāsām ·
L.	तेष्	ताम्
	téşu	tásu

b. The Vedas show no other irregularities of inflection than those which belong to all stems in a and ā: namely, ténā sometimes; usually tā for tāu, du.; often tā for tāni, pl. neut.; usually tébhis for tāſs. instr. pl.; and the ordinary resolutions. The RV. has one more case-form from the root sa, namely sásmin (occurring nearly half as often as tásmin); and ChU. has once sasmāt.

- 496. The peculiarities of the general pronominal declension, it will be noticed, are these:
- a. In the singular, the use of t (properly d) as ending of nom.-acc. neut.; the combination of another element sma with the root in mase, and neut. dat., abl., and loc., and of sy in fem. dat., abl.-gen., and loc., and the mase, and neut. loc. ending in, which is restricted to this declension (except in the anomalous yādṛcmin, RV., once). The substitution in the of āi for ās as fem. ending (307h) was illustrated at 365 d.
 - b. The dual is precisely that of noun-stems in a and ā.
- c. In the plural, the irregularities are limited to té for tas in nom. mase., and the insertion of s instead of n before am of the gen., the stemfinal being treated before it in the same manner as before su of the loc.
- 497. The stem of this pronoun is by the grammarians given as tad; and from that form come, in fact, the derivative adjective tadiya, with tattvá, tadvat, tanmaya; and numerous compounds, such as tacchīla, tajjūa, tatkara, tadanantara, tanmātra, etc. These compounds are not rare even in the Veda: so tádanna, tadvíd, tadvaçá, etc. But derivatives from the true root ta are also many especially adverbs, as tátas, tátra, táthā, tadá; the adjectives távant and táti; and the compound tādýç etc.
- 498. Though the demonstrative root ta is prevailingly of the third person, it is also freely used, both in the earlier language and in the later, as qualifying the pronouns of the first and second person, giving emphasis to them: thus, so 'ham, this I, or I here; so or so tvam thou there; to vayam, we here; tasya mama of me here, tasmins tvayi in thee there, and so on.
- 499. Two other demonstrative stems appear to contain ta as an element; and both, like the simple ta, substitute sa in the nom-sing mase, and fem.

- a. The one, tya, is tolerably common (although only a third of its possible forms occur) in RV., but rare in AV., and almost unknown later, its nom. sing., in the three genders, is syas, sya, tyat, and it makes the accusatives tyam, tyam, tyat, and goes on through the remaining cases in the same manner as ta. It has in RV. the instr. fem. tya (for tyaya). Instead of sya as nom. sing. fem. is also found tya.
- b. The other is the usual demonstrative of nearer position, this here, and is in frequent use through all periods of the language. It prefixes e to the simple root, forming the nominatives esas, esa, etat—and so on through the whole inflection.
- c. The stem tya has neither compounds nor derivatives. But from eta are formed both, in the same manner as from the simple ta, only much less numerous: thus, etaddá (ÇB.). etadartha, etc.. from the so-called stem etad; and etadfc and etavant from eta. And esa, like sa (498), is used to qualify pronouns of the 1st and 2d persons: e. g. esa 'ham, ete vayam.
- 500. There is a defective pronominal stem, ena, which is accentless, and hence used only in situations where no emphasis falls upon it. It does not occur elsewhere than in the accusative of all numbers, the instr. sing., and the gen.-loc. dual: thus.

	m.	n.	f.
Sing	. A. enam	enat	enām
	I. en	ena	enayā
Du.	A. enāu	ene	ene
	G. L. en	ayos	enayos
Pl.	A. enān	enāni	enās

- a. The RV. has enos instead of enayos, and in one or two instances accents a form: thus, enam, enas (?). AB. uses enat also as nom, neut.
- b. As ena is always used substantively, it has more nearly than ta the value of a third personal pronoun, unemphatic. Apparent examples of its adjectival use here and there met with are doubtless the result of confusion with eta (499b).
 - c. This stem forms neither derivatives nor compounds.
- 501. The declension of two other demonstratives is so irregularly made up that they have to be given in full. The one, श्रंपम् ayam etc., is used as a more indefinite demonstrative, this or that; the other, श्रमी asaú etc., signifies especially the remoter relation, you or yonder.
 - a. They are as follows:

		gular :				.02
N.	m.	n,	f.	≖. ग्रसी	n.	श्रमी
N.	म्रयम्	इदम्	इयम्		श्रदम्	
		idám	iyám	asäú	adás	asāù
A.		इदम्		म्रमुम्		
•	_	idám	imám	amúm		amúm
I.	म्रन	ন	म्रनया	म्रमु	ग	श्रमुया
		éna	anáyā		inā	amúyā
D	ऋस	मै	घ स्य	श्रमुष	मै	म्रमुष्य ी
		māí	asyāí	ami	ișmāi	amúşyāi
Ab.	श्र	र्मात्	ग्रह्यास्	श्रमुष	मात्	म्रमुष्याम्
	88	mất `	asyás È	ami	işmāt	amúşyās
G.	म्रह	य	ग्रस्यास्	म्रम्	य	त्र मुष्यास्
	as	yá	asyās `	ami	івуа	amúşyās
L.	ৰ্ম্ব	स्मिन्	म्रस्याम्	म्रम्	ष्मन्	ग्रमुष्याम्
	ası	mín	asyám	a m úşm i n		amúşyām
	Dua		_			
N. A.	इमी	इमे	इमे		म्रमू	
	imāú	imé	imé		amű	
1, D. Ab.					म्रमूभ्याम्	
		ibhyám			amúbhy	ām
G. L.	3	त्रनयोस्			म्रमुयोस्	
		máyos			amúyos	
	Plur					*****
N.	इमे	इमानि	' '	श्रम <u>ी</u>	~	म्रमूस्
	imé			amí		
A.		इमानि	इमा म्	म्रमून्	म्रमूनि	ग्र मूम्
	imán			amün		
I.		ाम्	ग्राभि म्		भिम्	म्रमूभिम्
	eb)	hís	ābhís		bhis	aműbhis
D. Ab.	रू	यम्	म्राभ्यस्		भ्यम्	म्रमूभ्यम्
	ebl	hyás	ābhyás		bhyas	amübhyas
G. •	रुष	ाम्	म्राप्ताम्	म्रमी	षाम्	म्रमूषाम्
		im	āsām	amí	şām	amūsām
L.	रुष्		म्रास्	म्रमी	षु	म्रमूषु
	eșt		āsú ,	amí	ņu .	amúşu
	•			n		

- b. The same forms are used in the older language, without variation. except that (as usual) imā occurs for imāu and imāni, and amū for amūni; amuyā when used adverbially is accented on the final, amuyā, asāu (with accent, of course, on the first, asāu, or without accent, asāu: 314) is used also as vocative; amī, too, occurs as vocative.
- 502. a. The former of these two pronouns, ayam etc., plainly shows itself to be pieced together from a number of defective stems. The majority of forms come from the root a, with which, as in the ordinary pronominal declension, sma (f. sy) is combined in the singular. All these forms from a have the peculiarity that in their substantive use they are either accented, as in the paradigm, or accentless (like ena and the second forms from aham and tvam). The remaining forms are always accented. From ana come, with entire regularity, anéna, anayā, anayos. The strong cases in dual and plural, and in part in singular, come not less regularly from a stem imā. And ayam, iyam, idam are evidently to be referred to a simple root i (idam being apparently a double form, id, like tad etc., with ending am).
- b. The Veda has from the root a also the instrumentals enä and ayñ (used in general adverbially), and the gen. loc. du. ayós; from ima, imásya occurs once in RV., imasmãi in AA., and imāis and imeșu loger. The RV. has in a small number of instances the irregular accentuation ásmāi, ásya, ābhis.
- c. In analogy with the other pronouns, idam is by the grammarians regarded as representative stem of this pronominal declension; and it is actually found so treated in a very small number of compounds (idammáya and idámrūpa are of Brāhmana age). As regards the actual stems, ana furnishes nothing further; from ima comes only the adverb imáthā (RV., once); but a and i furnish a number of derivatives, mostly adverbial: thus, for example, átas, átra, átha, ad-dhā (?); itás, íd (Vedic particle), idā, ihá, ítara, īm (Vedic particle), īdfç, perhaps evá and evám, and others.
- 503. The other pronoun, asāú etc., has amú for its leading stem, which in the singular takes in combination, like the a-stems, the element sma (f. sy), and which shifts to amī in part of the mase, and neut. plural. In part, too, like an adjective u-stem, it lengthens its final in the feminine. The gen, sing, amúṣya is the only example in the language of the ending sya added to any other than an a-stem. The nom. pl. amí is unique in form; its ī is (like that of a dual) pragṛhya, or exempt from combination with a following vowel (138b). Asāú and adás are also without analogies as regards their endings.
- a. The grammarians, as usual, treat adás as representative stem of the declension, and it is found in this character in an extremely small number of words, as adomūla; adomáya is of Brāhmana age. The CB. has also asāunāman. But most of the derivatives, as of

the cases, come from amu: thus, amútas, amútra, amúthā, amud \bar{a} , amúrhi, amuvát, amuka.

- b. In the older language occurs the root twa (accentless), meaning one, many a one; it is oftenest found repeated, as one and another. It follows the ordinary pronominal declension. From it is made the (also accentless) adverb twadānīm (MS.).
- c. Fragments of another demonstrative root or two are met with: thu, amas he occurs in a formula in AV. and in Brahmanas etc.; avós agen.-loe. dual is found in RV.; the particle u points to a root u.

Interrogative Pronoun.

504. The characteristic part of the interrogative pro nominal root is ক k; it has the three forms ক ka, কি ki কু ku; but the whole declensional inflection is from ক ka excepting the nom.-acc. sing. neut., which is from কি ki and has the anomalous form কিন্ kim (not elsewhere know in the language from a neuter i-stem). The nom. an accus. sing., then, are as follows:

and the rest of the declension is precisely like that of ta (above, 495).

- a. The Veda has its usual variations, kå and kébhis for kåni a käís. It also has, along with kím, the pronominally regular neuter kå and kám (or kam) is a frequent particle. The mase, form kis, componding to kim, occurs as a stereotyped case in the combinations nák and mákis.
- 505. The grammarians treat kim as representative stem of t interrogative pronoun; and it is in fact so used in a not large number of words, of which a few—kimmáya, kimkará, kimkamya, kím devata, kimçīlá, and the peculiar kimyú—go back even to t Veda and Brāhmaṇa. In closer analogy with the other pronouns, t form kad, a couple of times in the Veda (katpayá, kádartha), a not infrequently later, is found as first member of compounds. Th from the real roots ka, ki, ku are made many derivatives; a from ki and ku, especially the latter, many compounds: thus. ki

kathá, kathám, kadá, katará, katamá, kárhi; kíyant, kīdŕç; kútas, kútra, kúha, kvà, kucará, kukarman, kumantrin, etc.

- 506. Various forms of this pronoun, as kad, kim, and ku (and rarely, ko), at the beginning of compounds, have passed from an interrogative meaning, through an exclamatory, to the value of prefixes signifying an unusual quality—either something admirable, or, oftener, something contemptible. This use begins in the Veda, but becomes much more common in later time.
- 507. The interrogative pronoun, as in other languages, turns readily in its independent use also to an exclamatory meaning. Moreover, it is by various added particles converted to an indefinite meaning: thus, by ca, caná, cid, ápi, vā, either alone or with the relative ya (below, 511) prefixed: thus, káç caná any one; ná kó 'pi not any one; yắni kắni cit whatsoever; yatamát katamác ca whatever one. Occasionally, the interrogative by itself acquires a similar value.

Relative Pronoun.

- 508. The root of the relative pronoun is π ya, which from the earliest period of the language has lost all trace of the demonstrative meaning originally (doubtless) belonging to it, and is used as relative only.
- 509. It is inflected with entire regularity according to the usual pronominal declension: thus,

		Singula	г.	• 1)ual.			Plural.	
د	m.	n.	f.	m.	n.	f.	m.	n.	ť.
N.	यस्	यत्	या }			:	घे	यानि	याम्
	yás.	yát	yá	यी	ये	ये	уé	yáni	yás `
Α.	यम	यत्	याम 🕻	yāú	уé	уé	यान्	यानि	यास्
	yám	yát	yám				yấn	yáni	yäs
1,	येन ं		यया				यैम्		यागिम्
	yéna		yáyā		याभ्य	गम्	yāís		yábhis
υ.	यस्मै		यस्यै		yábl	ıyām	येभ्य	ग्	याभ्यम्
	yásmi	āi	yásyāi				yébh	yas	yábhyas
	etc		etc.		et	c.	et	с.	etc.

a. The Veda shows its usual variations of these forms: yā for yāu and for yāni, and yébhis for yāis; yós for yáyos also occurs once; yénā, with prolonged final, is in RV. twice as common as yéna. Reso-

lutions occur in yābhias, and yéṣaam and yāsaam. The conjunction yāt is an ablative form according to the ordinary declension.

- 510. The use of yat as representative stem begins very early: we have yatkama in the Veda, and yatkamın, yaddevatya in the Brahmana; later it grows more general. From the proper root come also a considerable series of derivatives: yatas, yatı, yatra, yatha, yada, yadı, yarnı, yavanı, yatama, yatama; and the compound yadıç.
- 511. The combination of ya with ka to make an indefinite pronoun has been noticed above (507). Its own repetition—as yád-yat—gives it sometimes a like meaning, won through the distributive.
- 512. One or two marked peculiarites in the Sanskrit use of the relative may be here briefly noticed:
- a. A very decided preference for putting the relative clause before that to which it relates: thus, yah sunvatah sakhā tasmā indrāya gāyata (RV.) who is the friend of the soma-presser, to that Indra sing ye, yah yajhām paribhūr asi sa id devēsu gacchati (RV.) what offering thou protectest, that in truth goeth to the gods; yé triṣaptāh pariyanti balā teṣām dadhātu me (AV.) what thrice seven go about, their strength may he assign to me; asāu yó adharād grhās tātra santv arāyyāh (AV.) what house is yonder in the depth, there let the witches be; sahu yan me asti tena (TB.) along with that which is mine; hansānām vacanam yat tu tan mām dahati (MBh.) but what the words of the swans were, that burns me; sarvasya locanam çāstram yasya nā 'sty andha eva saḥ (H.) who does not possess learning, the eye of everything, blind indeed is he. The other arrangement, though frequent enough, in notably less usual.
- b. A frequent conversion of the subject or object of a verb by an added relative into a substantive clause: thus, mé 'mám prã "pat pāúruşeyo vadhó yáḥ (AV.) may there not reach him a human deadly weapon (lit'ly, what is such a weapon); pári no pāhi yád dhánam (AV.) protect of us what wealth [there is]; apāmārgō 'pa mārṣṭu kṣetriyám çapáthaç ca yáḥ (AV.) may the cleansing plant cleanse away the disease and the curse; puṣkareṇa hṛtam rājyam yac cā 'nyad vasu kimcana (MBh.) by Puṣhkara was taken away the kingdom and whatever other property [there was].

Other Pronouns: Emphatic, Indefinite.

513. a. The isolated and uninflected pronominal word स्वयम् svayam (from the root sva) signifies self, own self. By its form it appears to be a nom. sing., and it is often-

est used as nominative, but along with words of all persons and numbers; and not seldom it represents other cases also.

- b. Svayam is also used as a stem in composition: thus, svayamjā, svayambhū. But sva itself (usually adjective: below, 516e) has the same value in composition; and even its inflected forms are (in the older language very rarely) used as reflexive pronoun.
- c. In RV. alone are found a few examples of two indefinite pronouns, sama (accentless) any, every, and simá every, all.

Nouns used pronominally.

- 514. a. The noun ātmán soul is widely employed, in the singular (extremely rarely in other numbers), as reflexive pronoun of all three persons.
- b. The noun tanti body is employed in the same manner (but in all numbers) in the Veda.
- c. The adjective bhavant, f. bhavatī, is used (as already pointed out: 456) in respectful address as substitute for the pronoun of the second person. Its construction with the verb is in accordance with its true character, as a word of the third person.

Pronominal Derivatives.

515. From pronominal roots and stems, as well as from the larger class of roots and from noun-stems, are formed by the ordinary suffixes of adjective derivation certain words and classes of words, which have thus the character of prominal adjectives.

Some of the more important of these may be briefly noticed here.

- 516. Possessives. a. From the representative stems mad etc. are formed the adjectives madīya, asmadīya, tvadīya, yuṣmadīya, tadīya, and etadīya, which are used in a possessive sense: relating to me, mine, and so on.
- b. Other possessives are māmaká (also mámaka, RV.) and tāvaká, from the genitives máma and táva. And RV. has once mákīna.
- c. An analogous derivative from the genitive amuşya is āmuşyāyaṇa (AV. etc.) descendant of such and such a one.
- d. It was pointed out above (493) that the "genitives" asmākam and yuşmākam are really stereotyped cases of possessive adjectives.

- e. Corresponding to svayam (513) is the possessive sva, meaning own, as relating to all persons and numbers. The RV. has once the corresponding simple possessive of the second person, tva thy.
 - f. For the use of sva as reflexive pronoun, see above, 513b.
 - g. All these words form their feminines in a.
- h. Other derivatives of a like value have no claim to be mentioned here. But (excepting sva) the possessives are so rarely used as to make but a small figure in the language, which prefers generally to indicate the possessive relation by the genitive case of the pronoun itself.
- 517. By the suffix vant are formed from the pronominal roots, with prolongation of their final vowels, the adjectives mavant, tvavant, yusmavant, yuvavant, tavant, etavant, yavant, meaning of my sort, like me, etc. Of these, however, only the last three are in use in the later language, in the sense of tantus and quantus. They are inflected like other adjective stems in vant, making their feminines in vatī (452).
- a. Words of similar meaning from the roots i and ki are iyant and kiyant, inflected in the same manner: see above, 451.
- 518. The pronominal roots show a like prolongation of vowel in combination with the root dre see, look, and its derivatives dreat and (quite rarely) dress: thus, madre, drea; tvadre, drea; yuşand(quite rarely) dress: thus, madre, drea; tvadre, drea; yadre, drea; idre, drea, drea; kidre, drea, dreas. They mean of my sort, like or resembling me, and the like, and tadre and the following are not uncommon, with the sense of talis and qualis. The forms in dreat are unvaried for gender; those in drea (and dress?) have feminines in I.
- 519. From ta, ka, ya come tati so many, kati how many? yati as many. They have a quasi-numeral character, and are inflected (like the numerals pañca etc.: above, 483) only in the plural, and with the bare stem as nom. and accus.: thus, N.A. tati; I. etc. tati bhis, tatibhyas, tatīnām, tatīsu.
- 520. From ya (in V. and B.) and ka come the comparatives and superlatives yatará and yatamá, and katará and katamá; and from i, the comparative ítara. For their inflection, see below, 523.
- 521. Derivatives with the suffix ka, sometimes conveying diminutive or a contemptuous meaning, are made from certain of the pronominal roots and stems (and may, according to the grammarians be made from them all): thus, from ta, takam, takat, takas; from sa, saka; from ya, yakas, yaka, yaka; from asau, asakau; from amu, amuka.
- a. For the numerous and frequently used adverbs formed from pronominal roots, see Adverbs (below, 1097 ff.).

Adjectives declined pronominally.

- 522. A number of adjectives—some of them coming from pronominal roots, others more or less analogous with pronouns in use—are inflected, in part or wholly, according to the pronominal declension (like 7 ta, 495), with feminine stems in a. Thus:
- 523. The comparatives and superlatives from pronominal roots—namely, katará and katamá, yatará and yatamá, and ítara; also anyá other, and its comparative anyatará—are declined like ta throughout.
- a. But even from these words forms made according to the adjective declension are sporadically met with (e. g. itarāyām k.).
- b. Anya takes occasionally the form anyat in composition: thus, anyatkama, anyatsthana.
- 524. Other words are so inflected except in the nom-acc-voc. sing neut, where they have the ordinary adjective form am, instead of the pronominal at (ad). Such are sarva all, vieva all, every, éka one.
- a. These, also, are not without exception, at least in the earlier language (e. g. víçvāya, víçvāt, víçve RV.; éka loc. sing., AV.).
- 525. Yet other words follow the same model usually, or in some of their significations, or optionally; but in other senses, or without known rule, lapse into the adjective inflection.
- a. Such are the comparatives and superlatives from prepositional stems: ádhara and adhamá, ántara and ántama, ápara and apamá, ávara and avamá, úttara and uttamá, úpara and upamá. Of these, pronominal forms are decidedly more numerous from the comparatives than from the superlatives.
- b. Further, the superlatives (without corresponding comparatives) paramá, caramá, madhyamá; and also anyatama (whose positive and comparative belong to the class first mentioned: 523).
 - c. Further, the words para distant, other; purva prior, east, daksina right, south; paçcima behind, western; ubhaya (f. ubhayī or ubhayī) of both kinds or parties; nema the one, half; and the possessive sva.
 - 526. Occasional forms of the pronominal declension are met with from numeral adjectives: e. g. prathamásyās, trtīyasyām; and from other words having an indefinite numeral character: thus, alpa few: ardhá half; kévala all; dvítaya of the two kinds; bahya outside and others. RV. has once samānasmāt.

CHAPTER VIII.

CONJUGATION.

- 527. The subject of conjugation or verbal inflection involves, as in the other languages of the family, the distinctions of voice, tense, mode, number, and person.
- a. Further, besides the simpler or ordinary conjugation of a verbal root, there are certain more or less fully developed secondary or derivative conjugations.
- 528. Voice. There are (as in Greek) two voices, active and middle, distinguished by a difference in the personal endings. This distinction is a pervading one: there is no active personal form which does not have its corresponding middle, and *vice versa*; and it is extended also in part to the participles (but not to the infinitive).
- 529. An active form is called by the Hindu grammarians parasmāi padam a word for another, and a middle form is called ātmane padam a word for one's self: the terms might be best paraphrased by transitive and reflexive. And the distinction thus expressed is doubtless the original foundation of the difference of active and middle forms; in the recorded condition of the language, however, the antithesis of transitive and reflexive meaning is in no small measure blurred, or even altogether effaced.
- a. In the epics there is much effacement of the distinction between active and middle, the choice of voice being very often determined by metrical considerations alone.
- 530. Some verbs are conjugated in both voices, others in one only; sometimes a part of the tenses are inflected only in one voice, others only in the other or in both; of a verb usually inflected in one voice sporadic forms of the other occur; and sometimes the voice differs according as the verb is compounded with certain prepositions.

- 531. The middle forms outside the present-system (for which there is a special passive inflection: see below, 768 ff.), and sometimes also within that system, are liable to be used likewise in a passive sense.
- 532. Tense. The tenses are as follows: 1. a present, with 2. an imperfect, closely related with it in form, having a prefixed augment; 3. a perfect, made with reduplication (to which in the Veda is added, 4. a so-called pluperfect, made from it with prefixed augment); 5. an aorist, of three different formations: a. simple; b. reduplicated; c. sigmatic or sibilant; 6. a future, with 7. a conditional, an augmenttense, standing to it in the relation of an imperfect to a present; and 8. a second, a periphrastic, future (not found in the Veda).
- a. The tenses here distinguished (in accordance with prevailing usage) as imperfect, perfect, pluperfect, and acrist receive those names from their correspondence in mode of formation with tenses so called in other languages of the family, especially in Greek, and not at all from differences of time designated by them. In no period of the Sanskrit language is there any expression of imperfect or pluperfect time—nor of perfect time, except in the older language, where the "acrist" has this value; later, imperfect, perfect, and acrist are so many undiscriminated past tenses or preterits: see below, under the different tenses.
- 533. Mode. In respect to mode, the difference between the classical Sanskrit and the older language of the Veda—and, in a less degree, of the Brāhmaṇas—is especially great.
- a. In the Veda, the present tense has, besides its indicative inflection, a subjunctive, of considerable variety of formation. an optative, and an imperative (in 2d and 3d persons). The same three modes are found, though of much less frequent occurrence, as belonging to the perfect; and they are made also from the acrists, being of especial frequency from the simple acrist. The future has no modes (an occasional case or two are purely exceptional).
- b. In the classical Sanskrit, the present adds to its indicative an optative and an imperative of which last,

moreover, the first persons are a remnant of the old subjunctive. And the agrist has also an optative, of somewhat peculiar inflection, usually called the precative (or benedictive).

- 534. The present, perfect, and future tenses have each of them, alike in the earlier and later language, a pair of participles, active and middle, sharing in the various peculiarities of the tense-formations; and in the Veda are found such participles belonging also to the agrist.
- 535. Tense-systems. The tenses, then, with their accompanying modes and participles, fall into certain well-marked groups or systems:
 - I. The present-system, composed of the present tense with its modes, its participle, and its preterit which we have called the imperfect.
 - II. The perfect-system, composed of the perfect tense (with, in the Veda, its modes and its preterit, the so-called pluperfect) and its participle.
 - III. The aorist-system, or systems, simple, reduplicated, and sibilant, composed of the aorist tense along with, in the later language, its "precative" optative (but, in the Veda, with its various modes and its participle).
 - IV. The future-systems: 1. the old or sibilant future, with its accompanying preterit, the conditional, and its participle; and 2. the new periphrastic future.
- 536. Number and Person. The verb has, of course, the same three numbers with the noun: namely, singular, dual, and plural; and in each number it has the three persons, first, second, and third. All of these are made in every tense and mode—except that the first persons of the imperative numbers are supplied from the subjunctive.

- 587. Verbal adjectives and nouns: Participles. The participles belonging to the tense-systems have been already spoken of above (584). There is besides, coming directly from the root of the verb, a participle, prevailingly of past and passive (or sometimes neuter) meaning. Future passive participles, or gerundives, of several different formations, are also made.
- 538. Infinitives. In the older language, a very considerable variety of derivative abstract nouns only in a few sporadic instances having anything to do with the tense-systems are used in an infinitive or quasi-infinitive sense; most often in the dative case, but sometimes also in the accusative, in the genitive and ablative, and (very rarely) in the locative. In the classical Sanskrit, there remains a single infinitive, of accusative case-form, having nothing to do with the tense-systems.
- 539. Gerunds. A so-called gerund (or absolutive) being, like the infinitive, a stereotyped case-form of a derivative noun is a part of the general verb-system in both the earlier and later language, being especially frequent in the later language, where it has only two forms, one for simple verbs, and the other for compound. Its value is that of an indeclinable active participle, of indeterminate but prevailingly past tense-character.
- a. Another gerund, an adverbially used accusative in form, is found, but only rarely, both earlier and later.
- 540. Secondary conjugations. The secondary or derivative conjugations are as follows: 1. the passive; 2. the intensive; 3. the desiderative; 4. the causative. In these, a conjugation-stem, instead of the simple root, underlies the whole system of inflection. Yet there is clearly to be seen in them the character of a present-system, expanded into a more or less complete conjugation; and the passive is

so purely a present-system that it will be described in the chapter devoted to that part of the inflection of the verb.

- a. Under the same general head belongs the subject of denominative conjugation, or the conversion of noun and adjective-stems into conjugation-stems. Further, that of compound conjugation, whether by the prefixion of prepositions to roots or by the addition of auxiliary verbs to noun and adjective-stems. And finally, that of periphrastic conjugation, or the looser combination of auxiliaries with verbal nouns and adjectives.
- 541. The characteristic of a proper (finite or personal verb-form is its personal ending. By this alone is determined its character as regards number and person and in part also as regards mode and tense. But the distinctions of mode and tense are mainly made by the formation of tense and mode-stems, to which, rather than to the pure root, the personal endings are appended.
- a. In this chapter will be given a general account of the personal endings, and also of the formation of mode-stems from tensestems, and of those elements in the formation of tense-stems—the augment and the reduplication—which are found in more than one tense-system. Then, in the following chapters, each tense-system will be taken up by itself, and the methods of formation of its stems, both tense-stems and mode-stems, and their combination with the endings, will be described and illustrated in detail And the complete conjugation of a few model verbs will be exhibited in systematic arrangement in Appendix C.

Personal Endings.

- 542. The endings of verbal inflection are, as was pointed out above, different throughout in the active and middle voices. They are also, as in Greek, usually of two somewhat varying forms for the same person in the same voice: one fuller, called primary; the other briefer, called secondary. There are also less pervading differences, depending upon other conditions.
- a. In the epics, exchanges of primary and secondary active endings, (especially the substitution of ma, va, ta, for mas, vas, tha) are not infrequent.

- b. A condensed statement of all the varieties of ending for each person and number here follows.
- 543. Singular: First person. a. The primary ending in the active is mi. The subjunctive, however (later imperative), has ni instead; and in the oldest Veda this ni is sometimes wanting, and the person ends in ā (as if the ni of āni were dropped). The secondary ending is properly m; but to this m an a has come to be so persistently prefixed, appearing regularly where the tense-stem does not itself end in a (vam for varm or varam in RV., once, and abhūm MS., avadhīm TS. ctc., sanem TB., are rare anomalies), that it is convenient to reckon am as ending, rather than m. But the perfect tense has neither mi nor m; its ending is simply a (sometimes ā: 248 c); or, from ā-roots, āu.
- b. The primary middle ending, according to the analogy of the other persons, would be regularly me. But no tense or mode, at any period of the language, shows any relic whatever of a m in this person; the primary ending, present as well as perfect, from a-stems and others alike, is e; and to it corresponds i as secondary ending, which blends with the final of an a-stem to e. The optative has, however, a instead of i; and in the subjunctive (later imperative) appears āi for e.
- 544. Second person. a. In the active, the primary ending is si, which is shortened to s as secondary; as to the loss of this s after a final radical consonant, see below, 555. But the perfect and the imperative desert here entirely the analogy of the other forms. The perfect ending is invariably tha (or tha: 248c). The imperative is far less regular. The fullest form of its ending is dhi; which, however, is more often reduced to hi; and in the great majority of verbs (including all a-stems, at every period of the language) no ending is present, but the bare stem stands as personal form. In a very small class of verbs (722-3); ana is the ending. There is also an alternative ending tat; and this is even used sporadically in other persons of the imperative (see below, 570-1).
- b. In the middle voice, the primary ending, both present and perfect, is se. The secondary stands in no apparent relation to this, being that; and in the imperative is found only sva (or sva: 248 c), which in the Veda is not seldom to be read as sua. In the older language, se is sometimes strengthened to sai in the subjunctive.
- 545. Third person. a. The active primary ending is ti; the secondary, t; as to the loss of the latter after a final radical consonant, see below, 555. But in the imperative appears instead the peculiar ending tu; and in the perfect no characteristic consonant is present, and the third person has the same ending as the first.
- b. The primary middle ending is te, with ta as corresponding secondary. In the older language, te is often strengthened to tai in

the subjunctive. In the perfect, the middle third person has, like the active, the same ending with the first, namely e simply; and in the older language, the third person present also often loses the distinctive part of its termination, and comes to coincide in form with the first (and MS. has aduha for adugdha). To this e perhaps corresponds, as secondary, the i of the acrist 3d pers. passive (842 ft.). The imperative has tam (or, in the Veda, rarely am) for its ending.

- 546. Dual: First person. Both in active and in middle, the dual first person is in all its varieties precisely like the corresponding plural, only with substitution of v for the m of the latter: thus. vas (no vasi has been found to occur), va, vahe, vahi, vahāi. The person is, of course, of comparatively rare use, and from the Veda no form in vas, even, is quotable.
- 547. Second and Third persons. a. In the active, the primary ending of the second person is thas, and that of the third is tas; and this relation of th to t appears also in the perfect, and runs through the whole series of middle endings. The perfect endings are primary, but have u instead of a as vowel; and an a has become so persistently prefixed that their forms have to be reckoned as athus and atus. The secondary endings exhibit no definable relation to the primary in these two persons; they are tam and tam; and they are used in the imperative as well.
- b. In the middle, a long ā—which, however, with the final a of a-stems becomes e—has become prefixed to all dual endings of the second and third persons, so as to form an inseparable part of them (dīdhīthām AV., and jihīthām ÇB., are isolated anomalies. The primary endings, present and perfect, are āthe and āte; the secondary (and imperative) are āthām and ātām (or, with stem-final a, ethe etc.).
- c. The Rig-Veda has a very few forms in aithe and aite, apparently from ethe and ete with subjunctive strengthening (they are all detailed below: see 615, 701, 737, 752, 836, 1008, 1043).
- 548. Plural: First person. a. The earliest form of the active ending is masi, which in the oldest language is more frequent than the briefer mas (in RV., as five to one; in AV., however, only as three to four). In the classical Sanskrit, mas is the exclusive primary ending; but the secondary abbreviated ma belongs also to the perfect and the subjunctive (imperative). In the Veda, ma often becomes mā (248 c), especially in the perfect.
- b. The primary middle ending is mane. This is lightened in the secondary form to mahi; and, on the other hand, it is regularly in the Veda, not invariably) strengthened to mahāi in the subjunctive (imperative).
- 549. Second person. a. The active primary ending is that The secondary, also imperative, ending is ta (in the Veda, ta only

once in impv.). But in the perfect any characteristic consonant is wanting, and the ending is simply a. In the Veda, the syllable na, of problematic origin, is not infrequently added to both forms of the ending, making thana (rarely thana) and tana. The forms in which this occurs will be detailed below, under the different formations; the addition is very rarely made excepting to persons of the first general conjugation.

- b. The middle primary ending is dhve, which belongs to the perfect as well as to the present. In the subjunctive of the older language it is sometimes strengthened to dhvāi. The secondary (and imperative) ending is dhvam (in RV., once dhva); and dhvāt is once met with in the imperative (571 d). In the Veda, the v of all these endings is sometimes to be resolved into u, and the ending becomes dissyllabic. As to the change of dh of these endings to dh, see above, 226 c.
- 550. Third person. a. The full primary ending is anti in the active, with ante as corresponding middle. The middle secondary ending is anta, to which should correspond an active ant; but of the t only altogether questionable traces are left, in the euphonic treatment of a final n (207); the ending is an. In the imperative, antu and antām take the place of anti and ante. The initial a of all these endings is like that of am in the 1st sing., disappearing after the final a of a tense-stem.
- b. Moreover, anti, antu, ante, antam, anta are all liable to be weakened by the loss of their nasal, becoming ati etc. In the active, this weakening takes place only after reduplicated non-a-stems (and after a few roots which are treated as if reduplicated: 639 ff.); in the middle, it occurs after all tense-stems save those ending in a.
- c. Further, for the secondary active ending an there is a substitute us (or ur: 169 b; the evidence of the Avestan favors the latter form), which is used in the same reduplicating verbs that change anti to ati etc., and which accordingly appears as a weaker correlative of an. The same us is also used universally in the perfect, in the optative (not in the subjunctive), in those forms of the acrist whose stem does not end in a, and in the imperfect of rootstems ending in \(\bar{a}\), and a few others (621).
- d. The perfect middle has in all periods of the language the peculiar ending re, and the optative has the allied ran, in this person. In the Veda, a variety of other endings containing a r as distinctive consonant are met with: namely, re (and ire) and rate in the present; rata in the optative (both of present and of aorist); rire in the perfect; ranta, ran, and ram in aorists (and in an imperfect or two); ram and ratam in the imperative; ra in the imperfect of duh (MS.). The three rate, ratam, and rata are found even in the later language in one or two verbs (629).

- 551. Below are given, for convenience, in tabular form, the schemes of endings as accepted in the classical or later language namely, at the regular primary endings, used in the present indicative and the future (and the subjunctive in part); and be the regular secondary endings, used in the imperfect, the conditional, the aorist the optative (and the subjunctive in part); and further, of special schemes, ce the perfect endings (chiefly primary, especially in the middle); and determine the imperative endings (chiefly secondary). To the so-called imperative endings of the first person is prefixed the ā which is practically a part of them, though really containing the mode-sign of the subjunctive from which they are derived.
- 552. Further, a part of the endings are marked with an accent and a part are left unaccented. The latter are those which never, under any circumstances, receive the accent; the former are accented in considerable classes of verbs, though by no means in all. It will be noticed that, in general, the unaccented endings are those of the singular active; but the 2d sing. imperative has an accented ending; and, on the other hand, the whole series of 1st persons imperative active and middle, have unaccented endings (this being a characteristic of the subjunctive formation which they represent).

553. The schemes of normal endings, then, are as follows:

			a. Primary	Ending	gs. 🕶	
		active.			middle	
	8.	d.	р.	s.	d.	p.
1	mi	vás	más	é	váhe	máhe
2	si	thás	thá	вé	áthe	dhvé
3	ti	tás	ánti, áti	té	āte	ánte, á te
			b. Secondary	Endin	gs. ~ y	
1	am	vá	má	í, á	váhi	máhi
2	8	tám	tá	thás	áthām	dhvám
3	t	tám	án, ús	tá	átām	ánta, áta, rán
			c. Perfect F	nding	s. (28)	
1	a	vá	má	é	váhe	nláhe
2	tha	áthus	á	вé	áthe	dhvé
3	a	átus	úв	é	āte	ré
			d. Imperative	Endin	igs. (mm).	•
1	āni	ãva	āma	āi	āvahāi	āma hāi
2	dhí, hí, —	tám	tá	svá	áthām	dhvám
3	tu	tám	ántu, átu	tám	átām	ántām, átām

554. In general, the rule is followed that an accented ending, if dissyllabic, is accented on its first syllable — and the constant union-vowels are regarded, in this respect, as integral parts of the endings. But the

3d pl. ending ate of the pres. indic. middle has in RV. the accent até in a number of verbs (see 613, 685, 699, 719); and an occasional instance is met with in other endings: thus, mahé (see 719, 735).

- 555. The secondary endings of the second and third persons singular, as consisting of an added consonant without vowel, should regularly (150) be lost whenever the root or stem to which they are to be added itself ends in a consonant. And this rule is in general followed; yet not without exceptions. Thus:
- a. A root ending in a dental mute sometimes drops this final mute instead of the added s in the second person; and, on the other hand, a root or stem ending in s sometimes drops this s instead of the added t in the third person—in either case, establishing the ordinary relation of s and t in these persons, instead of s and s, and t and t. The examples noted are: 2d sing. aves (to 3d sing. avet), \(\nu\) vid, AB.; 3d sing. akat, \(\nu\)kr, \(\nu\)B. aghat, \(\nu\)ghas, JB. A\(\nu\)S.; acak\(\nu\)ti, \(\nu\)cak\(\nu\)s, RT., a\(\nu\)ti, \(\nu\)tins, \(\nu\)B. Compare also the s-aorist forms ay\(\nu\)s and sr\(\nu\)s (146 a), in which the same influence is be seen; and further, aj\(\nu\)tit etc. (889 a), and precative \(\nu\)tilde for y\(\nu\)s (837). A similar loss of any other final consonant is excessively rare; AV. has once abhanas, for -nak, \(\nu\)bha\(\nu\)j. There are also a few cases where a 1st sing, is irregularly modeled after a 3d sing:: thus, atrnam (to atrnat), \(\nu\)trd, KU., acchinam (to acchinat), \(\nu\)chid, MBh.: compare further the 1st sing, in m instead of am, 543 a.
- b. Again, a union-vowel is sometimes introduced before the ending, either a or i or ī: see below, 621 b, 631, 819, 880, 1004 a, 1068 a.
- c. In a few isolated cases in the older language, this $\overline{\imath}$ is changed to $\overline{\imath}$ is see below, 904 b, 936, 1068 a.
- 556. The changes of form which roots and stems undergo in their combinations with these endings will be pointed out in detail below, under the various formations. Here may be simply mentioned in advance, as by far the most important among them, a distinction of stronger and weaker form of stem in large classes of verbs, standing in relation with the accent—the stem being of stronger form when the accent falls upon it, or before an accentless ending, and of weaker form when the accent is on the ending.
- a. Of the endings marked as accented in the scheme, the ta of 2d pl. is not infrequently in the Veda treated as unaccented, the tone resting on the stem, which is strengthened. Much less often, the tam of 2d du. is treated in the same way; other endings, only sporadically. Details are given under the various formations below.

Subjunctive Mode.

557. Of the subjunctive mode (as was pointed out above) only fragments are left in the later or classical language: namely, in the

so-called first persons imperative, and in the use (879) of the imperfect and agrist persons without augment after mā prohibitive. In the oldest period, however, it was a very frequent formation, being three or four times as common as the optative in the Rig-Veda, and nearly the same in the Atharvan; but already in the Brāhmanas it becomes comparatively rare. Its varieties of form are considerable, and sometimes perplexing.

- 558. In its normal and regular formation, a special mode-stem is made for the subjunctive by adding to the tense-stem an a which combines with a final a of the tense-stem to ā. The accent rests upon the tense-stem, which accordingly has the strong form. Thus, from the strong present-stem doh (y'duh) is made the subjunctive-stem dóha; from juhó (y'hu), juháva; from yunáj (y'yuj), yunája; from sunó (y'su), sunáva; from bháva (y'bhū), bhávā; from tudá (y'tud), tudá; from uoyá (pass., y'vae), uoyá; and so on.
- 559. The stem thus formed is inflected in general as an a-stem would be inflected in the indicative, with constant accent, and \bar{a} for a before the endings of the first person (733 i) but with the following peculiarities as to ending etc.:
- 560. a. In the active, the 1st sing. has ni as ending: thus, dóhām, yunájāni, bhávāni. But in the Rig-Veda sometimes ā simply: thus, åyā, brávā.
- b. In 1st du., 1st pl., and 2d pl., the endings are the secondary: thus. dôhāva, dôhāma, dôhan; bhávāva, bhávāma, bhávān.
- c. In 2d and 3d du. and 2d pl., the endings are primary: thus, dóhathas, dóhatas, dóhatha; bhávāthas, bhávātas, bhávātha.
- d. In 2d and 3d sing., the endings are either primary or secondary: thus, dóhasi or dóhas, dóhati or dóhat; bhávāsi or bhávās, bhávāti or bhávāt.
- e. Occasionally, forms with double mode-sign $\bar{\mathbf{a}}$ (by assimilation to the more numerous subjunctives from tense-stems in a) are met with from non-a-stems: thus, $\dot{\mathbf{a}}$ sātha from as; $\dot{\mathbf{a}}$ yās, $\dot{\mathbf{a}}$ yāt, $\dot{\mathbf{a}}$ yān from e (γ i).
- 561. In the middle, forms with secondary instead of primary endings are very rare, being found only in the 3d pl. (where they are more frequent than the primary), and in a case or two of the 3d sing. (and AB. has once asyāthās).
- a. The striking peculiarity of subjunctive middle inflection is the frequent strengthening of e to āi in the endings. This is less general in the very earliest language than later. In ist sing, āi alone is found as ending, even in RV.; and in 1st du. also (of rare occurrence), only āvahāi is met with. In ist pl., āmahāi prevails in RV. and AV. (āmahe is found a few times), and is alone known later. In 2d sing, sāi for se does not occur in RV., but is the only form in AV. and the Brāhmaṇas. In 3d sing, tāi for to occurs once in RV., and is the predominant form

in AV., and the only one later. In 2d pl., dhvāi for dhve is found in one word in RV., and a few times in the Brāhmanas. In 3d pl., ntāi for nte is the Brāhmana form (of far from frequent occurrence); it occurs neither in RV. nor AV. No such dual endings as thāi and tāi, for the and te, are anywhere found; but RV. has in a few words (nine: above, 547 o) āithe and āite, which appear to be a like subjunctive strengthening of ethe and ete (although found in one indicative form, kṛṇvāite). Before the āi-endings, the vowel is regularly long ā; but antāi instead of āntāi is two or three times met with, and once or twice (TS. AB.) atāi for ātāi.

562. The subjunctive endings, then, in combination with the subjunctive mode-sign, are as follows:

		active.			middl	e.
	8.	d.	p.	s.	d.	р.
ı	āni	āva	āma	āi	∫āvahāi \āvahe	∫āmahāi \āmahe
2	∫asi \as	athas	atha	∫ase \āsāi	āithe	∫adhve \ādhvāi
3	(ati	atas	an	∫ate \ātāi	āite	{ante, anta {āntāi

- a. And in further combination with final a of a tense-stem, the initial a of all these endings becomes ā: thus, for example, in 2d pers., āsi or ās, āthas, ātha, āse, ādhve.
- 563. Besides this proper subjunctive, with mode-sign, in its triple form with primary, with strengthened primary, and with secondary endings the name of subjunctive, in the forms "imperfect subjunctive" and "improper subjunctive", has been also given to the indicative forms of imperfect and aorist when used, with the augment omitted, in a modal sense (below, 587): such use being quite common in RV., but rapidly dying out, so that in the Brāhmaṇa language and later it is hardly met with except after mā prohibitive.
 - a. As to the general uses of the subjunctive, see below, 574 ff.

Optative Mode.

564. a. As has been already pointed out, the optative is of comparatively rare occurrence in the language of the Vedas; but it gains rapidly in frequency, and already in the Brähmanas greatly outnumbers the subjunctive, and still later comes almost entirely to take its place.

b. Its mode of formation is the same in all periods of the language.

565, a. The optative mode-sign is in the active voice a different one, according as it is added to a tense-stem ending in a, or to one ending in some other final. In the latter case, it is y\$\overline{a}\$, accented this y\$\overline{a}\$ is appended to the weaker form of the tense-stem, and take the regular series of secondary endings, with, in 3d plur., us in stead of an, and loss of the \$\overline{a}\$ before it. After an a-stem, it is in unaccented; this \$\overline{a}\$ blends with the final a to e (which then is accented or not according to the accent of the a); and the e is maintained unchanged before a vowel-ending (am, us), by means of an interposed euphonic y.

b. In the middle voice, the mode-sign is ī throughout, and take the secondary endings, with a in 1st sing., and ran in 3d pl. Afte an a-stem, the rules as to its combination to e, the accent of the latter, and its retention before a vowel-ending with interposition of a y, are the same as in the active. After any other final, the weake form of stem is taken, and the accent is on the ending (except in one class of verbs, where it falls upon the tense-stem: see 645); and the ī (as when combined to e) takes an inserted y before the vowel endings (a, āthām, ātām).

c. It is, of course, impossible to tell from the form whether i or \bar{i} n combined with the final of an a-stem to e; but no good reason appears n exist for assuming i, rather than the \bar{i} which shows itself in the other clayof stems in the middle voice.

566. The combined mode-sign and endings of the optative, then are as follows, in their double form, for a-stems and for others:

			a. for	non-a-stems.	Frings.	
		active.			middle.	
	s.	ď.	p.	8.	d.	p.
1	yám	yáva	yáma	īyá	īváhi	īmáhi
2	yás	yátam	yáta	īthās	īyáthām	īdhvám
3	yát	yấtām	yús	ītá	ĭyấtām	īrán
		b. com	bined witl	the final of	a-stems.	
1	eyam	eva	ema	еуа	evahi	emahi
2	68	etam	eta	ethās	eyāthām	edh vam
3	et	etām	eyus	eta	eyātām	eran
	c. The	yā is in th	e Veda not	seldom resolv	ed into iā.	_

- d. The contracted sanem, for saneyam, is found in TB. and Apast. Certain Vedic 3d pl. middle forms in rata will be mentioned below, under the various formations.
- 567. Precative. Precative forms are such as have a sibilant inserted between the optative-sign and the ending. They are made almost only from the acrist stems, and, though allowed by the grammarians to be formed from every root—the active precative from the simple acrist, the middle from the sibilant acrist—are

practically of rare occurrence at every period of the language, and especially later.

- a. The inserted s runs in the active through the whole series of persons; in the middle, it is allowed only in the 2d and 3d persons sing, and du, and the 2d pl., and is quotable only for the 2d and 3d sing. In the 2d sing, act., the precative form, by reason of the necessary loss of the added s, is not distinguishable from the simple optative; in the 3d sing, act., the same is the case in the later language, which (compare 555 a) saves the personal ending t instead of the precative-sign s; but the RV. usually, and the other Vedic texts to some extent, have the proper ending yas (for yast). As to qh in the 2d pl. mid., see 226 c.
 - b. The accent is as in the simple optative.
- 568. The precative endings, then, accepted in the later language (including, in brackets, those which are identical with the simple ontative), are as follows:

active.			middle.			
	s.	đ.	p.	8.	d.	p.
1	yásam	yä s va	yásma	[īyá]	[īváhi]	[īmáhi]
2	[yás]	yástam	yásta	īṣṭhās	īyāsthām	īḍhvám
3	[yát]	yástam	yásus	ĭșţá	īyāstām	[īrán]
	_	_				

- a. Respecting the precative, see further 921 ff.
 - b. As to the general uses of the optative, see below, 573 ff.

Imperative Mode.

- 569. The imperative has no mode-sign; it is made by adding its own endings directly to the tense-stem, just as the other endings are added to form the indicative tenses.
- a. Hence, in 2d and 3d du. and 2d pl., its forms are indistinguishable from those of the augment-preterit from the same stem with its augment
- b. The rules as to the use of the different endings especially in 2d sing., where the variety is considerable will be given below, in connection with the various tense-systems. The ending tat, however, has so much that is peculiar in its use that it calls for a little explanation here.
- 570. The Imperative in tāt. An imperative form, usually having the value of a 2d pers. sing., but sometimes also of other persons and numbers, is made by adding tāt to a present tense-stem—in its weak form, if it have a distinction of strong and weak form.
- a. Examples are: brūtāt, hatāt, vittāt; pipṛtāt, jahītāt, dhattāt; kṛṇutāt, kurutāt; gṛhṇītāt, jānītāt; avatāt, rakṣatāt, vasatāt; viçatāt, srjatāt; asyatāt, nacyatāt, chyatāt; kriyatāt;

gamayatāt, cyāvayatāt, vārayatāt; īpsatāt; jāgrtāt. No example have been found from a nasal-class verb (690), nor any other than thos here given from a passive, intensive, or desiderative. The few accente cases indicate that the formation follows the general rule for one made wit an accented ending (552).

- b. The imperative in tat is not a very rare formation in the olde language, being made (in V., B., and S.) from about fifty roots, and i toward a hundred and fifty occurrences. Later, it is very unusual: thus only a single example has been noted in MBh., and one in R.; and correspondingly few in yet more modern texts.
- 571. As regards its meaning, this form appears to have provailingly in the Brāhmanas, and traceably but much less distinctly in the Vedic texts, a specific tense-value added to its mode-value—a signifying, namely, an injunction to be carried out at a later time that the present: it is (like the Latin forms in to and tote) a posterior future imperative.
- a. Examples are: ihāl 'vá mā tísthantam abhyèhi 'ti brūl tāṁ tú na āgatāṁ pratiprábrūtāt (CB.) say to her "come to me as stand just here," and [afterward] announce her to us as having come; yā ūrdhvás tíṣthā dráviņe 'há dhattāt (RV.) when thou shalt stand up right, [then] bestow riches here (and similarly in many cases); utkúlgu udvahó bhavo 'dúhya práti dhāvatāt (AV.) be a carrier up the ascen after having carried up, run back again; vánaspátir ádhi tvā sthāsya tásya vittāt (TS.) the tree will ascend thee, [then] take note of it.
- b. Examples of its use as other than 2d sing, are as follows: 1st sing āvyuṣám jāgṛtād ahám (AV.; only case) let me watch till day-brea as 3d sing., punar mā "viçatād rayín (TS.) let wealth come again me, ayám tyásya rājā mūrdhānam ví pātayatāt (QB.) the king he shall make his head fly off; as 2d du., nāsatyāv abruvan devē punar ā vahatād íti (RV.) the gods said to the two Açvins "bring the back again"; as 2d pl., āpaḥ ... devēṣu naḥ sukṛto brūtāt (TS.) waters, announce us to the gods as well-doers. In the later language, t prevailing value appears to be that of a 3d sing.: thus, bhavān prasāda kurutāt (MBh.) may your worship do the favor, enam bhavī abhīrakṣatāt (DKC.) let your excellency protect him.
- c. According to the native grammarians, the imperative in tat is to used with a benedictive implication. No instance of such use appears be quotable.
- d. In a certain passage repeated several times in different Brāhmat and Sūtras, and containing a number of forms in tāt used as 2d l vārayadhvāt is read instead of vārayatāt in some of the texts (K. A AÇS. ÇÇS.). No other occurrence of the ending dhvāt has been anywhenoted.

Uses of the Modes.

- 572. Of the three modes, the imperative is the one most distinct and limited in office, and most unchanged in use throughout the whole history of the language. It signifies a command or injunction an attempt at the exercise of the speaker's will upon some one or something outside of himself.
- a. This, however (in Sanskrit as in other languages), is by no means always of the same force; the command shades off into a demand, an exhortation, an entreaty, an expression of earnest desire. The imperative also sometimes signifies an assumption or concession; and occasionally, by pregnant construction, it becomes the expression of something conditional or contingent; but it does not acquire any regular use in dependent-clause-making.
- b. The imperative is now and then used in an interrogative sentence: thus, bravīhi ko 'dyāi 'va mayā viyujyatām (R.) speak! who shall now be separated by me? katham ete guṇavantaḥ kriyantām (H.) how are they to be made virtuous? kasmāi piṇḍaḥ pradīyatām (Vet.) to whom shall the offering be given?
- 573. The optative appears to have as its primary office the expression of wish or desire; in the oldest language, its prevailing use in independent clauses is that to which the name "optative" properly belongs.
- a. But the expression of desire, on the one hand, passes naturally over into that of request or entreaty, so that the optative becomes a softened imperative; and, on the other hand, it comes to signify what is generally desirable or proper, what should or ought to be, and so becomes the mode of prescription; or, yet again, it is weakened into signifying what may or can be, what is likely or usual, and so becomes at last a softened statement of what is.
- b. Further, the optative in dependent clauses, with relative pronouns and conjunctions, becomes a regular means of expression of the conditional and contingent, in a wide and increasing variety of uses.
- c. The so-called precative forms (587) are ordinarily used in the proper optative sense. But in the later language they are occasionally met with in the other uses of the optative: thus, na hi prapacyāmi mamā 'panudyād yac chokam (BhG.) for I do not perceive what should dispel my grief; yad bhūyāsur vibhūtayah (BhP.) that there should be changes. Also rarely with mā: see 579 b.

- 674. The subjunctive, as has been pointed out, becomes nearly extinct at an early period in the history of the language; there are left of it in classical usage only two relics: the use of its first persons in an imperative sense, or to signify a necessity or obligation resting on the speaker, or a peremptory intention on his part; and the use of unaugmented forms (579), with the negative particle H má, in a prohibitive or negative imperative sense.
- a. And the general value of the subjunctive from the beginning was what these relics would seem to indicate: its fundamental meaning is perhaps that of requisition, less peremptory than the imperative, more so than the optative. But this meaning is liable to the same modifications and transitions with that of the optative; and subjunctive and optative run closely parallel with one another in the oldest language in their use in independent clauses, and are hardly distinguishable in dependent. And instead of their being (as in Greek) both maintained in use, and endowed with nicer and more distinctive values, the subjunctive gradually disappears, and the optative assumes alone the offices formerly shared by both.
- 575. The difference, then, between imperative and subjunctive and optative, in their fundamental and most characteristic uses, is one of degree: command, requisition, wish; and no sharp line of division exists between them; they are more or less exchangeable with one another, and combinable in coördinate clauses.
- a. Thus, in AV., we have in impv.: çatám jīva çarádah do thou live a hundred autumns; ubhāú tāú jīvatām jarádaṣṭī let them both live to attain old age;—in subj., adyá jīvāni let me live this day; çatám jīvāti çarádah he shall live a hundred autumns;—in opt. sivema çarádām çatām may we live hundreds of autumns; sarvam āyur jīvyāsam (prec.) I would fain live out my whole term of life. Here the modes would be interchangeable with a hardly perceptible change of meaning.
- b. Examples, again, of different modes in coordinate construction are: iyam agne nārī patim videsta... súvānā putrān mahisī bhavāti gatvā patim subhagā ví rājatu (AV.) may this woman, O Agni! find a spouse; giving birth to sons she shall become a chieftainess; having attained a spouse let her rule in happiness; gopāya nah svastaye prabūdhe nah punar dadah (TS.) watch over us for

our welfare; grant unto us to wake again; syan nah sunuh...sa te sumatir bhutv asmé (RV.) may there be to us a son; let that favor of thine be ours. It is not very seldom the case that versions of the same passage in different texts show different modes as various readings.

- c. There is, in fact, nothing in the earliest employment of these modes to prove that they might not all be specialized uses of forms originally equivalent having, for instance, a general future meaning.
- 576. As examples of the less characteristic use of subjunctive and optative in the older language, in independent clauses, may be quoted the following: å ghā tā gacchān úttarā yugáni (RV.) those later ages will doubtless come; yád ... ná marā íti mányase (RV.) if thou thinkest "I shall not die"; ná tá naçanti ná dabhāti táskaraḥ (RV.) they do not become lost; no thief can harm them; kāsmāi devāya havīṣā vidhema (RV.) to what god shall we offer oblation? agnínā rayīm açnavat ... divé-dive (RV.) by Agni one may yain wealth erery day; utāi 'nām brahmāne dadyāt táthā syoná çivā syāt (AV.) one should give her, however, to a Brahman: in that case she will be propitious and favorable; áhar-ahar dadyāt (CB.) one should give every day.
- 577. The uses of the optative in the later language are of the utmost variety, covering the whole field occupied jointly by the two modes in earlier time. A few examples from a single text (MBh.) will be enough to illustrate them: ucchiştam nai 'va bhunjīyam na kuryam pādadhāvanam I will not eat of the remant of the sacrifice, I will not perform the foot-lavation; jūātīn vrajet let her go to her relatives; nāi 'vam sā karhicit kuryāt she should not act thus at any time; katham vidyām nalam nṛpam how can I know king Nala? utsarge samçayan syāt tu vindetā 'pi sukham kvacit but in case of her abandonment there may be a chance; she may also find happiness somewhere; katham vāso vikarteyam na ca budhyeta me priyā how can I cut off the garment and my beloved not wake?
- 578. The later use of the first persons subjunctive as so-called imperative involves no change of construction from former time, but only restriction to a single kind of use: thus, dīvyāva let us two play; kirā karavāņi te what shall I do for thee?
- 579. The imperative negative, or prohibitive, is from the earliest period of the language regularly and usually expressed by the particle mā with an augmentless past form, prevailingly agrist.
- a. Thus, prá pata mé 'há ramsthāḥ (AV.) fly away, do not stay here; dvişánç ca máhyam radhyatu má cã 'hám dvişaté radham (AV.) both let my foe be subject to me, and let me not be subject to my foe; urv àqyām ábhayam jyötir indra má no dīrghā abhí naçan tamisrāḥ (RV.) I would win broad fearless light, O Indra; let not the long darknesses come upon us; má na āyuḥ prá moṣīḥ (RV.) do not

steal away our life; samāçvasihi mā çucah (MBh.) be comforted; d not grieve; mā bhāiṣih or bhāiḥ (MBh. R.) dot not be afraid; mā bhū kālasya paryayah (R.) let not a change of time take place. Examples with the imperfect are: mā bibher na mariṣyasi (RV.) do not fear; thou wil not die; mā smāi 'tānt sakhīn kuruthāḥ (AV.) do not make friend of them; mā putram anutapyathāḥ (MBh.) do not sorrow for thy son The relation of the imperfect to the aorist construction, in point of frequency, is in RV. about as one to five, in AV. still less, or about one to six; and though instances of the imperfect are quotable from all the older texts, they are exceptional and infrequent; while in the epics and later they become extremely rare.

b. A single optative, bhujema, is used prohibitively with mā ir RV.; the older language presents no other example, and the construction is very rare also later. In an example or two, also, the precative (bhūyāt R. Pañe.) follows mā.

- c. The RV. has once apparently mā with an imperative; but the passage is probably corrupt. No other such case is met with in the older language (unless sppa, TA. i. 14; doubtless a bad reading for sppas); but in the epics and later the construction begins to appear, and becomes an ordinary form of prohibition; thus, mā prayacche "qvare dhanam (II.) do not bestow wealth on a lord; sakhi māi 'vain vada (Vet.) friend, do not speak thus.
- d. The (B. (xi. 5.11) appears to offer a single example of a true subjunctive with mā, ní padyāsāi; there is perhaps something wrong about the reading.
- e. In the epics and later, an aorist form not deprived of augment is occasionally met with after mā: thus, mā tvām kālo 'tyagāt (MBh.) let not the time pass thee; mā vālipatham anv agāh (R.) do not follow Vāli's road. But the same anomaly occurs also two or three times in the older language: thus, vyapaptat (CB.), agās (TA.), anaçat (KS.).

580. But the use also of the optative with ná not in a prohibitive sense appears in the Veda, and becomes later a familiar construction thus, ná risyema kadá caná (RV.) may we suffer no harm at any time; ná cã 'tisrjén ná juhuyāt (AV.) and if he do not grant permission, let him not sucrifice; tád u táthā ná kuryāt (ÇB.) but he must not do that so; na divā çayīta (ÇGS.) let him not sleep by day; na tvām vidyur janāḥ (MBh.) let not people know thee. This in the later language is the correlative of the prescriptive optative, and both are extremely common; so that in a text of prescriptive character the optative forms may come to outnumber the indicative and imperative together (as is the case, for example, in Manu).

581. In all dependent constructions, it is still harder even in the oldest language to establish a definite distinction between subjunctive and optative; a method of use of either is scarcely to be found to which the other does not furnish a practical equivalent—

and then, in the later language, such uses are represented by the optative alone. A few examples will be sufficient to illustrate this:

- a. After relative pronouns and conjunctions in general: yā vyūṣūr yāç ca nūnām vyucchān (RV.) which have shone forth [hitherto], and which shall hereafter shine forth; yó 'to jāyātā asmākam sā éko 'sat (TS.) whoever shall be born of her, let him be one of us; yó vāi tān vidyāt pratyākṣam sā brahmā véditā syāt (AV.) whoever shall know them face to face, he may pass for a knowing priest; putrāṇām...jātānām janayāç ca yān (AV.) of sons born and whom thou mayest bear; yāsya... ātithir gṛhān āgácchet (AV.) to whosesoever house he may come as guest; yatamāthā kāmāyeta tāthā kuryāt (ÇB.) in whatever way he may choose, so may he do it; yárhi hôtā yājamānasya nāma gṛḥṇṇāt tārhi brūyāt (TS.) when the sacrificing priest shall name the name of the offerer, then he may speak; svarūpam yadā draṣṭum icchethāḥ (MBh.) when thou shalt desire to see thine own form.
- b. In more distinctly conditional constructions: yajāma devān yadi çaknavāma (RV.) we will offer to the gods if we shall be able; yad agne syām aham tvam tvam vā ghā syā aham syūs te satyā ihā "qiṣaḥ (RV.) if I were thou, Agni, or if thou wert I, thy wishes should be realized on the spot; yo dyām atisarpāt parastān na sa mucyātāi varuņasya rājānh (AV.) though one steal far away beyond the sky, he shall not escape king Varuna; yad anāçvān upavāset kṣōdhukaḥ syād yad açnīyād rudrò 'sya paçūn abhi manyeta (TS.) if he should continue without eating, he would starve: if he should eat, Rudra would attack his cattle; prārthayed yadi mām kaçcid daṇḍyaḥ sa me pumān bhavet (MBh.) if any man soever should desire me, he should suffer punishment. These and the like constructions, with the optative, are very common in the Brāhmaṇas and later.
- c. In final clauses: yáthā 'háth çatruhó 'sāni (AV.) that I may be a slayer of my enemies; gṛṇānā yáthā píbātho ándhah (RV.) that being praised with song ye may drink the draught; urāu yáthā táva çárman mádema (RV.) in order that we rejoice in thy wide protection; úpa jānīta yáthe 'yám púnar āgácchet (ÇB.) contrive that she come back again; kṛpām kuryād yathā mayi (MBh.) so that he may take pity on me. This is in the Veda one of the most frequent uses of the subjunctive; and in its correlative negative form, with néd in order that not or, lest (always followed by an accented verb), it continues not rare in the Brāhmanas.
- d. The indicative is also very commonly used in final clauses after yathā: thus, yathā! 'yam puruso 'ntarikṣam anucarati (CB.) in order that this man may traverse the atmosphere; yathā na vighnah kriyate (R.) so that no hindrance may arise; yathā 'yam naçyati tathā vidhe-yam (H.) it must be so managed that he perish.

- e. With the conditional use of subjunctive and optative is further $_{\rm to}$ be compared that of the so-called conditional tense; see below, 950.
- f. As is indicated by many of the examples given above, it is usual in a conditional sentence, containing protasis and apodosis, to employ always the same mode, whether subjunctive or optative (or conditional), in each of the two clauses. For the older language, this is a rule well-nigh or quite without exception.
- 582. No distinction of meaning has been established between the modes of the present-stem and those (in the older language) of the perfect and aorist-systems.

Participles.

- 583. Participles, active and middle, are made from all the tense-stems except the periphrastic future, and, in the later language, the agrist (and agrist participles are rare from the beginning).
- a. The participles unconnected with the tense-systems are treated in chap. XIII. (952 ff.).
- 584. The general participial endings are মন্ ant (weak form মন্ at; fem. মনা antī or মনা atī: see above, 449) for the active, and মান ana (fem. মানা ana) for the middle. But—
- a. After a tense-stem ending in a, the active participial suffix is virtually nt, one of the two a's being lost in the combination of stem-final and suffix.
- b. After a tense-stem ending in a, the middle participlal suffix is mana instead of ana. But there are occasional exceptions to the rule as to the use of mana and ana respectively, which will be pointed out in connection with the various formations below. Such exceptions are especially frequent in the causative: see 1043 f.
- c. The perfect has in the active the peculiar suffix vāns (weakest form uṣ, middle form vat; fem. uṣī: see, for the inflection. of this participle, above, 458 ff.).
- d. For details, as to form of stem etc., and for special exceptions see the following chapters.

Augment.

565. The augment is a short A a, prefixed to a tensestem — and, if the latter begin with a vowel, combining with that vowel irregularly into the heavier or vrddhi diphthong

- (186a). It is always (without any exception) the accented element in the verbal form of which it makes a part.
- a. In the Veda, the augment is in a few forms long ā: thus, ānaţ, āvar, āvṛṇi, āvṛṇak, āvidhyat, āyunak, áyukta, áyukṣātām, áriṇak, árāik, (and yas ta ávidhat, RV. ii. 1. 7, 9?).
- 586. The augment is a sign of past time. And an augment-preterit is made from each of the tense-stems from which the system of conjugation is derived: namely, the imperfect, from the present-stem; the pluperfect (in the Veda only), from the perfect-stem; the conditional, from the future-stem; while in the aerist such a preterit stands without any corresponding present indicative.
- 587. In the early language, especially in the RV., the occurrence of forms identical with those of augment-tenses save for the lack of an augment is quite frequent. Such forms lose in general, along with the augment, the specific character of the tenses to which they belong; and they are then employed in part non-modally, with either a present or a past sense; and in part modally, with either a subjunctive or an optative sense—especially often and regularly after mā prohibitive (579); and this last mentioned use comes down also into the later language.
- a. In RV., the augmentless forms are more than half as common as the augmented (about 2000 and 3300), and are made from the present, perfect, and aorist-systems, but considerably over half from the aorist. Their non-modal and modal uses are of nearly equal frequency. The tense value of the non-modally used forms is more often past than present. Of the modally used forms, nearly a third are construed with mā probibitive, the rest have twice as often an optative as a proper subjunctive value.
- b. In AV., the numerical relations are very different. The augment-less forms are less than a third as many as the augmented (about 475 to 1450), and are prevailingly (more than four fifths) acristic. The non-modal uses are only a tenth of the modal. Of the modally used forms, about four fifths are construed with mā prohibitive; the rest are chiefly optative in value. Then, in the language of the Brāhmaṇas (not including the mantra-material which they contain), the loss of augment is, save in occasional sporadic cases, restricted to the prohibitive construction with mā; and the same continues to be the case later.
- c. The accentuation of the augmentless forms is throughout in accordance with that of unaugmented tenses of similar formation. Examples will be given below, under the various tenses.
- d. Besides the augmentless agrist-forms with mā prohibitive, there are also found occasionally in the later language augmentless imperfect-forms (very rarely agrist-forms), which have the same value as if they were augmented, and are for the most part examples of metrical license. They are especially frequent in the epics (whence some scores of them are quotable).

Reduplication.

- 588. The derivation of conjugational and declensional stems from roots by reduplication, either alone or along with other formative elements, has been already spoken of (259), and the formations in which reduplication appears have been specified: they are, in primary verb-inflection, the present (of a certain class of verbs), the perfect (of nearly all), and the aorist (of a large number); and the intensive and desiderative secondary conjugations contain in their stems the same element.
- 589. The general principle of reduplication is the prefixion to a root of a part of itself repeated—if it begin with consonants, the initial consonant and the vowel; if it begin with a vowel, that vowel, either alone or with a following consonant. The varieties of detail, however, are very considerable. Thus, especially, as regards the vowel, which in present and perfect and desiderative is regularly shorter and lighter in the reduplication than in the root-syllable, in aorist is longer, and in intensive is strengthened. The differences as regards an initial consonant are less, and chiefly confined to the intensive; for the others, certain general rules may be here stated, all further details being left to be given in connection with the account of the separate formations.
- 590. The consonant of the reduplicating syllable is in general the first consonant of the root: thus, पत्रह् paprach from । प्रक् prach; शिम्र çiçri from । श्रि çri; बुबुध् bubudh from । बुध् But—
- a. A non-aspirate is substituted in reduplication for an aspirate: thus, द्या dadhā from भ्या; जिम् bibhr from भ्य bhr.

thus, चन् cakr from vन् kr; चिखिद् cikhid from vखिद् khid; अयम् jagrabh from vयम् grabh; जरु jahr from vरु hr.

- c. The occasional reversion, on the other hand, of a palatal in the radical syllable to guttural form has been noticed above (216,1).
- d. Of two initial consonants, the second, if it be a non-nasal mute preceded by a sibilant, is repeated instead of the first: thus, तस्त् tastr from एस्त् str; तस्या tasthā from एस्त sthā; चस्वान्द् caskand from एस्त्रन्द् skand; चस्वान् caskhal from एस्त्रन्द् skand; चस्वान् caskhal from एस्त्रन्द् skand; चस्त्रन्द् skand; चस्त्रन्द् pasprdh from एस्त्रन्द् sprdh; चुस्तुन् pusphut from एस्तुन् sphut:—but सम्रा sasnā from एस्त्र sna; सस्म sasm; from एस्त्र smr; सुस्र susru from एस्त्र sru; शिक्षिप çiçliş from एक्षिप çişliş

Accent of the Verb.

- 591. The statements which have been made above, and those which will be made below, as to the accent of verbal forms, apply to those cases in which the verb is actually accented.
- a. But, according to the grammarians, and according to the invariable practice in accentuated texts, the verb is in the majority of its occurrences unaccented or toneless.
- b. That is to say, of course, the verb in its proper forms, its personal or so-called finite forms. The verbal neuns and adjectives, or the infinitives and participles, are subject to precisely the same laws of accent as other neuns and adjectives.
- 592. The general rule, covering most of the cases, is this: The verb in an independent clause is unacconted, unless it stand at the beginning of the clause or also, in metrical text, at the beginning of a pāda.
- a. For the accent of the verb, as well as for that of the vocative case (above, 314c), the beginning of a pada counts as that of a sentence, whatever be the logical connection of the pada with what precedes it.
- b. Examples of the unaccented verb are: agnim īde purchitam Ayni I praise, the house-priest; sa id devesu gacchati that, truly, goes to the gods; agne sūpāyano bhava O Ayni, be easy of access; idam indra ernuhi somapa this, O Indra, soma-drinker, hear; namas te rudra krumah homage to thee, Rudra, we offer; yajamānasya paçun pāhi the sacrificer's cattle protect thou.
- c. Hence, there are two principal situations in which the verb retains its accent:

- 593. First, the verb is accented when it stands at the beginning of a clause or, in verse, of a pada.
- a. Examples of the verb accented at the head of the sentence are, in prose, cundhadhvam dāívyāya kármaņe be pure for the divine ceremony; āpnótī 'mám lokám he wins this world; in verse, where the head of the sentence is also that of the pāda, syāmé 'd índrasya cármaņi may we be in Indra's protection; darçáya mā yātudhánān show me the sorcerers; gámad vājebhir ā sā naḥ may he come with good things to us; in verse, where the head of the clause ia within the pāda, téṣām pāhi crudhí hávam drink of them, hear our call; sāstu mātā sástu pitā sāstu cvā sāstu vicpātiḥ let the mother sleep, let the father sleep, let the dog sleep, let the master sleep; vícvakarman námas te pāhy àsmān Vicvakarman, homage to thee; protect us! yuvām..rājna ūce duhitā pṛcché vām narā the king's daughter said to you "I pray you, ye men"; vayām te vāya indra viddhí su naḥ prá bharāmahe we offer thee, Indra, strengthening; take note of us.
- b. Examples of the verb accented at the head of the pāda when this is not the head of the sentence are: athā to antamānām vidyāma sumatīnām so may we enjoy thy most intimate favors; dhātā 'syā agruvāi patim dadhātu pratikāmyam Dhūtar bestow upon this girl a husband according to her wish; yātudhānasya somapa jahi prajām slay, O Soma-drinker, the progeny of the sorcerer.
 - 594. Certain special cases under this head are as follows:
- a. As a vocative forms no syntactical part of the sentence to which it is attached, but is only an external appendage to it, a verb following an initial vocative, or more than one, is accented, as if it were itself initial in the clause or pāda: thus, āçrutkarņa crudhī hávam O thou of listening ears, hear our call! site vándāmahe tvā O Sītā, we reverence thee; víçve devā vásavo rákṣate 'mám all ye gods, ye Vasus, protect this man; utā "gaç cakrūṣain devā dévā jīváyathā púnaḥ likewishim, O gods, who has committed crime, ye gods, ye make to live ayam.
- b. If more than one verb follow a word or words syntactically connected with them all, only the first loses its accent, the others being treated as if they were initial verbs in separate clauses, with the same adjuncts understood: thus, taranir ij jayati kaéti punyati successful he conquers, rules, thrives; amítrān... parāca indra pra mṛṇā jahi ca our foes, Indra, drive far away and slay; asmābhyam jeṇi yotsi ca for us conquer and fight; agnīnomā havinah prasthitanya vītam haryatam vṛṇaṇā juṇéthām O Agni and Soma, of the oblation set forth partake, enjoy, ye mighty ones, take pleasure.
- c. In like manner (but much less often), an adjunct, as subject or object standing between two verbs and logically belonging to both, is reckoned to the first alone, and the second has the initial accent: thus, jahi prajām nayasva ca slay the progeny, and bring [it] hither; crnotu nah subhagā bodhatu tmanā may the blessed one hear us, [and may she] kindly regard [us].

- d. It has even come to be a formal rule that a verb immediately following another verb is accented: thus, sá yá etám evám upáste pūryáte prajáyā paçúbhih (QB.) whoever worships him thus is filled with offspring and cattle.
- 595. Second, the verb is accented, whatever its position, in a dependent clause.
- a. The dependency of a clause is in the very great majority of cases conditioned by the relative pronoun ya, or one of its derivatives or compounds. Thus: yám yajñám paribhúr ási what offering thou protectest; ó té yanti yé aparísu págyán they are coming who shall behold her hereafter; sahá yán me ásti téna along with that which is mine; yátra nah púrve pitárah pareyúh whither our fathers of old departed; adyá murīya yádi yātudháno ásmi let me die on the spot, if I am a sorcerer; yáthá 'hāny anupūrvám bhávanti as days follow one another in order; yávad idám bhúvanam víçvam ásti how great this whole creation is; yátkāmās te juhumás tán no astu what desiring we sacrifice to thee, let that become ours; yatamás títrpsāt whichever one desires to enjoy.
- b. The presence of a relative word in the sentence does not, of course, accent the verb, unless this is really the predicate of a dependent clause; thus, apa tyé tāyavo yathā yanti they muke off like thieves (as thieves do); yat sthā jāgac ca rejate whatever [is] immovable and movable trembles; yathākāmam ní padyate he lies down at his pleasure.
- c. The particle ca when it means if, and céd (ca+id) if, give an accent to the verb: thus, brahmā céd dhástam ágrahīt if a Brahman has grasped her hand; tvám ca soma no váço jīvātum na marāmahe if thou, Soma, willest us to live, we shall not die: ā ca gácchān mitrám enā dadhāma if he will come here, we will make friends with him.
- d. There are a very few passages in which the logical dependence of a clause containing no subordinating word appears to give the verb its accent: thus, sam áçvaparṇāç caranti no naro 'smākam indra rathino jayantu when our men, horse-winged, oome into conflict, let the chariot-fighters of our side, O Indra, win the victory. Rarely, too, an imperative so following another imperative that its action may seem a consequence of the latter's is accented: thus, tūyam ā gahi kaṇveṣu su sacā piba come hither quickly; drink along with the Kanvas (i. e. in order to drink).
- e. A few other particles give the verb an accent, in virtue of a slight subordinating force belonging to them: thus, especially hi (with its negation nahi), which in its fullest value means for, but shades off from that into a mere asseverative sense; the verb or verbs connected with it are always accented: thus, vi té muñcantām vimúco hi sánti let them release him, for they are releasers; yác cid dhi... anāçastā iva smási if we, forsooth, are as it were unrenowned;—also ned (ná+íd), meaning lest, that not: thus, nét tvā tápāti súro arciṣā that the sun may not burn thee with his beam; virājam ned vicchinādāni 'ti saying to himself,

"lest I cut off the virāj" (such cases are frequent in the Brāhmanas); and the interrogative kuvid whether? thus, ukthébhih kuvid āgámat will he come hither for our praises?

- 596. But further, the verb of a prior clause is not infrequently accented in antithetical construction.
- a. Sometimes, the relation of the two clauses is readily capable of being regarded as that of protasis and apodosis; but often, also, such a relation is very indistinct; and the cases of antithesis shade off into those of ordinary coördination, the line between them appearing to be rather arbitrarily drawn.
- b. In many cases, the antithesis is made distincter by the presence in the two clauses of correlative words, especially anya—anya, eka—eka, vā—vā, ca—oa: thus, prá-prā 'nyé yánti páry anyá āsate some go on and on, others sit about (as if it where while some go etc.); úd vā siñcádhvam úpa vā pṛṇadhvam either pour out, or fill up; sáṁ ce 'dhyásvā 'gne prá ca vardhaye 'mám both do thou thyself become kindled, Agni, and do thou increase this person. But it is also made withous such help: thus, prá 'jātāḥ prajā janáyati pári prájātā gṛṇṇāt the unborn progeny he generates, the born he embraces; àpa yuṣmád àkruthu nhorn progeny he generates, the born he embraces; àpa yuṣmád àkruthu nhorn progeny he generates, the born he embraces; àpa yuṣmád àkruthu nhỏ 'smān uṇāvartate [though] she has gone away from you, she does not come to us; nā 'ndhō 'dhvaryūr bhāvati na yajñáṁ rākṣānisi ghnanti the priest does not become blind, the demons do not destroy she sacrifice; kéna sómā gṛhyánte kéna hūyante by whom [on the one hami] are the somas dipped out? by whom [on the other hand] are they offered
- 597. Where the verb would be the same in the two antithetical clauses, it is not infrequently omitted in the second: thus, beside complete expressions like urvi cā 'si vásvi cā 'si both thou art broad and thou art yood, occur, much oftener, incomplete ones like agnir amuşmin lokā āsid yamò 'smin Agni was in yonder world, I'ama [was] in this; asthnā 'nyāh prajāh pratitisthanti mānsenā 'nyāh by bone some creatures stand firm, by flesh others; dvipāc ca sarvam no rākṣa cātuṣpād yāc ca naḥ svām both protect everything of ours that is biped, and also whatever that is quadruped belongs to us.
- a. Accentuation of the verb in the former of two antithetical clauses is a rule more strictly followed in the Brāhmaṇas than in the Veda, and least strictly in the RV.: thus, in RV., abhí dyẩm mahinā bhuvam (not bhúvam) abhì 'mấm pṛthivím mahīm I am superior to the sky in greatness, also to this great earth; and even indro vidur ángirasaç ca ghorāḥ Indra knows, and the terrible Angirases.
- 596. There are certain more or less doubtful cases in which a verb-form is perhaps accented for emphasis.
- a. Thus, sporadically before caná in any wise, and in connection with asseverative particles, as kíla, angá, evá; and (in ÇB., regularly) hánta: thus, hánte máin prthivim vibhájāmahāi come on! let us share up this earth.

CHAPTER IX.

THE PRESENT-SYSTEM.

- 599. The present-system, or system of forms coming from the present-stem, is composed (as was pointed out above) of a present indicative tense, together with a subjunctive (mostly lost in the classical language), an optative, an imperative, and a participle, and also a past tense, an augment-preterit, to which we give (by analogy with the Greek) the name of imperfect.
- a. These forms often go in Sanskrit grammars by the name of "special tenses", while the other tense-systems are styled "general tenses"—as if the former were made from a special tense stem or modified root, while the latter came, all alike, from the root itself. There is no reason way such a distinction and nomenclature should be retained; since, on the one hand, the "special tenses" come in one set of verbs directly from the root, and, on the other hand, the other tense-systems are mostly made from stems—and, in the case of the aorist, from stems having a variety of form comparable with that of present-stems.
- 600. Practically, the present-system is the most prominent and important part of the whole conjugation, since, from the earliest period of the language, its forms are very much more frequent than those of all the other systems together.
- a. Thus, in the Veda, the occurrences of personal forms of this system are to those of all others about as three to one; in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, as five to one; in the Hitopadeça, as six to one; in the Çakuntalā, as eight to one; in Manu, as thirty to one.
- 601. And, as there is also great variety in the manner in which different roots form their present stem, this, as being their most conspicuous difference, is made the basis of their principal classification; and a verb is said to be of this or of that conjugation, or class, according to the way in which its present-stem is made and inflected.

- 602. In a small minority of verbs, the present-stem is identical with the root. Then there are besides (excluding the passive and causative) seven more or less different methods of forming a present-stem from the root, each method being followed by a larger or smaller number of verbs. These are the "classes" or "conjugation-classes", as laid down by the native Hindu grammarians. They are arranged by the latter in a certain wholly artificial and unsystematic order (the ground of which has never been discovered); and they are wont to be designated in European works according to this order, or else, after Hindu example, by the root standing at the head of each class in the Hindu lists. A different arrangement and nomenclature will be followed here, namely as below - the classes being divided (as is usual in European grammars) into two more general classes or conjugations, distinguished from one another by wider differences than those which separate the special classes.
- 603. The classes of the First or Non-a-Conjugation are as follows:
 - I. The root-class (second class, or ad-class, of the Hindu grammarians); its present-stem is coincident with the root itself: thus, মহ ad eat; ই i go; মান্ ইs sil; মা yā go; হিম্ dvis hale; হুকু duh milk.
 - II. The reduplicating class (third or hu-class); the root is reduplicated to form the present-stem: thus, বুক্ত juhu from vহ hu sacrifice; ইহা dadā from vহা dā give; হিনা bibhr from vi bhr bear.
 - III. The nasal class (seventh or rudh-class); a nasal, extended to the syllable न na in strong forms, is inserted before the final consonant of the root: thus, ह्न्यू rundh (or ह्यायू ruṇadh) from शह्य rudh obstruct; युद्ध प्रथम) (or युन्द्ध प्रथम) from श्रिष्ठ प्रथमें join.

- IV. a. The nu-class (fifth or su-class); the syllable नु nu is added to the root: thus, सुनु sunu from भूम su press out; साम बक्राय from भूम बक्र obtain.
- b. A very small number (only half-a-dozen) of roots ending already in $\overline{\gamma}$ n, and also one very common and quite irregularly inflected root not so ending ($\overline{\gamma}$ kr make), add $\overline{3}$ u alone to form the present-stem: This is the eighth or tan-class of the Hindu grammarians; it may be best ranked by us as a sub-class, the u-class: thus, $\overline{\alpha}$ tanu from $\sqrt{\alpha}$ tan stretch.
- V. The nā-class (ninth or krī-class); the syllable ना nā (or, in weak forms, नी nī) is added to the root; thus, ऋतीणा krīṇā (or ऋतिणी krīṇī) from γ ऋते krī buy; स्तम् stabhnā (or स्तम्नी stabhnī) from γ स्तम् stabh establish.
- 604. These classes have in common, as their most foundamental characteristic, a shift of accent: the tone being
 now upon the ending, and now upon the root or the classsign. Along with this goes a variation in the stem itself,
 which has a stronger or fuller form when the accent rests
 upon it, and a weaker or briefer form when the accent is
 on the ending: these forms are to be distinguished as the
 strong stem and the weak stem respectively (in part, both
 have been given above). The classes also form their optative active, their 2d sing imperative, their 3d pl. middle,
 and their middle participle, in a different manner from
 the others.
- 605. In the classes of the SECOND or a-CONJUGATION, the present-stem ends in a, and the accent has a fixed place, remaining always upon the same syllable of the stem, and never shifted to the endings. Also, the optative, the 2d sing. impv., the 3d pl. middle, and the middle

participle, are (as just stated) unlike those of the other conjugation.

606. The classes of this conjugation are as follows:

VI. The a-class, or unaccented a-class (first or bhū-class); the added class-sign is a simply; and the root, which has the accent, is (if capable of it) strengthened by guns throughout: thus, মন bháva from পুমু bhū be; নয় náya from পুনী nī lead; লাঘ bódha from পুলুষ্ budh wake; বং váda from পুনুষ্ vad speak.

VII. The é-class, or accented a-class (sixth or tud-class); the added class-sign is a, as in the preceding class; but it has the accent, and the unaccented root remains unstrengthened: thus, तुद tudá from ν तुद्व tud thrust; मृज अगुर्व from ν मृज्ञ अगुर्व from ν मृज्ञ अगुर्व birth.

VIII. The ya-class (fourth or div-class); ya is added to the root, which has the accent: thus, हीन्य divya from $\sqrt{2}$ div (more properly हीन् div: see 765) play; नक्ष náhya from $\sqrt{4}$ nah bind; कुष्य krúdhya from $\sqrt{4}$ krudh be angry.

IX. The passive conjugation is also properly a present-system only, having a class-sign which is not extended into the other systems; though it differs markedly from the remaining classes in having a specific meaning, and in being formable in the middle voice from all transitive verbs. Its inflection may therefore best be treated next to that of the ya-class, with which it is most nearly connected, differing from it as the á-class from the a-class. It forms its stem, namely, by adding an accented yá to the root: thus, the adyá from val ad eat; from rudhyá from val rudh obstruct; gu budhyá from val tudyá from val t

- 607. The Hindu grammarians reckon a tenth class or cur-class, having a class-sign aya added to a strengthened root (thus, coraya from your), and an inflection like that of the other a-stems. Since, however, this stem is not limited to the present-stem, but extends also into the rest of the conjugation—while it also has to a great extent a causative value, and may be formed in that value from a large number of roots—it will be best treated in full along with the derivative conjugations (chap. XIV., 1041 ff.).
- 608. A small number of roots add in the present-system a ch, or substitute a ch for their final consonant, and form a stem ending in cha or chá, which is then inflected like any a-stem. This is historically, doubtless, a true class-sign, analogous with the rest; but the verbs showing it are so few, and in formation so irregular, that they are not well to be put together into a class, but may best be treated as special cases falling under the other classes.
- a. Roots adding ch are r and yu, which make the stems rechá and yúccha.
- b. Roots substituting ch for their final are is, uş (or vas shine), gam, yam, which make the stems icchá, ucchá, gáccha, yáccha.
- c. Of the so-called roots ending in ch, several are more or less clearly stems, whose use has been extended from the present to other systems of tenses.
- 609. Roots are not wholly limited, even in the later language, to one mode of formation of their present-stem, but are sometimes reckoned as belonging to two or more different conjugation-classes. And such variety of formation is especially frequent in the Veda, being exhibited by a considerable proportion of the roots there occurring; already in the Brāhmanas, however, a condition is reached nearly agreeing in this respect with the classical language. The different present-formations sometimes have differences of meaning; yet not more important ones than are often found belonging to the same formation, nor of a kind to show clearly a difference of value as originally belonging to the separate classes of presents. If anything of this kind is to be established, it must be from the derivative conjugations, which are separated by no fixed line from the present-systems.
- 610. We take up now the different classes, in the order in which they have been arranged above, to describe more in detail, and with illustration, the formation of their present-stems, and to notice the irregularities belonging under each class.

I. Root-class (second, ad-class).

611. In this class there is no class-sign; the root itself is also present-stem, and to it are added directly the per-

sonal endings — but combined in subjunctive and optative with the respective mode-signs; and in the imperfect the augment is prefixed to the root.

a. The accented endings (552) regularly take the accent — except in the imperfect, where it falls on the augment — and before them the root remains unchanged; before the unaccented endings, the root takes the guna-strengthening.

b. It is only in the first three classes that the endings come immediately in contact with a final consonant of the root, and that the rules for consonant combination have to be noted and applied. In these classes, then, additional paradigms will be given, to illustrate the modes of combination,

1. Present Indicative.

612. The endings are the primary (with দ্বন áte in 3d pl. mid.), added to the bare root. The root takes the accent, and has guṇa, if capable of it, in the three persons sing. act.

Examples of inflection: a. active, root ξ i go; strong form of root-stem, ξ é; weak form, ξ i; middle, rowt as sit, stem as (irregularly accented throughout: 628).

		active.			middle.	
	8.	d.	р.	s.	d.	p.
1	रुमि	इवम्	इमम्	ग्रामे	ग्रास्वके	म्रास्मव्हे
	émi	ivás	imás	а́ве	ásvahe	ásmahe
2	ष्ट्रिः	रुयम्	र् घ	ग्रास्से	म्रामाये	म्राह्य
	éși	ithás	ithá	ässe	ásāthe	áddhv e
3	एति	इतम्	यत्ति	म्रास्ते	ग्रामाते	ग्रामते
	éti	itás	yánti	äste	äsäte	āsate

b. root dviş hate: strong stem-form, dvéş; weak, dviş. For rules of combination for the final ş, see 226.

- 1 dvésmi dvisvás dvismás dvișė dvisváhe dvismáhe 2 dvéksi dvisthás dvisthá dvikșé dvisáthe dviddhvé 3 dvésti dvișțás dvișánti dvisté dvișáte dvisáte
- c. root duh milk: strong stem-form, dóh; weak, duh. For rules of combination for the final h, and for the conversion of the initial to dh, see 222a, 155, 160.
- 1 dóhmi duhvás duhmás duhé duhváhe duhmáhe
 2 dhóksi dugdhás dugdhá dhuksé duháthe dhugdhvé
 - 3 dógdhi dugdhás duhánti dugdhé duháte duháte

- d. root lih lick; strong stem, léh; weak, lih. For rules of combination of the final h, see 222 b.
 - 1 16hmi lihvás lihmás, lihé lihváhe lihmáhe 2 16ksi līdhás līdhá liksé liháthe līdhvé
 - 3 lédhi līdhás lihánti līdhé liháte liháte
- 613. Examples of the 3d sing. mid. coincident in form with the 1st sing. are not rare in the older language (both V. and B.); the most frequent examples are içe, duhé, vidé, çáye; more sporadic are cité, bruve, huvé. To that of the 2d pl. is added not in sthána, pāthánā, yāthána. The irregular accent of the 3d pl. mid. is found in RV. in rihaté, duhaté. Examples of the same person in re and rate also occur: thus (besides those mentioned below, 629-30, 635), vidré, and, with auxiliary vowel, arhire (unless these are to be ranked, rather, as perfect forms without reduplication: 790 b).

2. Present Subjunctive.

- 614. Subjunctive forms of this class are not uncommon in the older language, and nearly all those which the formation anywhere admits are quotable, from Veda or from Brāhmaṇa. A complete paradigm, accordingly, is given below, with the few forms not actually quotable for this class enclosed in brackets. We may take as models (as above), for the active the root i go, and for the middle the root as sit, from both of which numerous forms are met with (although neither for these nor for any others can the whole series be found in actual use).
 - a. The mode-stems are aya (aya (aya) and aya (aya) respectively.

	8.	d.	p.	s.	d.	p.
1	{áyāni {áyā	áyāva	áyāma	äsäi	äsävahäi [äsävahe]	j ásāmahāi [[ásāmahe]
2	jáyasi jáyas	áyathas	áyatha	∫ásase \ásāsāi	[äsäithe]	[ásadhve] ásādhvāi
3	jáyati. lávat	åyatas	áyan	∫ásate \ásātāi	ásāite	∬ásante]-nta ∫ásāntāi

615. The RV has no middle forms in āi except those of the first person. The 1st sing act in ā occurs only in RV, in ayā, bravā, stávā. The 2d and 3d sing act with primary endings are very unusual in the Brāhmanas. Forms irregularly made with long ā, like those from present-stems in a, are not rare in AV and B.: thus, ayās, ayāt, áyān; ásāt, brávāt; bravāthas; asātha, ayātha, bravātha, hanātha; ádān, dohān. Of middle forms with secondary endings are found hánanta, 3d pl., and īçata, 3d sing. (after mā prohibitive), which is an isolated example. The only dual person in āite is brávāite.

3. Present Optative.

		_				
		active.			middle.	
	8.	d,	p.	s.	d.	p.
1	इयाम्	इयाव	इयाम	ग्रा मीय	म्रा मीविक्	श्राप्तीमिक्
	iyām	iyāva	iyāma	ásīya	ásīvahi	ás īmahi
2	इया स्	इयातम्	इयात	म्राप्तीयाम्	म्रासीयाद्याम्	म्राप्तीधम्
	iyās	iyātam	iyáta	ásīthās `	ásīyāthām `	ás īdhvam
3	इयात्	इयाताम्	इयुम्	श्राप्तीत	म्राप्तीयाताम्	म्रामीरन्
	iyāt	iyātām	iyús	ásīta	ásīyātām `	āsīran `

a. In the same manner, from vdviş, dvişyām and dvişīyā; from vduh, duhyām and duhīyā; from vlih, lihyām and lihīyā. The inflection is so regular that the example above given is enough, with the addition of dviṣīyā, to show the normal accentuation in the middle: thus, sing. dviṣīyā, dviṣīthās, dviṣīta; du. dviṣīvāhi, dviṣīyāthām, dviṣīyātām; pl. dviṣīmāhi, dviṣīdhvām, dviṣīrān.

b. The RV. has once tana in 2d pl. act. (in syatana).

4. Present Imperative.

617. The imperative adds, in second and third persons, its own endings (with ATH atām in 3d pl. mid.) directly to the root-stem. The stem is accented and strengthened in 3d sing. act.; elsewhere, the accent is on the ending and the root remains unchanged. The first persons, so called, of the later language are from the old subjunctive, and have its strengthened stem and accent; they are repeated here from where they were given above (614 a). In the 2d sing. act., the ending is regularly (as in the two following classes) to this if the root end with a consonant, and to hi if it end with a vowel. As examples we take the roots already used for the purpose.

s. Thus, from the roots इ i and म्रास् वड:

		active.		middle.			
	. 8.	d.	. p.	8.	d.	p.	
1	म्रयानि	म्रयाव	म्रयाम	म्राम	ग्राप्तावहै	म्रासामकै	
	áyāni	áyāva	áyāma	ásāi	ásāvahāi	ásāmahāi	
2	इंक्टि	इतम्	इत	म्राह्स्व	म्राप्तायाम्	म्राद्वम्	
	ihí	itám	itá	ássva	āsāthām	äddhvam	
3	एत्	इताम्	यसु	म्रास्ताम्	ग्रासाताम्	ग्राप्तताम्	
	étu	itām	yántu	āstām `	ásātām `	ásatām `	

b. From the roots dvis and duh and lih:

dvésāņi dvésāva dvéşāma dvéşāi dvésāvahāi dvésāmahāi dvisátham dviddhvám 2 dviddhí dvistám dvistá dviksvá dvistám dvisántu dvistám dvisátam dvisátām 3 dvéstu dóhāva dóhāma dóhāi dóhāvahāi dóhāmahāi dóhāni dhukşvá duhátham dhugdhvám 2 dugdhí dugdhám dugdhá dógdhu dugdhám duhántu dugdhām duhātām duhátām léhāvahāi léhāmahāi léhāma léhāi i léhāni léhāva likşvá liháthām līdhvám 2 dīdhí līdhám līdhá lihátām līdhām lihấtām līḍhấm lihántu 3 lédhu

618. The 2d sing, act, ending tāt is found in the older language in a few verbs of this class: namely, vittāt, vītāt, brūtāt, hatāt, yātāt, stutāt. In 3d sing, mid., two or three verbs have in the older language the ending ām: thus, duhām (only RV. case), vidām, çayām; and in 3d pl. mid. AV. has duhrām and duhratām. The use of tana for ta in 2d pl. act, is quite frequent in the Veda: thus, itana, yātāna, attana, etc. And in stota, éta étana, bravītana, çāstāna, hantana, we have examples in the same person of a strong (and accented) stem.

5. Present Participle.

619. a. The active participle has the ending अत् ant (weak stem-form अत् at) added to the unstrengthened root. Mechanically, it may be formed from the 3d pl. by dropping the final इ i. Thus, for the verbs inflected above, the active participles are यस yant, उरुस duhant, हिषस dvisant, लिरुस lihant. The feminine stem ends usually in अती atí: thus, यतो yatí, उरुसी duhatí, हिषसी dvisatí, लिरुसी lihatí: but. from roots in a, in आसी anti or आसी atí (449 g).

- b. The middle participle has the ending মান ইনৰ্ম, added to the unstrengthened root: thus, ই্যান iyāná, ব্রহান duhāná, বিযাম dviṣāṇá, তিন্টান lihāná.
- c. The root as forms the anomalous and isolated asina (in RV also asana).
- d. But a number of these participles in the older language have a double accent, either on the ending or on the radical syllable: thus, īçāná and íçāna, ohāná and óhāna, duhāná and dúhāna (also dúghāna), rihāná and ríhāna, vidāná and vídāna, suvāná and súvāna, stuvāná and stavāná and stávāna— the last having in part also a strong form of the root.

6. Imperfect.

620. This tense adds the secondary endings to the root as increased by prefixion of the augment. The root has the guna-strengthening (if capable of it) in the three persons of the singular active, although the accent is always upon the augment. Examples of inflection are:

a. From the roots इ i and मास् ās:

		active.	`	•	middle.			
	8.	d.	р.	s.	d.	p.		
1	म्रायम	र्रेव .	ऐ म	म्राप्ति	ग्रास्विह	म्रास्मिक्		
	áyam .	āíva i	ālma	ási	ásvahi	ásmahi		
2	र् गस	ऐ तम्	ऐत	म्रास्याम्	ग्रासायाम् ।	म्राद्रुम्		
	āís		āĺta	ásthās `	ásāthām	āddhvam		
3	र्रेत	रेताम् ।	घायन्	ग्रास्त	ग्रामाताम्	म्रासत		
	āít	āítām	áyan 🗋	āsta	āsātām .	ásata		
	b. From the roots dvis and duh and lih:							
1		ádvisva	ádvisma	ádviși	ádvisvahi			
	ádvet	ådvistam	ádvista	ádvisthā	s ádvisāthā:	m adviddhva		
_	ádvet	ádvistām	ádvisan	ádvista	ádvisātām	ádv isata		
1 2	adve; ádoham ádhok ádhok	áduhva ádugdham ádugdhām	áduhma adugdha	áduhi	áduhvahi s áduhāthā	áduhmahi n ádhugdhv áduhata		
1	áleham	álihva	álihma	álihi	álihvahi	álihmahi		
-	álet	álīdham	álidha	álīdhās	álihāthām			
	álet	álīdhām	álihan	álīdha	álihātām	álihata		
	621. a. Roots ending in a may in the later language optionally take us instead of an in 3d pl. act. (the a being lost before it); and							

in the older they always do so: thus, ayus from /yā, apus from /pā protect, abhus from /bhā. The same ending is also allowed and met with in the case of a few roots ending in consonants: namely vid know, cakē, dviē, duh, mṛj. RV. has atviṣus.

- b. The ending tana, 2d pl. act., is found in the Veda in áyātana, ásastane, āítana, ábravītana. A strong stem is seen in the 1st pl. homa, and the 2d pl. abravīta and ábravītana.
- o. To save the characteristic endings in 2d and 3d sing. act., the root ad inserts a: thus, ádas, ádat; the root as inserts ī: thus, ásīs, ásīt (see below, 636); compare also 631-4.
- 622. The use of the persons of this tense, without augment, in the older language, has been noticed above (587). Augmentless imperfects of this class are rather uncommon in the Veda: thus, hán, vés, 2d sing.; han, vet, stāut, dán (°), 3d sing.; bruvan, duhús, cakṣus, 3d pl.; vasta, sūta, 3d sing. mid.
- 623. The first or root-form of a rist is identical in its formation with this imperfect: see below, 829 ff.
- 624. In the Veda (but hardly outside of the RV.) are found certain 2d sing, forms, having an imperative value, made by adding the ending si to the (accented and strengthened) root. In part, they are the only root-forms belanging to the roots from which they come thus, jóṣi (for jóṣṣi, from /ȳuṣ), dhákṣi, párṣi (//pṛ pass), prāsi, bhakṣi, ratsi, sātsi, hoṣi; but the majority of them have forms (one or more) of a root-present, or sometimes of a root-acrist, beside them thus. kṣéṣi (/kṣi rule), jéṣi, dárṣi, nakṣi (//nac attain), neṣi, mātsi, māsi (//mā measure), yákṣi, yámsi, yāsi, yótsi, rāsi, vákṣi (//vah), veṣi, cróṣi, sakṣi. Their formal character is somewhat disputed; but they are probably indicative persons of the root-class, used imperatively.
- 625. Forms of this class are made from nearly 150 roots, either in the earlier language, or in the later, or in both: namely, from about 50 through the whole life of the language, from 80 in the older period (of Veda, Brāhmaṇa, and Sūtra) alone, and from a few (about 15) in the later period (epic and classical) only*. Not a few of these roots, however, show only sporadic root-forms, beside a more usual conjugation of some other class; nor is it in all cases possible to separate clearly root-present from root-aorist forms.
- a. Many roots of this class, as of the other classes of the first conjugation, show transfers to the second or a-conjugation, forming a conjugation-stem by adding a to their strong or weak stem, or

^{*} Such statements of numbers, with regard to the various parts of the system of conjugation, are in all cases taken from the author's Supplement to this grammar, entitled "Roots, Verb-Forms, and Primary Derivatives of the Sanskrit Language", where lists of roots, and details as to forms etc., are also given.

even to both: thus, from /mrj, both marja (627) and mrja. Suctansfers are met with even in the oldest language; but they usually become more frequent later, often establishing a new mode of present inflection by the side of, or in substitution for, the earlier mode.

b. A number of roots offer irregularities of inflection; these are in the main, pointed out in the following paragraphs.

Irregularities of the Root-class.

- 626. The roots of the class ending in u have in their strong forms the vrddhi instead of the guna-strengthening before an ending beginning with a consonant: thus, from ystu, stāumi, astāut, and the like: but astavam, stavāni, etc.
- a. Roots found to exhibit this peculiarity in actual use are kṣṇu, yī unite, su (or sū) impel, sku, stu, snu (these in the earlier language) nu, ru, and hnu. RV. has once stoși and anāvan. Compare also 633
- 627. The root mṛj also has the vṛddhi-vowel in its stron forms: thus, mārjmi, amārjam, amārṭ (150 b); and the same streng thening is said to be allowed in weak forms before endings beginnin with a vowel: thus, mārjantu, amārjan; but the only quotable cas is mārjīta (LÇS.). Forms from a-stems begin to appear alread in AV.
- a. In the other tense-systems, also, and in derivation, mrj shows ofte the vrddhi instead of the guna-strengthening.
- 628. A number of roots accent the radical syllable throughou both in strong and in weak forms: thus, all those beginning with long vowel, ās, īd, īr, īç; and also cakṣ, takṣ, trā, nins, vas cloth cinj, çī lie, and sū. All these, except takṣ and trā (and trā also the Vedic forms), are ordinarily conjugated in middle voice onl Forms with the same irregular accent occur now and then in the Vefrom other verbs: thus, matsva, yakṣva, sakṣva, sākṣva, rdhs Middle participles so accented have been noticed above (619 d.
- 629. Of the roots mentioned in the last paragraph, çī lie h the guṇa-strengthening throughout: thus, çáye, çése, çáyīya, çáyān and so on. Other irregularities in its inflection (in part already notice are the 3d pl. persons cérate (AV. etc. have also cére), cératā áçerata (RV. has also áçeran), the 3d sing pres. cáye (R.) and imp cáyām. The isolated active form áçayat is common in the old language; other a-forms, active and middle, occur later.
- 630. Of the same roots, id and it insert a union-vowel i beforestain endings: thus, icise, icidhve, icisva (these three being the offerms noted in the older language); but RV. has ikse beside icise; CvU. has once icite for iste. The 3d pl. icire (on account of its acce is also apparently present rather than perfect. The MS. has once the 3d si impf. aica (like aduha: 635).

- 631. The roots rud weep, svap sleep, an breathe, and cvas blow insert a union-vowel i before all the endings beginning with a consonant, except the s and t of 2d and 3d sing impf., where they insert instead either a or I: thus, svápimi, cvásisi, ániti, and ánat or ánīt. And in the other forms, the last three are allowed to accent either root or ending: thus, svápantu and cvásantu (AV.), or svapántu etc. The AV. has sváptu instead of svápitu.
- a. In the older language, 1/vam makes the same insertions: thus, vamiti, avamīt; and other cases occasionally occur: thus, jániṣva, vasiṣva (yvas clothe), qnathihi, stanihi (all RV.), yamiti (JB.), çocimi (MBh.). On the other hand, 1/an early makes forms from an a-stem: thus, ánati (AV.); pple ánant (ÇB.); opt. anet (AB.).
- 632. The root brū speak, say (of very frequent use) takes the union-vowel ī after the root when strengthened, before the initial consonant of an ending: thus, brávīmi, brávīsi, brávīti, ábravīs, ábravīt; but brūmás, brūyām, ábravam, ábruvan, etc. Special occasional irregularities are brūmi, bravīhi, abruvam, abrūvan, bruyāt, and sporadic forms from an a-stem. The subj. dual brávāite has been noticed above (615); also the strong forms abravīta, ábravītana (621 a).
- 633. Some of the roots in u are allowed to be inflected like brū:
 namely, ku, tu, ru, and stu; and an occasional instance is met with of
 a form so made (in the older language, only tavīti noted; in the later,
 only stavīmi, once).
- 634. The root am (hardly found in the later language) takes ī as union-vowel: thus, amīṣi (RV.), amīṭi and āmīṭ and amīṣva (TS.). From yeam occur çamīṣva (VS.; TS. çamiṣva) and çamīdhvam (TB. etc.).
- 635. The irregularities of \(\sqrt{duh} \) in the older language have been already in part noted: the 3d pl. indic. mid. duhaté, duhré, and duhráte; 3d sing. impv. duhám, pl. duhrám and duhratām; mapf. act. 3d sing. àduhat (which is found also in the later language), 3d pl. aduhran (beside àduhan and duhús); the mid. pple dúghāna; and (quite unexampled elsewhere) the opt. forms duhīyát and duhīyán (RV. only). The MS. has aduha 3d sing, and aduhra 3d pl. impf. mid., apparently formed to correspond to the pres. duhe (613) and duhre as adugdha and aduhata correspond to dugdhe and duhate: compare āiça (630), related in like manner to the 3d sing. īçe.

Some of the roots of this class are abbreviated or otherwise weakened in their weak forms: thus —

686. The root ब्रास् as be loses its vowel in weak forms (except where protected by combination with the augment). Its 2d sing. indic. is ब्रास ási (instead of assi); its 2d sing. impv. is एपि edhí (irregularly from asdhi). The insertion of

 ξ 7 in 2d and 3d sing, impf. has been noticed already above.

a. The forms of this extremely common verb, are, then, as follows:

	:	Indicati v e.			Optative.		
	s.	đ.	p.	8.	d.	p.	
1	ग्रस्मि	स्वम्	स्मम्	स्याम्	स्याव	स्याम	
	ásmi	svás	smás	syấm	syáva	syāma	
2	श्रसि	स्यम्	स्य	स्यास्	स्यातम्	स्यात	
	ási	sthás	sthá	вуа́в	syátam	syáta	
3	ग्रस्ति	स्तम्	मिल	स्यात्	स्याताम्	स्युस्	
	ásti	stás	sánti	syát `	syátām	syús	
		Imperativ	re.		Imperfect.		
1	म्रमानि	ग्रमाव	ग्रसाम	ग्रामम्	ग्रास्त्र	म्रास्म	
	ásāni	ásāva	ásāma	ásam 🖢	ásva	ásma	
2	रुधि	स्तम्	स्त	ग्रामीम्	ग्रास्तम्	ग्रास्त	
	edhí	stám	stá	ásīs `	ástam `	āsta •	
3	म्रस्तु	म्ताम्	सलु	ग्रामीत्	ग्रास्ताम्	म्रासन्	
	ástu	stám `	sántu	äsīt	ástām `	ásan `	
	Participle सन्त् sant (fem. मतो satí).						

- b. Besides the forms of the present-system, there is made from this root only a perfect, asa etc. (800), of wholly regular inflection
- c. The Vedic subjunctive forms are the usual ones, made upon the stem asa. They are in frequent use, and appear (asat especially) even in late texts where the subjunctive is almost lost. The resolution siam etc. (opt.) is common in Vedic verse. As 2d and 3d sing, impf. is a few times met with the more normal as (for as-s, as-t). Sthana, 2d pl., was noted above (613).
- d. Middle forms from /as are also given by the grammarians as allowed with certain prepositions (vi + ati), but they are not quotable; smahe and syāmahe (!) occur in the epics, but are merely instances of the ordinary epic confusion of voices (529 a). Confusions of primary and secondary endings—namely, swa and sma (not rare), and, on the other hand, syāwas and syāmas—are also epic. A middle present indicative is said to be compounded (in 1st and 2d persons) with the nomen agentis in tr (tar) to form a periphrastic future in the middle voice (but see below, 947). The 1st sing. indic. is he; the rest is in the usual relation of middle to active forms (in 2d pers., se, dhve, sva, dhvam, with total loss of the root itself).

687. The root han smite, slay is treated somewhat after the manner of noun-stems in an in declension (421): in weak forms, it loses its n before an initial consonant (except m and v) of a personal ending (not in the optative), and its a before an initial vowel - and in the latter case its h, in contact with the n, is changed to gh (compare 402). Thus, for example:

ľ	110	,	F			
Present Indicative.				Imperfect.		
	8.	d.	p.	s.	d.	p.
1	hánmi	hanvás	hanmás	áhanam	áhanva	áhanma
2	hánsi	hathás	hathá	áhan	áhatam	áhata
3	hánti	hatás	ghnánti	áhan	áhatām	ághnan
	a. Its	participle	is ghnánt	(fem. ghnatí).	Its 2d s	ing. impv.

- jahí (by anomalous dissimilation, on the model of reduplicating forms).
- b. Middle forms from this root are frequent in the Brahmanas, and those that occur are formed in general according to the same rules: thus, hate, hanmahe, ghnate; ahata, aghnatam, aghnata (in AB., also ahata); ghnīta (but also hanīta). Forms from transfer-stems, hana and ghna, are met with from an early period.
- 638. The root vac be eager is in the weak forms regularly and usually contracted to uç (as in the perfect: 794 b): thus, uçmási (V.: once apparently abbreviated in RV. to cmasi), ucanti; pple ucant, uçaná. Middle forms (except the pple) do not occur; nor do the weak forms of the imperfect, which are given as auçva, auştam, etc.
 - a. RV, has in like manner the participle usaná from the root vas clothe.
- 639. The root cas order shows some of the peculiarities of a reduplicated verb, lacking (646) the n before t in all 3d persons pl. and in the active participle. A part of its active forms - namely, the weak forms having endings beginning with consonants (including the optative) - are said to come from a stem with weakened vowel, çiş (as do the aorist, 854, and some of the derivatives); but, excepting the optative (çişyām etc., U. S. and later), no such forms are quotable.
- a. The 3d sing. impf. is açat (555 a), and the same form is said to be allowed also as 2d sing. The 2d sing. impv. is çādhí (with total loss of the s); and RV. has the strong 2d pl. çastána (with anomalous accent); and a-forms, from stem casa, occasionally occur.
- b. The middle inflection is regular, and the accent (apparently) always upon the radical syllable (çáste, çásate, çásāna).
- c. The root daç worship has in like manner (RV.) the pple daçat (not dăcant).
- 640. The double so-called root jake eat, laugh is an evident reduplication of ghas and has respectively. It has the absence of n in act. 16

Whitney, Grammar. 3. gd.

3d persons pl. and pple, and the accent on the root before vowel-endings, which belong to reduplicated verbs; and it also takes the union-vowel i in the manner of rud etc. (above, 631). For its forms and derivatives made with utter loss of the final sibilant, see 233 f.

641. Certain other obviously reduplicated verbs are treated by the native grammarians as if simple, and referred to this conjugation: such are the intensively reduplicated jägg (1020 a), daridrā (1024 a), and vevī (1024 a), dīdhī etc. (676), and cakās (677).

· II. Reduplicating Class (third, hu-class).

- 642. This class forms its present-stem by prefixing a reduplication to the root.
- 643. a. As regards the consonant of the reduplication, the general rules which have already been given above (590) are followed.
- b. A long vowel is shortened in the reduplicating sylable: thus, ব্যা dadā from ধ্যা dā; নিসা bibhī from ধ্যা bhī, বুহু juhū from ধ্য়ে hū. The vowel য় r never appears in the reduplication, but is replaced by ই i: thus, নিস্ bibhr from ধ্য় bhr; पिष्य pipre from ধ্য় pre.
- c. For verbs in which a and ā also are irregularly represented in the reduplication by i, see below, 660. The root vrt (V. B.) makes vavartti etc.; cakránt (RV.) is very doubtful.
- d. The only root of this class with initial vowel is r (or ar); it takes as reduplication i, which is held apart from the root by an interposed y: thus, iyar and iyr (the latter has not been found in actual use).
- 644. The present-stem of this class (as of the other classes belonging to the first or non-a-conjugation)' has a double form: a stronger form, with gunated root-vowel; and a weaker form, without guna: thus, from γ hu, the two forms are जुना juho and जुङ juhu; from γ hbh, they are जिमे bibhe and जिमी bibht. And the rule for their use is the same as in the other classes of this conjugation: the strong stem is found before the unaccented endings (552), and the weak stem before the accented.

- 645. According to all the analogies of the first general conjugation, we should expect to find the accent upon the root-syllable when this is strengthened. That is actually the case, however, only in a small minority of the roots composing the class: namely, in hu, bhī (no test-forms in the older language), hrī (no test-forms found in the older language), mad (very rare), jan (no forms of this class found to occur), ci notice (in V.), yu separate (in older language only), and in bhr in the later language (in V. it goes with the majority: but RV. has bibharti once, and AV. twice; and this, the later accentuation, is found also in the Brahmanas); and RV. has once ivarsi. In all the rest - apparently, by a recent transfer - it rests upon the reduplicating instead of upon the radical syllable. And in both classes alike, the accent is anomalously thrown back upon the reduplication in those weak forms of which the ending begins with a vowel; while in the other weak forms it is upon the ending (but compare 666 a).
- a. Apparently (the cases with written accent are too few to determine the point satisfactorily) the middle optative endings, Tya etc. (566), are reckoned throughout as endings with initial vowel, and throw back the accent upon the reduplication.
- e46. The verbs of this class lose the न n in the 3d pl. endings in active as well as middle, and in the imperfect have उस् us instead of अन an and before this a final radical vowel has guna.

1. Present Indicative.

647. The combination of stem and endings is as in the preceding class.

Examples of inflection: a. vs hu sacrifice: strong stem-form, जुलो juhó; weak form, जुङ juhu (or júhu).

		active.			middle.	
	6. '	d.	. p.	8.	d.	p.
1	बुक्रोमि	जुक्रवम्	ज्ङुमम्	बुद्ध	बु क्कवेहे	बुक्जमके
	juhómi		juhumás	júhve	juhuváhe	juhumáhe
2	जुकोषि	जुङुधम्	जुकुय	बु क्डचे	जुद्धा घे	बुद्धधे
	juhósi	juhuthá	juhuthá	juhuşé	júhväthe	juhudh vé
3	बुक्रोप्ति	जुक्रतम्	বুল্ধনি	बुक्रते	<u>जु</u> द्धाते	जु व्हते
	juhóti	juhutás	júhvati	juhuté	júhväte	júhvate
			•			16*

bibhrate

- b. Root 4 bhr bear (given with Vedic accentuation): strong stem-form, विभाग bibhar; weak, विभ bibhr (or bibhr)
- ı बिभर्मि बिभवम् विश्वे बिभमस् bíbharmi bibhrvás bibhrmás bíbhre bibhrváhe 2 बिगर्षि विभयम् बिभघ बिभषे बिभाग्रे bíbharsi bibhrthás bibhrthá bibhrsé bíbhrathe bibhrdhvé 3 बिभर्ति विधित bíbharti bibhrtás bíbhratí bibhrté bibhrate
- c. The u of hu (like that of the class-signs nu and u: see below. 697 a) is said to be omissible before v and m of the endings of 1st du. and pl.: thus, juhvás, juhváhe, etc.; but no such forms are quotable.

2. Present Subjunctive.

- 648. It is not possible at present to draw a distinct line between those subjunctive forms of the older language which should be reckoned as belonging to the present-system and those which should be assigned to the perfect - or even, in some cases, to the reduplicated agrist and intensive, Here will be noticed only those which most clearly belong to this cles; the more doubtful cases will be treated under the perfect-system. Except in first persons (which continue in use as "imperatives" down to the later language), subjunctives from roots having unmistakably a reduplicated present-system are of far from frequent occurrence,
- 649. The subjunctive mode-stem is formed in the usual manner, with the mode-sign a and guna of the root-vowel, if this is capable of such strengthening. The evidence of the few accented forms met with indicates that the accent is laid in accordance with that of the strong indicative forms: thus from /hu, the stem would be juháva; from /bhr, it would be bibhara (but bibhara later). Before the mode-sign, final radical a would be, in accordance with analogies elsewhere, dropped: thus, dáda from vdā, dádha from vdhā (all the forms actually occurring would be derivable from the secondary roots dad and dadh).
- 650. Instead of giving a theoretically complete scheme of inflection, it will be better to note all the examples quotable from the older language (accented when found so occurring).
- a. Thus, of 1st persons, we have in the active juhavani, bibharani, dadāni, dadhāni, jahāni; juhavāma, dadhāma, jahāma; - in the middle, dadhāi, mimāi; dadhāvahāi; juhavāmahāi, dadāmahe, dadāmahāi, dadhāmahāi.
- b. Of other persons, we have with primary endings in the active bibharāsi (with double mode-sign: 560 e), dádhathas, juhavātha (do.)

and juhavatha; in the middle, dádhase; dádhate, rárate, dádhātāi, dadātāi; — with secondary endings, dádhās, víveṣas, juhavat, bibharat, yuyávat, dádhat, dadhánat, babhasat; dadhan, yuyavan, juhavan.

3. Present Optative.

651. To form this mode, the optative endings given above (566a), as made up of mode-sign and personal endings, are added to the unstrengthened stem. The accent is as already stated (645a). The inflection is so regular that it is unnecessary to give here more than the first persons of a single verb: thus,

active. middle. s. d. p. s. d. p. बुद्धयाम् बुद्धयाव बुद्धयाम बुद्धीय बुद्धीयहिं बुद्धीमहिं juhuyām juhuyāva juhuyāma júhvīva júhvīvahi jühvīmahi etc. etc. etc. etc. etc. etc.

4. Present Imperative.

652. The endings, and the mode of their combination with the root, have been already given. In 2d sing. act., the ending is दि hi after a vowel, but धि dhi after a consonant: द्ध hu, however, forms बुद्धा juhudhi (apparently, in order to avoid the recurrence of द्ध h in two successive syllables): and other examples of धि dhi after a vowel are found in the Veda.

653. a. Example of inflection:

active. middle. 1 जक्वानि जुरुवाम ज़्ह्वावदे जक्वाव juhávāni juhávāva juhávāma juhávāi juhávāvahāi juhávāmahāi 2 बद्धांध बुद्धत बुद्धघ जुद्धाधाम् **ब्रह्मधम्** बुक्रतम् juhudhí juhutá juhusvá júhväthām juhudhvám बद्धताम् बद्धाताम् juhutam juhvatam juhótu júhvatu júhvatām juhutám

b. The verbs of the other division differ here, as in the indicative, in the accentuation of their strong forms only: namely, in all the

first persons (borrowed subjunctives), and in the 3d sing. act.: thus, (in the older language) bibharāni etc., bibharān, bibharān etc.

654. Vedic irregularities of inflection are: 1. the occasional use of strong forms in 2d persons: thus, yuyodhí, çiçādhi (beside çiçīhí); yuyotam (beside yuyutám); íyarta, dádāta and dadātana, dádhāta and dádhātana (see below, 668), pipartana, juhóta and juhótana, yuyota and yuyotana; rarāsva (666); 2. the use of dhi instead of hi after a vowel (only in the two instances just quoted); 3. the ending tana in 2d pl. act.: namely, besides those just given, in jigātana, dhattana, mamáttana, vivaktana, didiṣṭana, bibhītana, jujuṣṭana, juhutana, vavṛttana: the cases are proportionally much more numerous in this than in any other class; 4. the ending tāt in 2d sing. act., in dattāt, dhattāt, pipṛtāt, jahītāt.

5. Present Participle.

655. As elsewhere, the active participle-stem may be made mechanically from the 3d pl. indic. by dropping \(\) i: thus, বৃদ্ধন্ júhvat, বিষ্ণন্ bíbhrat. In inflection, it has no distinction of strong and weak forms (444). The feminine stem ends in মনা atī. The middle participles are regularly made: thus, বৃদ্ধান júhvāna, বিষাম চíbhrāna.

a. RV. shows an irregular accent in pipāna (γpā drink).

6. Imperfect.

656. As already pointed out, the 3d pl. act. of this class takes the ending 3H us, and a final radical vowel has guna before it. The strong forms are, as in present indicative, the three singular active persons.

657. Examples of inflection:

active. middle. d. d. म्रजुरुवम् म्रजुङ्गव म्रज्ञुविक म्रजुकुम म्रजान्त ájuhavam ájuhuva ájuhuma ájuhvi ájuhuvahi **श्रज़्**कोस् मजुक्रयास् मजुद्धायाम् म्रज्ञुङ्गतम् मज्ञुङ्गत म्रज्ञुधम् ájuhos ájuhuthās ájuhvāthām ájuhudhva ájuhutam ájuhuta म्रजुक्ति म्रज्ञुङ्गताम् म्रज्ङ्व्स् म्रज्ञुत म्रज्**द्धाताम्** -ájuhvatam ájuhvata ájuhot ájuhutām ájuhavus ájuhuta

a. From vi bhr, the 2d and 3d sing. act. are श्रांकान् ábibhar (for abibhar-s and abibhar-t) — and so in all other cases where the strong stem ends in a consonant. The 3d pl. act. is श्रांकान्त्रम् ábibharus; and other like cases are ábibhayus, acikayus, asusavus.

b. In MS., once, abibhrus is doubtless a false reading.

- 658. The usual Vedic irregularities in 2d pl. act.—strong forms, and the ending tana—occur in this tense also . thus, ádadāta, ádadhāta; ádattana, ájahātana. The RV. has also once apiprata for apipṛta in 3d sing. mid., and abibhran for abibharus in 3d pl. act. Examples of augmentless forms are ciçās, vivés, jígāt; jíhīta, ciçīta, jihata; and, with irregular strengthening, yuyoma (AV.), yuyothās, yuyota.
- 659. The roots that form their present-stem by reduplication are a very small class, especially in the modern language; they are only 50, all told, and of these only a third (16) are met with later. It is, however, very difficult to determine the precise limits of the class, because of the impossibility (referred to above, under subjunctive: 648) of always distinguishing its forms from those of other reduplicating conjugations and parts of conjugations.
- a. Besides the irregularities in tense-inflection already pointed out, others may be noticed as follows.

Irregularities of the Reduplicating Class.

- 660. Besides the roots in r or ar—namely, r, ghr (usually written ghar), tr, pr, bhr, sr, hr, prc—the following roots having a or ā as radical vowel take i instead of a in the reduplicating syllable: gā go, mā measure, mā bellow, çā, hā remove (mid.), vac, sac; vac has both i and a; rā has i once in RV.; for sthā, pā drink, ghrā, han, hi, see below (670-4).
- 661. Several roots of this class in final ā change the ā in weak forms to I (occasionally even to i), and then drop it altogether before endings beginning with a vowel.
- a. This is in close analogy with the treatment of the vowel of the class-sign of the nā-class: below, 717.

These roots are:

- 662. çā sharpen, act and mid.: thus, çiçāti, çiçīmasi, çiçīhí (also çiçādhi: above, 654), çiçātu, açiçāt, çíçīte, çíçīta.
- . 663. mā bellow, act., and mā measure, mid. (rarely also act.): thus, mimāti, mimīyāt; mímīte, mimate, ámimīta; mimīhi, mimātu. RV. has once mimanti 3d pl. (for mimati).

- 664. hā remove, mid.: thus, jihīte, jihīdhve, jihate; jihīsva, jihatām; ajihīta, ajihata. QB. bas jihīthām (for jihāthām).
- 665. hā quit, act. (originally identical with the former), may further shorten the ī to i: thus, jahāti, jahīta, jahītāt (AV.); jahimas (AV.). jahitas (TB.), jahitam (TA.), ajahitam (TS. AB.). In the optative, the radical vowel is lost altogether; thus, jahyam, jahyus (AV.). The 2d sing. impv., according to the grammarians, is jahīhi or jahihi or jahāhi; only the first appears quotable.
- a. Forms from an a-stem, jaha, are made for this root, and even derivatives from a quasi-root jah.
- 666. rā give, mid.: thus, rarīdhvam, rarīthās (impf. without augment); and, with i in reduplication, ririhi. But AV. has rarasva.
- a. In those verbs, the accent is generally constant on the reduplicating syllable.
- 667. The two roots da and dha (the commonest of the class) lose their radical vowel altogether in the weak forms, being shortened to dad and dadh. In 2d sing. impv. act., they form respectively dehi and dhehi. In combination with a following t or th, the final dh of dadh does not follow the special rule of combination of a final sonant aspirate (becoming ddh with the t or th: 160), but as also before s and dhv - the more general rules of aspirate and of surd and sonant combination; and its lost aspiration is thrown back upon the initial of the root (155).

668. The Inflection of vdhā is, then, as follows:

Present Indicative

			LUSCHE	Indicative	•	
		active.			middle.	
	8.	d.	p.	s.	d.	p.
1	dádhāmi	dadhvás	dadhmás	dadhé	dádhvahe	dádhma he
2	dádhāsi	dhatthás	dhatthá	dhatsé	dadhāthe	dhaddhve
3	dádhāti	dhattás	dádhati	dhatté	dadháte	dádhate
			Present	Optative.		

ı dadhyám	dadhyáva (dadhyáma	a dádhīya	dádhīvahi	dádhīm ahi
etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.

Present Imperative.

ı dádhāni	dádhāva	dádhāma	dádhāi	dádhāvahāi	dádhāmahā
≀ dhehí	dhattám	dhattá	dhatsva	dadhāthām	dhaddhvam
2 dádhatu	dhattám	dádhatu	dhattām	dedhätām	dadhatām

Imperfect.

- ádadhvahi ádadhmahi i ádadham ádadhva ádadhi ádhatthas ádadhatham ádhaddhvai 2 ádadhās ádhattam ádhatta
- 3 ádadhāt ádhattām ádadhus ádhatta ádadhatam ádadhata

Participles: act. dádhat; mid. dádhana.

- a. In the middle (except impf.), only those forms are here accented for which there is authority in the accentuated texts, as there is discordance between the actual accent and that which the analogies of the class would lead us to expect. RV. has once dhatse: dadhé and dadháte might be perfects, so far as the form is concerned. RV. accents dadhīta once (dadhīta thrice); several other texts have dadhīta, dadhīran, dadīta.
- b. The root da is inflected in precisely the same way, with change everywhere of (radical) dh to d.
- 669. The older language has irregularities as follows: 1. the usual strong forms in 2d pl., dådhāta and ådadhāta, dådāta and ådadāta; 2. the usual tana endings in the same person, dhattana, dådātana, etc. (654, 658); 3. the 3d sing. indic. act. dadhé (like 1st sing.); 4. the 2d sing. impv. act. daddhí (for both dehi and dhehi). And R. has dadmi.
- 670. A number of roots have been transferred from this to the a- or bhū-class (below, 749), their reduplicated root becoming a stereotyped stem inflected after the manner of a-stems. These roots are as follows:
- 671. In all periods of the language, from the roots sthā stand, pā drink, and ghrā smell, are made the presents tiṣṭhāmi, pibāmi (with irregular sonantizing of the second p), and jighrāmi which then are inflected not like mimāmi, but like bhavāmi, as if from the present-stems tiṣṭha, piba, jighra.
- 672. In the Voda (especially; also later), the reduplicated roots dā and dhā are sometimes turned into the a-stems dáda and dádha, or inflected as if roots dad and dadh of the a-class; and single forms of the same character are made from other roots: thus, mimanti (/mā bellow), rárate (/rā give: 3d sing. mid.).
- 673. In the Veda, also, a like secondary stem, jighna, is made from than (with omission of the radical vowel, and conversion, usual in this root, of h to gh when in contact with n: 637); and some of the forms of sacc, from the property sacces of sacces.
- 674. In AB. (viii. 28), a similar secondary form, jighya, is given to /hi or hā: thus, jighyati, jighyatu.
- 675. A few so-called roots of the first or root-class are the products of reduplication, more or less obvious: thus, jaks (640), and probably çãs (from /ças) and caks (from /kāç or a lost root kas see). In the Veda is found also saço, from /sac.
- 676. The grammarians reckon (as already noticed, 641) several roots of the most evidently reduplicate character as simple, and belonging to the root-class. Some of these (jägr, daridrā, vevī) are regular intensive stems, and will be described below under Intensives (1020 a, 1024 a); dīdhī shins, together with Vedic dīdī shine and pīpī swell, are sometimes also classed as intensives; but they have not the proper reduplication of

such, and may perhaps be best noticed here, as reduplicated present-stems with irregularly long reduplicating vowel.

- a. Of pres. indic. occurs in the older language only didyati, 3d pl., with the pples didyat and didhyat, and mid. didye, didhye, didhyatham, with the pples didyana, didhyana, pipyana. The subj. stems are didáya, didhaya, pipáya, and from them are made forms with both primary (from didáya) and secondary endings (and the irregularly accented didayat and didāyat and didhayan). No opt. occurs. In impv. we have didihí (and didihí) and pipihí, and pipyatam, pipyatam, pipyatam, nipyatam, nipyatam, pipyata, ln impf., adides and pipes, ádidet and ádidhet and apipet (with angmentless forms), apipema (with strong form of root), and adidhayus and (irregular) apipyan.
- b. A few forms from all the three show transfer to an a-inflection; thus, didhaya and pipaya (impv.), apipayat, etc.
 - c. Similar forms from /mī bellow are amimet and mimayat.
- 677. The stem cakas shine (sometimes cakas) is also regarded by the grammarians as a root, and supplied as such with tenses outside the present-system which, however, hardly occur in genuine use. It is not known in the older language.
- 678. The root bhas chew loses its radical vowel in weak forms, taking the form baps: thus, babhasti, but bapsati (3d pl.), bapsat (pple). For babdhām, see 233 f.
- 679. The root bhī fear is allowed by the grammarians to shorten its vowel in weak forms: thus, bibhīmas or bibhimas, bibhīyām or bibhiyām; and bibhiyāt etc. are met with in the later language.
- 680. Forms of this class from vjan give birth, with added i—thus, jajñise, jajñidhve—are given by the grammarians, but have never been found in use.
- 681. The roots ci and cit have in the Veda reversion of c to k in the root-syllable after the reduplication: thus, cikéşi, cikéthe (anomalous, for cikyáthe), cikitām, aciket, cíkyat (pple); cikiddhi.
- 682. The root vyac has i in the reduplication (from the y), and is contracted to vic in weak forms: thus, viviktás, áviviktām. So the root hvar (if its forms are to be reckoned here) has u in reduplication, and contracts to hur: thus, juhūrthās.

III. Nasal Class (seventh, rudh-class).

683. The roots of this class all end in consonants. And their class-sign is a nasal preceding the final consonant: in the weak forms, a nasal simply, adapted in character to the consonant; but in the strong forms expanded to the syllable 7 ná, which has the accent.

a. In a few of the verbs of the class, the nasal extends also into ther tense stems: they are anj, bhanj, hins: see below, 694.

1. Present Indicative.

684. Examples of inflection: a. the root যুর্ yuj ioin: strong stem-form, যুনর yunáj; weak, যুর্ yuñj.

For the rules of combination of final j, see 219.

	T 01						
		active.			middle.		
	8.	d.	p.	s.	d.	p.	
1	युनदिम	युङ्वम्	<u>यु</u> ङमस्	युद्धे	युक्वके	युङ्गक्हे	
	yunájmi	yuñjvás	yuñjmás	yuñjé	yuñjváhe	yuñjmáhe	
2	युनित	युङ्क् थम्	युङ् क्य	युङ्गे	युञ्जाघे	युङ्ग्धे	
	yunáksi	yunkthás	yunkthá	yunkşé	yuñjáthe	yuñgdhvé	
3	युनिक्त	युङ्कम्	युञ्जिति	युङ्गे	युज्जाते	युञ्जते	
	yunákti	yunktás	yuñjánti	yuňkté	yuñjáte	yuñjáte	
	b. the root ह्य rudh obstruct; bases हजाय runadh and						
₹	हन्यू rundh.						

For the rules of combination of final dh, see 153, 160.

- ा प्रणिष्म प्रन्धम् प्रन्थे प्रन्थके प्रन्थके प्रन्थके प्राथित प्राथि
- 2 तृपात्मि तृन्डम् तृन्ड तृत्मे तृन्धात्रे तृन्द्वे runátsi runddhás runddhá runtsé rundháthe runddhvé
- ३ मृणांडि मृन्डम् मृन्धांत मृन्दे मृन्धांते मृन्धते runáddhi runddhás rundhánti runddhé rundháte rundháte
- c. Instead of yunkthas, yungdhve, and the like (here and in the impv. and impf.), it is allowed and more usual (231) to write yunthas, yundhve, etc.; and, in like manner, rundhas, rundhe, for runddhas, runddhe; and so in other like cases.
- 685. Vedic irregularities of inflection are: 1. the ordinary use of a 3d sing. mid. like the 1st sing., as vṛṇje; 2. the accent on té of 3d pl. mid. in añjaté, indhaté, bhuñjaté.
 - a. Yunankşi, in BhP., is doubtless a false reading.

2. Present Subjunctive.

686. The stem is made, as usual, by adding a to the strong present-stem: thus, yunaja, runadha. Below are given as if made

from pyuj all the forms for which examples have been noted as actually occuring in the older language.

			r			
	8.	d.	p.	6.	d.	p.
1	yunájāni	yunájāva	yunájāma	yunajāi		yunájāmahāj
2	yunájas					yunajādhvāi
3	yunájat	yunājatas	yunájan	yunájate		

687. The RV, has once anjatas, which is anomalous as being made from the weak tense-stem. Forms with double mode-sign are met with; thus, tṛṇáhān (AV.), rādhnávāt and yunajān (ÇB.); and the only quotable example of 3d du. act. (besides anjatás) is hinásātas (ÇB.), ÇB. has also hinasāvas as 1st du. act.: an elsewhere unexampled form.

3. Present Optative.

688. The optative is made, as elsewhere, by adding the compounded mode-endings to the weak form of present-stems. Thus:

active. middle. p. s. d. p. e. d. p. e. 1 युड्याम् युड्याम विकास प्राप्तीं प्

a. AB. has once the anomalous 1st sing, act. vṛṇjiyam. And forms like bhuṇjiyām -yāt, yuṇjiyāt, are here and there met with in the epics (bhuṇjiyātām once in GGS.). MBh., too, has once bhuṇjitam.

4. Present Imperative.

689. In this class (as the roots all end in consonants) the ending of the 2d sing. act. is always Et dhi.

		active.			middle.	
	8.	d.	p.	8.	d.	р.
1	~	युनजाव	युनज्ञाम	युननी	युनन्नावरह	युनजामके
	yunájāni	yunájāva	yunájāma	yunájāi	yunájāvahāi	yunajamanai
2	युङ्गिध yuñgdhi	युङ्कम् yuñktám	•	~ `	युञ्जाद्याम् yuñjáthām	पुङ्ग्धम् yungdhvám
3	युनक्तु yunáktu	युङ्काम् yufiktám	युञ्जनु yuñjántu	युङ्गाम् yunktám		युञ्जताम् yuñjátām

690. There is no occurrence, so far as noted, of the ending tat in rerbs of this class. The Veda has, as usual, sometimes strong forms, and sometimes the ending tana, in the 2d pl. act.: thus, unatta, yunakta, anaktana, pinastana.

5. Present Participle.

e91. The participles are made in this class as in the preceding ones: thus, act. যুদ্ধন্ yunjant (fem. যুদ্ধনী yunjati); mid. যুদ্ধান yunjaná (but RV. has índhāna).

6. Imperfect.

692. The example of the regular inflection of this tense needs no introduction:

	active.			middle.	
8.	d.	p.	8.	d	p
ग्रयुनजम्	म्रयङ्व	भ्रयुडम	म्रयुद्धि	अ युइविक्	म्रयुङमोरू
áyunajam	áyuñjva	áyuñjma	áyuñji	áyuñjvahi	áyuñjmahi
म्रयुनक्	ग्रयङ्कम्	ग्र मुङ्ग	ग्रयुङ्क्यास	् ग्रयुज्जायाम्	म्रयुङ्ग्धम्
áyunak	áyuñktam	áyunkta	áyunkthas	áyuñjāthām	áyungdhvam
ग्रयुनक्	ग्रयुङ्काम्	ग्रयुञ्जन्	ग्र युङ्क	म्रयुज्जाताम्	ग्र युन्नत
áyunak	áyuñktām	áyuñjan	áyuñkta	áyuñjātām	áyuñjata

- a. The endings s and t are necessarily lost in the nasal class throughout in 2d and 3d sing. act., unless saved at the expense of the final radical consonant: which is a case of very rare occurrence (the only quotable examples were given at 555 a).
- 693. The Veda shows no irregularities in this tense. Occurrences of augmentless forms are found, especially in 2d and 3d sing. act., showing an accent like that of the present: for example, bhinát, prnák, vrnák, pinák, řinák.
- a. The 1st sing. act. atrnam and acchinam (for atrnadam and acchinadam) were noted above, at 555a.
- 694. The roots of this class number about thirty, more than half of them being found only in the earlier language; no new ones make their first appearance later. Three of them, anj and bhanj and hins, carry their nasal also into other tense-systems than the present. Two, ydh and ubh, make present-systems also of other classes having a nasal in the class-sign: thus, ydhnoti (nu-class) and ubhnati (na-class).

a. Many of the roots make forms from secondary a-stems: thus, from añja, unda, umbhá, chinda, trhhá, pihạa, prňcá, bhuñja, rundha, çinaá, etc.

Irregularities of the Nasal Class.

- 695. The root trh combines trnah with ti, tu, etc. into trnedhi, trnédhu; and, according to the grammarians, has also such forms as trnehmi: see above, 224 b.
- 696. The root hins (by origin apparently a desiderative from γ han) accents irregularly the root-syllable in the weak forms: thus, hinsanti, hinste, hinsana (but hinasat etc. and hinsyat CB.).

IV. Nu- and u-classes (fifth and eighth, su- and tan-classes).

- 697. A. The present-stem of the nu-class is made by adding to the root the syllable $\frac{\pi}{2}$ nu, which then in the strong forms receives the accent, and is strengthened to $\frac{\pi}{1}$ nó.
- B. The few roots of the u-class (about half-a-dozen) end in $\overline{\gamma}$ n, with the exception of the later irregular $\overline{\gamma}$ kr (or kar) for which, see below, 714. The two classes, then, are closely correspondent in form; and they are wholly accordant in inflection.
- a. The u of either class-sign is allowed to be dropped before v and m of the 1st du. and 1st pl. endings, except when the root (nu-class) ends in a consonant; and the u before a vowel-ending becomes v or uv, according as it is preceded by one or by two consonants (129 a).

1. Present Indicative.

698. Examples of inflection: A. .nu-class; root मु su press out; strong form of stem, मुनो suno; weak form, सून् sunu.

		active.			middle.	
	8.	d.	р.	8.	d.	p.
1	मुनोमि sunómi	मुनुवम् _{BUDUVÁS}	सुनुमस् sunumás	मुन्वे sunvé	मुनुबरु sunuváhe	मुनुमके sunumáhe
2	~ ~	मुनु यम्	मुन्ध sunuthé	मुनुषे sunusé	मुन्वाधे sunväthe	मुनुधे sunudhvé

- 3 मुनोति मुनुतम् मुन्वति मुनुते मुन्वाते मुन्वते sunváte sunváte sunváte
- a. The forms sunvás, sunmás, sunváhe, sunmáhe are alternative with those given here for 1st du. and pl., and in practice are more common. From vāp, however (for example), only the forms with u can occur: thus, āpnuvás, āpnumáhe; and also only āpnuvánti, āpnuvé, āpnuváte.
- B. u-class; root तन् tan stretch: strong form of stem, तनो tano; weak, तन् tanu.
- 1 तनोमि तन्वम् तन्मम् तन्वे तन्वक् तन्मके tanómi tanvás tanmás tanvé tanváhe tanmáhe etc. etc. etc. etc. etc. etc.
- b. The inflection is so precisely like that given above that it is not worth writing out in full. The abbreviated forms in 1st du. and pl. are presented here, instead of the fuller, which rarely occur (as no double consonant ever precedes).
- 699. a. In the older language, no strong 2d persons du. or pl., and no thana-ending, chance to occur (but they are numerous in the impv. and impf.: see below). The RV. has several cases of the irregular accent in 3d pl. mid.: thus, kṛṇvaté, tanvaté, manvaté, vṛṇvaté, spṛṇvaté.
- b. In RV. occur also several 3d pl. mid. in ire from present-stems of this class: thus, invire, rnvire, pinvire, crnvire, sunvire, hinvire. Of these, pinvire, and hinvire might be perfects without reduplication from the secondary roots pinv and hinv (below, 716). The 2d sing, mid. (with passive value) crnvice (RV.) is of anomalous and questionable character.

2. Present Subjunctive.

700. The subjunctive mode-stem is made in the usual manner, by adding a to the gunated and accented class-sign: thus, sunáva, tanáva. In the following scheme are given all the forms of which examples have been met with in actual use in the older language from either division of the class; some of them are quite numerously represented there.

active. middle.

s. d. p. s. d. p.
sunávāni sunávāva sunávāma sunávāi sunávāvahāi sunávāmahāi
sunávas sunávatha sunávase sunávāithe
sunávat sunávate sunávanta

701. Of the briefer ist sing. act., RV. has kṛṇavā and hinavā. Forms with double mode-sign occur (not in RV.): thus, kṛṇavāt and karavāt (AV.); açnavātha (K.), kṛṇavātha (VS.; but -vatha in Kāṇva-text), karavātha (ÇB.). On the other hand, açnavatāi is found once (in TS.). Forms like āpnuvāni, ardhnuvat, açnuvat, met with now and then in the older texts, are doubtless to be regarded as false readings. RV. has in a single passage kṛṇvāíte (instead of kṛṇavāite); the only form in āithe is açnavāithe.

3. Present Optative.

702. The combined endings (566) are added, as usual, to the weak tense-stem: thus,

		active.			middle.	
,	8.	d.	р.	s.	d.	p.
1	मुनुयाम्	मुनुयाव	मुनुग्राम	सुन्चीय	मु न्वीवह्रि	मुन्वी मिः
	sunuyám	sunuyáva	sunuyámá	sunvīyá	sunvīváhi	sunvīmáhi
	etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.

a. From $\sqrt{a}p$, the middle optative would be $\bar{a}pnuv\bar{y}\dot{a}$ —and so in other like cases.

4. Present Imperative.

703. The inflection of the imperative is in general like that in the preceding classes. As regards the 2d sing. act., the rule of the later language is that the ending to his taken whenever the root itself ends in a consonant; otherwise, the tense- (or mode-) stem stands by itself as 2d person (for the earlier usage, see below, 704). An example of inflection is:

	active.		middle,			
8.	d.	p.	8.	d.	p.	
मुनवानि	मुनवाव	मुनवाम		मुनवावद्दै	मुनवा मके	
sunávāni	sunávāva	sunávāma	sunáväi	sunávävahāi	sunávāmahši	
सुनु sunú	सुनुतम् sunutám	सुन्त sunutá	सुनुष sunuşvá	मुन्वाद्याम् sunvāthām	मुनुधम् sunudhvám	
मुनोतु sunótu	मुनुताम् sunutám	मुन्व तु sunvántu	सुनुताम् sunutám	मुन्वाताम् sunvātām	मुन्वताम् _{Bunvátām}	

a. From /āp, the 2d sing act would be āpnuhí; from /aç, açnuhí; from /dhṛṣ, dhṛṣṇuhí; and so on. From /āp, too, would be made āpnuvántu, āpnuvátām, āpnuvátām, āpnuvátām.

704. In the earliest language, the rule as to the omission of hi after a root with final vowel does not hold good: in RV., such forms as inuhi, kṛṇuhi, cinuhi, dhūnuhi, cṛṇuhi, spṛṇuhi, hinuhi, and tanuhi, sanuhi, are nearly thrice as frequent in use as inu, cṛṇu, sunu, tanu, and their like; in AV., however, they are only one sixth as frequent; and in the Brāhmaṇas they appear only sporadically: even cṛṇudhi (with dhi) occurs several times in RV. RV. has the 1st sing. act. hinavā. The ending tāt is found in kṛṇutāt and hinutāt, and kurutāt. The strong stem-form is found in 2d du. act. in hinotam and kṛṇotam; and in 2d pl. act. in kṛṇota and kṛṇotana, cṛṇota and cṛṇotana, sunota and sunotana, hinota and hinotana, and tanota, karota. The ending tana occurs only in the forms just quoted.

5. Present Participle.

705. The endings म्रत् ant and मान बर्ग are added to the weak form of tense stem: thus, from ν म su come act. मुन्यत् suavant (fem. मुन्यती sunvatí), mid. मुन्यान sunvaná; from ν तन् tan, तन्यत् tanvant (fem. तन्यती tanvatí), तन्यान tanvaná. From ν माप् बिष्ठ, they are मामुयत् बिष्ठायथंगर and मामुयान बिष्ठायथंगरं.

6. Imperfect.

706. The combination of augmented stem and endings is according to the rules already stated: thus,

middle. active. d. d. **ग्रह्मन्व**कि म्रसन्व म्रसनवम ásunuma ásunvi ásunuvahi ásunavam ásunuva **ग्र**मन्वात्राम् **ग्रम्**न्याम् ग्रम्नोम् ग्रमुनुतम् म्रम्न्त ásunuthās ásunvāthām ásunudhvam ásunutam ásunuta ásunos ग्रम्नोत् ग्रमुन्ताम् ग्रमुन्वन् ásunvātām ásunvata ásunutām ásunvan ásunuta ásunot

a. Here, as elsewhere, the briefer forms asunva, asunma, asunvani, asunmahi are allowed, and more usual, except from roots with final consonant, as dhṛṣ: which makes, for example, always adhṛṣṇuma etc., and also adhṛṣṇuvan, adhṛṣṇuvi, adhṛṣṇuvātām, adhṛṣṇuvātām, adhṛṣṇuvata.

- 707. Strong stem-forms and tana-ending are found only in RV., in akrnota, akrnotana. Augmentless forms with accent are minván, nutá.
- 708. About fifty roots make, either exclusively or in part, their resent-forms after the manner of the nu-class: half of them do $_{80}$ only in the older language; three or four, only in the later.
 - a. As to transfers to the a-conjugation, see below, 716.
- 709. The roots of the other division, or of the u-class, are extremely few, not exceeding eight, even including tr on account of taruté RV., and han on account of the occurrence of hanomionce in a Sūtra (PGS. i. 3. 27). BR. refer the stem inu to in of the u-class instead of i of the nu-class.

Irregularities of the nu and u-classes.

- 710. The root trp be pleased is said by the grammarians to retain the n of its class-sign unlingualized in the later language where, however, forms of conjugation of this class are very rare; while in the Veda the regular change is made: thus, trpnu.
- 711. The root çru hear is contracted to çr before the class-sign, forming çrnó and çrnu as stem. Its forms çrnvisé and çrnviré have been noted above (699b).
- 712. The root dhū shake in the later language (and rarely in B. and S.) shortens its vowel, making the stem-forms dhunó and dhunu (earlier dhūnó, dhūnu).
- 713. The so-called root ūrņu, treated by the native grammarians as dissyllabic and belonging to the root-class (1.), is properly a present-stem of this class, with anomalous contraction, from the root vṛ (or var). In the Veda, it has no forms which are not regularly made according to the nu-class; but in the Brāhmaṇa language are found sometimes such forms as ūrṇāuti, as if from an u-root of the root class (626); and the grammarians make for it a perfect, aorist, future, etc. Its 2d sing. impv. art. is ūrṇu or ūrṇuhi; its impf., āurṇos, āurṇot; its opt. mid., ūrṇuvīta (K.) or ūrṇvītá (TS.).
- 714. The extremely common root $\overline{\eta}$ kr (or kar) make is in the later language inflected in the present-system exclusively according to the u-class (being the only root of that class not ending in $\overline{\eta}$ n). It has the irregularity that in the strong form of stem it (as well as the class-sign) has the guņa-strengthening, and that in the weak form it is

changed to kur, so that the two forms of stem are का karó and का kuru. The class-sign उ u is always dropped before व्र and म् m of the 1st du. and pl., and also before प्र of the opt. act. Thus:

1. Present Indicative.

	active.			middle.	
s.	d.	p.	s.	d.	p.
करोमि	कुर्वम्	कुर्मम्	कुर्वे	<u> जुर्वि</u> हे	कुर्मव्हे
karómi	kurvás	kurmás	kurvé	kurváhe	kurmáhe
करोषि	कु रुथम्	कु रुध	कुरुषे	कु र्वाये	कुरुधे
karoși	kuruthás	kuruthá	kurușé	kurváthe	kurudhvé
करोति	कु फ्तम्	कुर्वित	<u> कुरुते</u>	<u> कुर्वाते</u>	कुर्वते
karóti	kurutás	kurvánti	kuruté	kurváte	kurváte

2. Present Optative.

कुर्याम्	वुर्याव	कुर्याम	नुर्त्रीय	कुर्विविह्	कुर्विमिक्ति
kuryām	kuryáva	kuryāma	kurvīyá	kurvīváhi	kurvīmáhi
etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.

3. Present Imperative.

करवाणि	कर्वाव	वार्वाम	कार्व	कर्वावहै	वार्वामकै
karávāņi	karávāva	karávāma	karávāi	karávāvahā	i karávāmahāi
कु रु	कुरुतम्	कु रुत	कुरुध	कुर्वायाम्	कुरा धम्
	kurutám	kurutá	•	kurväthäm	
बहोतु	कुरुता म्	<u> कुर्वतु</u>	<u> कुरुताम्</u>	कुर्वाताम्	बुर्वताम्
karótu	kurutám	kurvántu	kurutām	kurvätām	kurvátām

4. Present Participle.

कुर्वत् kurvant (fem. नुर्वती kurvati) नुर्वाण kurvana

5. Imperfect.

श्रकार् वम्	म्रक्वं	श्र क्तम	ग्रक् र्वि	म्रक्वंदिः	ग्र कुर्म क ि
ákaravam	ákurva	ákurma	ákurvi	ákurvahi	ákurmahi
म्रकरोम्	अक् रतम्	मन् रुव	म्रकु रुयाम्	ग्र कुर्वायाम्	ग्र कुरुधम्
ákaros	ákurutan	ákuruta	ákuruthās	akurväthän	ákurudhvam
श्रकरोत्	म्रकुरुताम्	म्रकुर्वन्	म्रकुरुत	म्रबुर्वाताम्	य युर्वत
ákarot	ákurutām	ákurvan	ákuruta	ákurvātām	ákurvata

- 715. In RV., this root is regularly inflected in the present-system according to the nu-class, making the stem-forms kṛṇô and kṛṇu; the only exceptions are kurmas once and kuru twice (all in the tenth book), in AV., the nu-forms are still more than six times as frequent as the u-forms (nearly half of which, moreover, are in prose passages); but in the Brahmana language and later, the u-forms are used to the exclusion of the others.
 - a. As 1st sing, pres. act, is found kurmi in the epos.
- b. What irregular forms from kr as a verb of the nu-class occur in the older language have been already noticed above.
- c. The isolated form taruté, from $\gamma / t r,$ shows an apparent ${\rm analog}_2 y$ with these u-forms from k r.
- 716. A few verbs belonging originally to these classes have been shifted, in part or altogether, to the a-class, their proper class-sign having been stereotyped as a part of the root.
- a. Thus, in RV. we find forms both from the stem inu (γ i or in) and also from inva, representing a derivative quasi-root inv (and these latter alone occur in AV.). So likewise forms from a stem rnva beside those from rnu (γ h;) and from hinva beside those from hinu (γ hi). The so-called roots jinv and pinv are doubtless of the same origin, although no forms from the stem pinu are met with at any period—unless pirfvice (above, 899 b) be so regarded, and AV. has the participle pinvánt, a pinvatí. The grammarians set up a root dhinv, but only forms from this (stem dhinu) appear to occur in the present-system (the source adhinvit is found in PB.).
- b. Occasional a-forms are met with also from other roots; thus cinvata etc., dunvasva.

V. Nā-class (ninth or krī-class).

717. The class-sign of this class is in the strong forms the syllable \overline{n} n, accented, which is added to the root; in the weak forms, or where the accent falls upon the ending, it is \widehat{n} n; but before the initial vowel of an ending the $\hat{\xi}$ $\hat{\imath}$ of \widehat{n} \hat{n} disappears altogether.

1. Present Indicative.

718. Example of inflection: root क्री krī buy: strong form of stem, क्रीणा krīņā; weak form, क्रीणा krīņī (before a vowel, क्रीण krīņ).

active. middle. đ. d. क्रीणीवम् क्रीणीमम् क्रीपो क्रीणीवके क्रीपोमके krīņ**āmi krī**ņīvas krīņīmas krīņė krīņīvāhe krīņīmāhe 2 क्रीपासि क्रीपीयस क्रीपीय क्रीणीये क्रीणावे क्रीपीधे krīnīthás krīnīthá krīnāsi krīņīsé krīņāthe krīnīdhvé ₃ क्रीणाति क्रीणीतम् क्रीणित क्रीणीते क्रीणाते क्रीणते krīņītás krīņánti krīnīté krīnāte krīnáte 719. In the Veda, the 3d sing. mid. has the same form with the 1st

in grné; the peculiar accent of 3d pl. mid. is seen in punaté and rinaté; and vrnīmahé (beside vrnīmáhe) occurs once in RV.

2. Present Subjunctive.

720. The subjunctive forms which have been found exemplified in Veda and Brahmana are given below. The subjunctive mode-stem is, of course, indistinguishable in form from the strong tense-stem. And the 2d and 3d sing. act. (with secondary endings) are indistinguishable from augmentless imperfects.

active.			middle.			
	• s.	d.	p.	8	d.	p.
1	krīņāni		krīņāma	krîņāí	krīņāvahāi	krīņāmahāi
2	krīņās		krīņātha	krīņāsāi		•
3	kriņāt		krīņān	krīņātāi		krīņāntāi

3. Present Optative.

721. This mode is formed and inflected with entire regularity; owing to the fusion of tense-sign and mode-sign in the middle, some of its persons are indistinguishable from augmentless imperfects. Its first persons are as follows:

active. middle. म् क्रीणीयाम् क्रीणीयाव क्रीणीयाम् क्रीणीय क्रीणीयिक क्रीणीमिक krīnīyām krīnīyāva krīnīyāma krīnīya krīnīvahi krīnīmahi etc. etc. etc. etc. etc. etc.

4. Present Imperative.

722. The ending in 2d sing. act., as being always preceded by a vowel, is कि hi (never धि dhi); and there are no examples of an omission of it. But this person is forbidden to be formed in the classical language from roots ending in a consonant; for both class-sign and ending is substituted the peculiar ending সান and.

active. middle. 1 क्रीणानि क्रीणाव क्रीणाम क्रीणावक क्रोणामक krīņāni krīņāva krīņāma krīņāvahāi krīņāmahāi krīņāí 2 क्रीणींक क्रीणीतम क्रीणीत ऋीणीघ ऋोणायाम क्रीपीधम krīņīhí krīņītám krīņītá krīņīsvá krīņāthām krīņīdhvám अत्रीणात् अत्रीणीताम् अत्रीणत् ऋषिताम् ऋषिताम् ऋषिताम krīņātu krīņītām krīņantu krīņītām krīņātām krīņatam

a. Examples of the ending āná in 2d sing act. are açana, gṛhāṇá, badhāná, stabhāná.

723. The ending ana is known also to the earliest language; of the examples just given, all are found in AV., and the first two in RV.; others are isana, musana, skabhana. But AV. has also grbhnīhi (also AB), and even grhnāhi, with strong stems BhP. has badhnīhi. Strong stems are further found in grṇāhi and strṇāhi (TS.), prṇāhi (TB.), and crīṇāhi (Āpast.), and, with anomalous accent, punāhi and crṇāhi (S_{V}), and, in 2d pl. act., in punāta (RV.). The ending tat of 2d sung act occurs in grhnītāt, jānītāt, punītāt. The ending tana is found in punītāna, prṇītana, crīṇītana.

5. Present Participle.

724. The participles are regularly formed: thus, for example, act. क्रीणल् krīṇánt (fem. क्रीणते krīṇatí); mid क्रीणान krīṇāná.

6. Imperfect.

725. There is nothing special to be noted as to the inflection of this tense: an example is—

active. middle. मऋोगीम 1 ग्रक्रीणाम् ग्रक्रीणीव म्रक्रीणीविक मक्रीणीमिक ákrīņām ákrīņīva ákrīņīma ákrīņi ákrīņīvahi ákrinimahi श्रुक्रीणाम् श्रक्रीणीतम् श्रक्रीणीतः श्रक्रीणीयाम् श्रक्रीणायाम् । म्रक्रोणीयम् ákrīnīthās ákrīnāthām ákrīnīdhvam ákrīņās ákrīņītam ákrīņīta ^३ यत्रीणात् यत्रीणीताम यत्रोणन म्रक्रीपीत म्रक्रीणाताम मक्रीणत ákrīņāt ákrīņītām ákrīņan ákrīņātām ákrīņata ákrīņīta

- 726. It has been pointed out above that augmentless persons of this tense are in part indistinguishable in form from subjunctive and optative persons. Such as certainly belong here are (in V.) kṣiṇām; aqnan, riṇán; gṛbhṇata, vṛṇata. The AV. has once minīt instead of mināt. MBh. has aqnīs after mā.
- a. AB, has the false form ajānīmas, and in AA, occurs avrnīta as 3d plural.
- 727. The roots which form their present-systems, wholly or in part, after the manner of this class, are over fifty in number: but, for about three fifths of them, the forms are quotable only from the older language, and for half-a-dozen they make their first appearance later; for less than twenty are they in use through the whole life of the language, from the Veda down.
 - a. As to secondary a-stems, see 731.

Irregularities of the nā-class.

- 728. a. The roots ending in ū shorten that vowel before the class-sign: thus, from /pū, punāti and punīté; in like manuer also jū, dhū, lū.
 - b. The root vli (B.S.) forms either vlina or vlina.
- 729. The root grabh or grah (the former Vedic) is weakened to grbh or grh.
- a. As the perfect also in weak forms has grbh or grh, it is not easy to see why the grammarians should not have written r instead of ra in the root.
- 730. a. A few of the roots have a more or less persistent nasal in forms outside the present-system; such are without nasal before the class-sign: thus, grath or granth, badh or bandh, math or manth, skabh or skambh, stabh or stambh.
- b. The root jñā also loses its nasal before the class-sign: thus, jānāti, jānīté.
- 731. Not rarely, forms showing a transfer to the a-conjugation are met with: thus, even in RV., minati, minat, aminanta, from /mī; in AV., çṛṇa from /çṛ; later, gṛṇṇa, jāna, prīṇa, mathna, etc. And from roots pṛ and mṛ are formed the stems pṛṇá and mṛṇá, which are inflected after the manner of the á-class, as if from roots pṛṇ and mṛṇ.
- 732. In the Veda, an apparently denominative inflection of a stem in āyá is not infrequent beside the conjugation of roots of this class: thus, gṛbhāyá, mathāyáti, açrathāyas, skabhāyáta, astabhāyat, pruṣāyánte, muṣāyát, and so on. See below, 1066 b.

Second or a-Conjugation.

783. We come now to the classes which compose the Second or a-Conjugation. These are more markedly similar in their mode of inflection than the preceding classes; their common characteristics, already stated, may be here repeated in summary. They are: 1. A final a in the presentstem; 2. a constant accent, not changing between stem and ending; 3. a briefer form of the optative mode-sign in the active, namely ī instead of yā (combining in both voices alike with a to e); 4. the absence of any ending (except when tat is used) in 2d sing. impv. act.; 5. the conversion of initial a of the 2d and 3d du. mid. endings with final a of the stem to e; 6. the use of the full endings ante, anta, antam in 3d pl. mid. forms; 7. the invariable use of an not us) in 3d pl. impf. act.; S. and the use of mana instead of ana as ending of the mid. pple. Moreover, 9. the stefnfinal a becomes a before m and v of 1st personal endingsbut not before am of 1st sing. impf.: here, as before the 3d pl. endings, the stem-final is lost, and the short a of the ending remains (or the contrary; thus, bhávanti (bháva+ anti), bhávante (bháva + ante), ábhavam (ábhava + am).

a. All these characteristics belong not to the inflection of the a-present-system alone, but also to that of the a-, reduplicated, and sa-aorists, the s-future, and the desiderative, causative, and demoninative present-stems. That is to say, wherever in conjugation an a-stem is found, it is inflected in the same manner.

VI. A-class (first, bhū-class).

734. The present-stem of this class is made by adding স a to the root, which has the accent, and, when that is possible (235, 240), is strengthened to guna. Thus, স্ব bháva from প্ৰু bhū; রাম jáya from গের ji; লাম bódha from প্রুম্ budh; মর্ঘ sárpa from প্র্যু sực;— but বহু váda from প্রুম্ vad; স্কাট krída from প্রাট্থ krid.

1. Present Indicative.

- 735. The endings and the rules for their combination with the stem have been already fully given, for this and the other parts of the present-system; and it only remains to illustrate them by examples.
- a. Example of inflection: root ਮ੍ਰ bhū be; stem ਮਕ bháva (bho+a: 131).

active. middle. d. 1 भवामि भवावके भवावस् भवामस ਮਕਂ bhávāmi bhávāvas bhávāmas bháve bhávavahe bhávamahe 2 भवसि भवय भवमे भवेंग्रे भवध भवद्यस bhávasi bhávathas bhávatha bhávase bhávethe bhávadhve ਮਹੇਨੇ भवांत ਮਕਨੇ ਮਹਜ਼ੇ 3 भवति bhávati bhávatas bhávanti bhávate bhávete bhávante b. The V. has but a single example of the thana-ending, namely vadathana (and no other in any class of this conjugation). The 1st pl. mid. manamahé (RV., once) is probably an error. RV. has cóbhe once as 3d singular.

2. Present Subjunctive.

736. The mode-stem is bhávā (bháva + a). Subjunctive forms of this conjugation are very numerous in the older language; the following scheme instances all that have been found to occur.

middle. active. d. d. p. bhávāni bhávāva bhávāma bhávāi bhávāvahāi bhávāmahāi | bhávāse bhávāthas bhávātha bhávādhvāi lbhávās bhávāsāi |bhávāti bhávātas bhávān **Íbhávānt**a bháväte bháväite bhávát lbhávätäi bhávantai

737. The 2d du. mid. (bhávāithe) does not chance to occur in this class; and yátāite is the only example of the 3d person. No such pl. mid. forms as bhávādhve, bhávānte are made from any class with stemfinal a; such as bhávanta (which are very common) are, of course, properly augmentless imperfects. The Brāhmaṇas (especially ÇB.) prefer the 2d sing. act. in āsi and the 3d in āt. AB. has the 3d sing. mid. haratāi; and a 3d pl. in antāi (vartantāi KB.) has been noted once. RV. has examples, arcā and madā, of the briefer 1st sing. act.

2

3

3. Present Optative.

788. The scheme of optative endings as combined with the final of an a-stem was given in full above (566).

		active.			middle.	
	9.	d	p.	8.	d.	p.
1	भवेयम्	भवेव	भवेम	भवेय	भवेविह	भवेमिह
	bháveyam	bháveva	bhávema	bháveya	bhávevahi	bhávemahi
2	भवेम्	भवेतम्	भवेत	भवेयाम्	भवेयायाम्	भवेधम्
	bháves	bhávetam	bháveta	bhávethās	bháveyāthā m	bhávedhva
3	भवेत्	भवेताम्	भवेयुम्	भवेत	भवेयाताम्	भवेरुन्
	bhávet	bhávetām	bháveyus	bháveta	bháveyātām	bháveran
	a. The	RV. has o	nce the 3c	l pl. mid. l	bharerata (for	one other

example, see 752 b). AV. has udeyam from /vad.

b. A few instances are met with of middle 3d persons from a-stems in Ita and (very rarely) Iran, instead of eta and eran. For convenience, they may be put together here (excepting the more numerous causative forms, for which see 1043 c); they are (so far as noted) these: nayīta S. and later, çansīta S., çrayīta S.; dhayīta S., dhyāyīta U., hvayīta AB. S. and hvayīran S., dhmāyīta U. An active form çansīyāt C is isolated and anomalous.

4. Present Imperative.

739. An example of the imperative inflection is:

		active.			middle.	
	s.	d.	p.	s.	d.	р.
ı	भवानि	भवाव	भवाम	भवे	भवावक्	भवामक्
	bhávāni	bhávāva	bhávāma	bhávai	bhávāvahāi	bhávam ahāi
2	भव	भवतम्	भवत	भवस्य	भवेद्याम्	भवधम्
	bh áv a	bhávatam	bhávata	bhávasva	bhávethām	bhávadhvan
	भवतु	भवताम्	भवतु	भवताम्	भवेताम्	भवसाम्
	bhá v atu	bhávatām	bhávantu	bhávatam	bhávetām	bhávantam
	740	m . 11. 4.	1 01		Sec. 13.2 m 3	. 1

740. The ending tana in 2d pl. act. is as rare in this whole conjugation as is thana in the present: the V. affords only bhajatana in the a-class (and nahyatana in the ya-class. 760 c). The ending tat of 2dsing. act., on the other hand, is not rare; the RV. has avatāt, oṣatāt, dahatāt, bhavatāt, yacchatāt, yācatāt, rakṣatāt, vahatāt; to which AV. adds jinvatāt, dhāvatāt; and the Brahmanas bring other examples. MS. has twice svadātu (parallel texts both times svadāti): compare similar cases in the a-class: 752 c.

5. Present Participle.

- 741. The endings দ্বন্ ant and দান mana are added to the present-stem, with loss, before the former, of the final stem-vowel: thus, act. ম্বান্ bhávant (fem. ম্বানী bhávantī); mid. ম্বানা bhávamāna.
- a. A small number of middle participles appear to be made from stems of this class (as of other a-classes: see 752 e, 1043 f) by the suffix ana instead of mana: thus, namana, pacana, çikṣaṇa, svajāna, hvayāna (all epic), majjāna and kaṣaṇa (later); and there are Vedic examples (as cyávāna, prathāná, yátāna or yatāná, çúmbhāna, all RV.) of which the character, whether present or aorist, is doubtful: compare 840, 852.

6. Imperfect.

742. An example of the imperfect inflection is:

middle. active. d. p. म्रभवे म्रभवावांदः म्रभवामोक म्रभवाम ग्रभवाव भवम ábhavāvahi ábhavāmahi ibhavam ábhavāva ábhavāma ábhave ग्रभवत म्रभवयाम ऋगवेबाम भवम् ग्रभवतम् ábhavatam ábhavata - ábhavathās ábhavethām ábhavadhvam bhavas ग्रभवत ग्रगवत ग्रगवन ábhavetām ábhavanta ibhavat ábhavatām ábhavan ábhavata

- 743. No forms in tana are made in this tense from any a-class Examples of augmentless forms (which are not uncommon) are: cyávam, ávas, dáhas, bódhat, bhárat, cáran, náçan; bādhathās, várdhata, çócanta. The subjunctively used forms of 2d and 3d sing. act. are more frequent than those of either of the proper subjunctive persons.
- 744. A far larger number of roots form their present-system according to the a-class than according to any of the other classes: in the RV., they are about two hundred and forty (nearly two fifths of the whole body of roots); in the AV., about two hundred (nearly the same proportion); for the whole language, the proportion is still larger, or nearly one half the whole number of present-stems: namely, over two hundred in both earlier and later language, one hundred and seventy-five in the older alone, nearly a hundred and fifty in the later alone. Among these are not a few transfers from the classes of the first conjugation: see those classes above. There are no roots ending in long ā—except a few which make an a-stem in some anomalous way: below, 749 a.

Irregularities of the a-class.

- 745. A few verbs have irregular vowel-changes in forming the present-stem: thus,
 - a. uh consider has guna-strengthening (against 240): thus, ohate.
- b. krp (or krap) $\emph{lament},$ on the contrary, remains unchanged: thus, krpate.
 - c. guh hide has prolongation instead of guna: thus, guhati.
- d. kram stride regularly lengthens its vowel in the active, but hot in the middle: thus, krāmati, kramate; but the vowel-quantities are somewhat mixed up, even from the oldest language down;—klam tire is said to form klāmati etc., but is not quotable;—cam with the preposition ā rinse the mouth forms ācāmati.
- e. In the later language are found occasional forms of this class from mṛj wipe; and they show the same vṛddhi (instead of guṇa) which belong to the root in its more proper inflection (627): thus, mārjasva.
- f. The grammarians give a number of roots in urv, which they declare to lengthen the u in the present-stem. Only three are found in (quite limited) use, and they show no forms anywhere with short u. All appear to be of secondary formation from roots in r or ar. The root murch or murch coagulate has likewise only ū in quotable forms.
- g. The onomatopoetic root sthiv spew is written by the grammarians as sthiv, and declared to lengthen its vowel in the present-system: compare 240 b.
- 746. The roots dang bite, ranj color, sanj hang, svanj embrace, of which the nasal is in other parts of the conjugation not constant, lose it in the present-system: thus, dagati etc.; sanj forms both sajati and sajjati (probably for sajyati, or for sasjati from sasajati); math or manth has mathati later. In general, as the present of this class is a strengthening formation, a root that has such a nasal anywhere has it here also.
- 747. The roots gam go and yam reach make the present-stems gaccha and yaccha: thus, gacchami etc.: see 608.
- 748. The root sad sit forms sida (conjectured to be contracted from sisda for sisada): thus, sidāmi etc.
- 749. Transfers to this class from other classes are not rare, as has been already pointed out above, both throughout the present-system and in occasional forms. The most important cases are the following:
- a. The roots in ā, sthā stand, pā drink, and ghrā smell, form the present-stems tiṣṭha (tiṣṭhāmi etc.), piba (pibāmi etc.), and jíghra (jíghrāmi etc.): for these and other similar cases, see 671-4.
 - b. Secondary root-forms like inv, jinv, pinv, from simpler roots

of the nu-class, are either found alongside their originals, or have crowded these out of use: see 716.

750. On the other hand, the root dham or dhmā blow forms its present-stem from the more original form of the root: thus, dhámati etc.

VII. Accented á-class (sixth, tud-class).

- 751. The present-stem of this class has the accent on the class-sign A á, and the root remains unstrengthened. In its whole inflection, is follows so closely the model of the preceding class that to give the paradigm in full will be unnecessary (only for the subjunctive, all the forms found to occur will be instanced).
- 752. Example of inflection: root বিয়্ viç enter; stem বিয়া viçá:

1. Present Indicative.

	•	active.			middle.	
	8.	d.	p.	8.	d.	p.
1	विशामि	विशावम्	विशामम्	विशे	विशावके	विशामके
	viçámi	viçávas	viçämas	viçé	viçávahe	viçámahe
	etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.

2. Present Subjunctive.

- viçavahāi viçamahāi viçáva viçáma viçāí vicáni (viçáse (viçási viçaithe vicátha viçásāi viçás (viçáte (viçáti viçántãi viçāíte viçán \viçāt viçātāi
- a. A single example of the briefer 1st sing. act. is mrksa. The only forms in aithe and aite are prmaithe and yuvaite.

3. Present Optative.

विशेषम् विशेव विशेम विशेष विशेषिक विशेमिक पंदर्शका viçéva viçéma viçéva viçémahi etc.
 etc. etc. etc. etc. etc.

b. The RV, has the ending tana once in tiretana 2d pl. act., and rata in juserata 3d pl. mid.

4. Present Imperative.

The first persons having been given above as subjunctives, the second are added here:

- 2 निश निशतम् निशत निशस्य त्रिशेद्याम् निशधम् viçá viçátam viçáta viçásva viçéthām viçádhvam etc. etc. etc. etc. etc. etc.
- c. The ending tat is found in RV. and AV. in mṛḍatāt, vṛhatāt, suvatāt; other examples are not infrequent in the Brāhmaṇa languago thus, khidatāt, chyatāt, pṛcchatāt, viçatāt, sṛjatāt; and later, spṛçatāt. The 3d sing. act. nudātu and muñcātu occur in Sūtras (cf. 740).

5. Present Participle.

The active participle is বিসন্ viçánt; the middle is বিসামান viçámāna.

- d. The feminine of the active participle is usually made from the strong stem-form: thus, viçántī; but sometimes from the weak: thus, siñcántī and siñcatí (RV. and AV.), tudántī and tudatí (AV.): see above, 449 d, e.
- e. Middle participles in āna instead of māna are dhuvāna, dhṛṣāṇa, liçāna, çyāna, in the elder language; kṛçāna, muñcāna, spṛçāna in the later (cf. 741 a).

6. Imperfect.

- f. Examples of augmentless forms accented are srjás, srját, tiránta.
- g. The a-aorist (846 ff.) is in general the equivalent, as regards its forms, of an imperfect of this class.
- 753. Stems of the á-class are made from nearly a hundred and fifty roots: for about a third of these, in both the earlier and the later language; for a half, in the earlier only; for the remainder, nearly twenty, only in the later language. Among them are a number of transfers from the classes of the non-a-conjugation.
- a. In some of these transfers, as pṛṇ and mṛṇ (731), there takes place almost a setting-up of independent roots.
- b. The stems icchá, ucchá, and rcchá are reckoned as belonging respectively to the roots is desire, vas shine, and r go.
- c. The roots written by the Hindu grammarians with final o-namely, cho, do, co, and so-and forming the present-stems chyá,

dyá, cyá, syá, are more properly (as having an accented á in the stem) to be reckoned to this class than to the ya-class, where the native classification puts them (see 761 g). They appear to be analogous with the stems kaya, sva, hva, noted below (755).

754. The roots from which a-stems are made have certain noticeable pecularities of form. Hardly any of them have long vowels, and none have long interior vowels; very few have final vowels; and none (save two or three transfers, and plaj be ashamed, which does not occur in any accentuated text, and is perhaps to be referred rather to the a-class) have a as radical vowel, except as this forms a combination with r, which is then reduced with it to r or some of the usual substitutes of r.

Irregularities of the á-class.

- 755. The roots in i and u and ū change those vowels into iy and uv before the class-sign: thus, kṣiyá, yuvá, ruvá; suvá, etc.; and sva, hva occur, instead of suva and huva, in the older language, while TS. has the participle kṣyánt. K. has dhūva from /dhū.
- 756. The three roots in r form the present-stems kirá, girá (also gila), tirá, and are sometimes written as kir etc.; and gur, jur, tur are really only varieties of gr, jr, tr; and bhur and sphur are evidently related with other ar or r root-forms.
 - a. The common root prach ask makes the stem prechá.
- 757. As to the stems -driyá and -priya, and mriyá and dhriyá, sometimes reckoned as belonging to this class, see below, 773.
- 758. Although the present-stem of this class shows in general a weak form of the root, there are nevertheless a number of roots belonging to it which are strengthened by a penultimate nasal. Thus, the stem muñcá is made from \(\gamma\) muc \(release; \) siñcá from \(\gamma\) sic \(sprinkle; \) vindá from \(\gamma\) vid \(find; \) kṛntá from \(\gamma\) kṛt \(cut; \) pinçá from \(\gamma\) pic \(adorn; \) tṛmpá from \(\gamma\) tṛmpá from \(\gamma\) tumpá from \(\gamma\) limpá from \(\gamma\) limpá from \(\gamma\) limpá from \(\gamma\) the same kind are met with from a few others, as tunda from \(\gamma\) tud \(thrust; \) bṛnhá from \(\gamma\) bṛn \(strengthen; \) dṛnhá \((beside dṛnha) from \(\gamma\) dṛn \(make \ firm; \) çumbhá \((beside \ \gamma\) thun from \(\gamma\) vindhá, sumbha, are of doubtful character.

ar Nasalized á-stems are also in several instances made by transfer from the nasal class: thus, unda, umbha, ṛñjá, piṅṣá, yuñja, rundha, çiṅṣa.

VIII. Ya-class (fourth, div-class).

759. The present-stem of this class adds \overline{a} ya to the accented but unstrengthened root. Its inflection is also pre-

cisely like that of the a-class, and may be presented in the same abbreviated form as that of the á-class.

780. Example of inflection: root নকু nah bind; stem নকা nahya.

1. Present Indicative.

		active.			middle.	
	8.	d.	p.	s.	đ.	p.
1	नन्प्रामि	नक्यावम्	नक्यामम्	નહ્યે	नद्मावहे	नक्यामकः
	náhyāmi	náhyāvas	náhyāmas	náhye	náhyāvahe	náhyāmahe
	etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.

2. Present Subjunctive.

- náhyāni náhyāma náhyāi náhyāvahāi náhyāmahāi
 náhyāsi náhyāsāi náhyāsāi náhyādhvái
- 3 {náhyāti náhyātas náhyān náhyātāi náhyāntāi
 - a. A 3d pl. mid. in antāi (jāyantāi) occurs once in TS.

3. Present Optative.

- 1 नक्षेपम् नक्षेप नक्षेप नक्षेप नक्षेप नक्षेपक् नक्षेपक् náhyeyam náhyeva náhyema náhyeya náhyevahi náhyemahi etc. etc. etc. etc. etc. etc. b. For two or three 3d sing. mid. forms in Ita (for eta), see 738 b.
 - 4. Present Imperative.
- 2 नन्म नन्मतम् नन्मत नन्मस्य नन्मयाम् नन्मधम् náhya náhyatam náhyata náhyasva náhyethām náhyadhvam etc. etc. etc. etc. etc. etc.
- c. Of the ending tana, RV. has one example, nahyatana; the ending tat is found in asyatat, khyayatat, nacyatat.

5. Present Participle.

The active participle is নকাল náhyant (fem. নকালী náhyantī); the middle is নকালান náhyamāna.

6. Imperfect.

1 श्रनत्म्म ् श्रनत्माच श्रनत्माम श्रनत्मे श्रनत्माचित् श्रनत्मामित् ánahyam ánahyava ánahyama ánahye ánahyavahi ánahyamahi etc. etc. etc. etc. etc. etc.

- d. Examples of augmentless forms showing the accent belonging to the present-system are gayat, paçyat, paçyan, jayathas.
- 761. The ya-class stems are more than a hundred and thirty in number, and nearly half of them have forms in use in all periods of the language, about forty occurring only in the earlier, and about thirty only in the modern period.
- a. Of the roots making ya-stems, a very considerable part (over fifty) signify a state of feeling, or a condition of mind or body: thus, kup be anyry, klam be weary, ksudh be hungry, muh be confused, lubh be lustful, que be dry, etc. etc.
- b. A further number have a more or less distinctly passive sense, and are in part evident and in part presumable transfers from the passive or yá-class, with change of accent, and sometimes also with assumption of active endings. It is not possible to draw precisely the limits of the division; but there are in the older language a number of clear cases, in which the accent wavers and changes, and the others are to be judged by analogy with them. Thus, /muc forms múcyate once or twice, beside the usual mucyáte, in RV. and AV.; and in the Brähmanas the former is the regular accent. Similar changes are found also in ya-forms from other roots: thus, from kṣi destroy, jī or jyā injure, tap heat, drh make firm, pac cook, pr fill, mī damage, ric leave, lup break, hā leave. Active forms are early made from some of these, and they grow more common later. It is worthy of special mention that, from the Veda down, jáyate is born etc. is found as altered passive or original ya-formation by the side of vjan give birth.
- c. A considerable body of roots (about forty) differ from the above in having an apparently original transitive or neuter meaning: examples are as throw, nah bind, pag see, pad go, glis clasp.
- d. A number of roots, of various meaning, and of somewhat doubtful character and relations, having present-stems ending in ya, are by the native grammarians written with final diphthongs, āi or e or o. Thus
- e. Roots reckened as ending in āi and belonging to the a- (or bhū-) class, as gāi sing (gāyati etc.). As these show abundantly, and for the most part exclusively, ā-forms outside the present-system, there seems to be no good reason why they should not rather be regarded as ā-roots of the ya-class. They are kṣā burn, gā sing, glā be weary. trā save, dhyā think, pyā fill up, mlā relax, rā bark, vā be blown, çyā coagulate, çrā boil, styā stiffen. Some of them are evident extensions of simpler roots by the addition of ā. The secondary roots tāy stretch (beside tan), and cāy observe (beside ci) appear to be of similar character.
- f. Roots reckoned as ending in e and belonging to the a- (or bhū-) class, as dhe suck (dháyati etc.). These, too, have ā-forms, and sometimes ī-forms, outside the present system, and are best regarded as ā-roots, either with ā weakened to a before the class-sign of this class, or with ā

weakened to $\bar{\mathbf{i}}$ or $\bar{\mathbf{i}}$ and inflected according to the a-class. They are dhā suck, mā exchange, vā weave, vyā envelop, hvā call (secondary, from hū). As of kindred form may be mentioned day share and vyay expend (probably denominative of vyaya).

- g. A few roots artificially written with final o and reckoned to the ya-class, with radical vowel lost before the class-sign: thus, do cut, hind, pres. dyáti etc. These, as having an accented á in the sign, have plainly no right to be put in this class; and they are better referred to the á-class (see above, 753 c). Outside the present-system they show ā- and i-forms; and in that system the ya is often resolved into ia in the oldest language.
- 762. The ya-class is the only one thus far described which shows any tendency toward a restriction to a certain variety of meaning. In this tendency, as well as in the form of its sign, it appears related with the class of distinctly defined meaning which is next to be taken up—the passive, with yá-sign. Though very far from being as widely used as the latter beside other present-systems, it is in some cases an intransitive conjugation by the side of a transitive of some other class.

Irregularities of the ya-class.

- 763. The roots of this class ending in am lengthen their vowel in forming the present-stem: they are klam, tam, dam, bhram, çam be quiet, çram: for example, tāmyati, çrāmyati. From kṣam, however, only kṣamyate occurs; and çam labor makes çamyati (B.).
 - 764. The root mad has the same lengthening: thus, madyati
- 765. The roots in iv—namely, div, siv, sriv or criv, and sthiv (from which no forms of this class are quotable)—are written by the grammarians with iv, and a similar lengthening in the present-system is prescribed for them.
- a. They appear to be properly div etc., since their vocalized final in other forms is always v; div is by this proved to have nothing to do with the assumed root div shine, which changes to dyu (361 d): compare 240 b.
- 766. From the roots jr and tr (also written as jur and tir or tur) come the stems jirya and tirya, and jürya and tūrya (the last two only in RV.); from pr comes pūrya.
- 767. The root vyadh is abbreviated to vidh: thus, vidhyati. And any root which in other forms has a penultimate nasal loses it here: thus, drhya from drhh or drh; bhraqya from bhranç or bhraq; rajya from ranj or raj.

IX. Accented ya-class: Passive conjugation.

- 768. A certain form of present-stem, inflected with middle endings, is used only in a passive sense, and is formed from all roots for which there is occasion to make a passive conjugation. Its sign is an accented য yá added to the root: thus, ক্য hanyá from প্ৰাথ ap obtain, মূহা grhyá from প্যাহ grh (or grah) seize: and so on, without any reference to the class according to which the active and middle forms are made.
- 769. The form of the root to which the passive-sign is added is (since the accent is on the sign) the weak one: thus, a penultimate nasal is dropped, and any abbreviation which is made in the weak forms of the perfect (794), in the acrist optative (922 b), or before ta of the passive participle (954), is made also in the passive present-system: thus, ajyá from yanj, badhyá from ybandh, ucyá from yvac, ijyá from yyaj.
- 770. On the other hand, a final vowel of a root is in general liable to the same changes as in other parts of the verbal system where it is followed by y: thus—
- a. Final i and u are lengthened: thus, mīyá from /mi; sūyá from /su;
- b. Final ā is usually changed to ī thus, dīyá from /dā; hīyá from /hā: but jñāyá from /jñā, and so khyāyá, khāyá, mnāyá, etc.;
- c. Final r is in general changed to ri: thus, kriyá from Vkr; but if preceded by two consonants (and also, it is claimed, in the root r), it has instead the guṇa-strengthening: thus, smaryá from Vsmr (the only quotable case); and in those roots which show a change of r to ir and ur (so-called \bar{r} -verbs: see 242), that change is made here siso, and the vowel is lengthened: thus, \bar{q} -ryá from V \bar{q} r; \bar{p} -uryá from V \bar{q} r.
- 771. The inflection of the passive-stem is precisely like that of the other a-stems; it differs only in accent from that of the class last given. It may be here presented, therefore, in the same abbreviated form:
- a. Example of inflection: root कृ kr make; passivestem किय kriyá:

1. Present Indicative.

	8.	d.	р.
1	क्रिये	क्रियावहे	क्रियामके
	kriyé	kriyāvahe	kriyāmahe
	etc.	etc.	etc.

2. Present Subjunctive.

b. The forms noticed as occurring in the older language are alone here instanced:

	s.	đ,	p.
1	kriyāí		kriyāmahāi
2			kriyādhvāi
3	∫kriyāte krivātāi		kriyāntāi

c. The 3d pl. ending antāi is found once (ucyantāi K.).

3. Present Optative.

i	क्रियेय	क्रियेविङ्	क्रियेमव्हि
	kriyéya	kriyévahi	kriyémahi
	etc.	etc.	etc.

d. No forms of the passive optative chance to occur in RV. or ΛΨ,; they are found, however, in the Brähmaņas. ChU, has once dhmāyīta.

4. Present Imperative.

2	क्रियस्व	क्रियेयाम्	त्रियधग्
	kriyásva	kriyéthām	kriyádhvam
	etc	etc.	etc.

5. Present Participle.

- e. This is made with the suffix मान mana: thus, जित्रयमाण kriyámāṇa.
- f. In use, this participle is well distinguished from the other passive participle by its distinctively present meaning: thus, kṛtá done, but kriyámāṇa in process of doing, or being done.

6. Imperfect.

1	म्रक्रिये	म्रक्रियाविह	म्रक्रियामिक्
	ákriye	ákriyāvahi	ákriyāmahi
	etc.	etc.	etc.

g. The passive-sign is never resolved into ia in the Veda.

772. The roots tan and khan usually form their passives from parallel roots in ā: thus, tāyáte, khāyáte (but also tanyate, khan-

yate); and dham, in like manner, makes either dhamyate or dhmāyáte. The corresponding form to Vjan, namely jáyate (above, 761 b), is apparently a transfer to the preceding class.

- 773. By their form, mriyate dies, and dhriyate maintains itself, is steadfast, are passives from the roots mr die and dhr hold; although neither is used in a proper passive sense, and mr is not transitive except in the derivative form mrn (above, 731). With them are to be compared the stems ā-driyá heed and ā-priyá be busy, which are perhaps peculiar adaptations of meaning of passives from the roots dr pierce and pr fill.
- 774. Examples of the transfer of stems from the yá- or passive class to the ya- or intransitive class were given above (761b); and it was also pointed out that active instead of middle endings are occasionally, even in the earlier language, assumed by forms properly passive; examples are á dhmāyati and vy àpruṣyat (ÇB.), bhūyati (MālU.). In the epics, however (as a part of their general confusion of active and middle forms: 529a), active endings are by no means infrequently taken by the passive: thus, çakyati, çrūyanti, bhriyantu, ijyant-, etc.

The so-called Tenth or cur-Class.

- 775. As was noticed above (607), the Hindu grammarians and, after their example, most European also recognize yet another conjugation-class, courdinate with those already described; its stems show the class-sign aya, added to a generally strengthened root (for details as to the strengthening, see 1042). Though this is no proper class, but a secondary or derivative conjugation (its stems are partly of causative formation, partly denominative with altered accent) an abbreviated example of its forms may, for the sake of accordance with other grammars, be added here.
 - a. Example: root cint think, meditate; stem cintáva:

	active.	middle.
Indic.	cintáyāmi	cintáye
Subj.	cintáyāni	cintáyāi
Opt.	cintáyeya m	cintáyeya
Pple.	cintáyant	cintáyamāna
	ácintayam	ácintaye
	Indic. Subj. Opt. Pple.	Indic. cintáyāmi Subj. cintáyāni Opt. cintáyeyam Pple. cintáyant

- b. The inflection, of course, is the same with that of other forms from a-stems (733 a).
- c. The middle participle, in the later language, is more often made with ana instead of mana; thus, cintayana; see 1043 f.

Uses of the Present and Imperfect.

- 776. The uses of the mode-forms of the present-system have been already briefly treated in the preceding chapter (572 ft.). The tense-uses of the two indicative tenses, present and imperfect, call here for only a word or two of explanation.
- 777. The present has, besides its strictly present use, the same subsidiary uses which belong in general to the tense: namely, the expression of habitual action, of future action, and of past action in lively narration.
- a. Examples of future meaning are: Imám céd vã imé cinváte táta evá no 'bhíbhavanti (ÇB.) verily if these build this up, then they will straightway get the better of us; agnir ātmabhavam prādād yatra vānchati nāisadhah (MBh.) Agni gave his own presence wherever the Nishadhan should desire; svāgatam te 'atu kim karomi tava (R.) welcome to thee; what shall I do for thee?
- b. Examples of past meaning are: úttarā sūr ádharah putrá āsīd dānuh çaye sahávatsā ná dhenúh (RV.) the mother was over, the son under; there Dānu lies, like a cow with her calf; prahasanti ca tām kecid abhyasūyanti cā 'pare akurvata dayām kecit (MBh.) some ridicule her, some revile her, some pitied her; tato yasya vacanāt tatrā 'valambitās tam sarve tiraskurvanti (H.) thereupon they all fall, to reproaching him by whose advice they had alighted there.
- 778. In connection with certain particles, the present has rather more definitely the value of a past tense. Thus:
- a. With pură formerly: thus, saptarșin u ha sma văi pură rkṣā ity ācakṣate (ÇB.) the seven sages, namely, are of old called the bears; tanmātram api cen mahyam na dadāti purā bhavān (MBh.) if you have never before given me even an atom.
- b. With the asseverative particle sma: thus, cramena ha sma vaitad deva jayanti yad esaih jayyam asa rsayac ca (GB.) in truth, both gods and sages were wont to win by penance what was to be won; avistah kalina dyute jiyate sma nalas tada (MBh.) then Nala, being possessed by Kali, was beaten in play.
- c. No example of this last construction is found in either RV. or AV., or elsewhere in the metrical parts of the Voda. In the Brāhmanás, only habitual action is expressed by it. At all periods of the language, the use of sma with a verb as pure asseverative particle, with no effect on the tense-meaning, is very common; and the examples later are hardly to be distinguished from the present of lively narration—of which the whole construction is doubtless a form.
- 779. The imperfect has remained unchanged in value through the whole history of the language: it is the tense of anarration; it expresses simple past time, without any other implication.
- a. Compare what is said later (end of chap, X. and chap, XI.) as to the value of the other past tenses, the perfect and agrist.

CHAPTER X.

THE PERFECT-SYSTEM.

- 780. The perfect-system in the later language, as has been seen above (535), consists only of an indicative tense and a participle both of them in the two voices, active and middle.
- a. In the oldest language, the perfect has also its modes and its augment-preterit, or pluperfect, or is not less full in its apparatus of forms than is the present-system (see 808 ff.).
- 781. The formation of the perfect is essentially alike in all verbs, differences among them being of only subordinate consequence, or having the character of irregularities. The characteristics of the formation are these:
 - 1. a stem made by reduplication of the root;
- 2. a distinction between stronger and weaker forms of stem, the former being used (as in presents of the First or non-a-conjugation) in the singular active, the latter in all other persons;
- 3. endings in some respects peculiar, unlike those of the present;
- 4. the frequent use, especially in the later language, of a union-vowel 3 i between stem and endings.
- 782. Reduplication. In roots beginning with a consonant, the reduplication which forms the perfect-stem is of the same character with that which forms the present-stem of the reduplicating conjugation-class (see 643) but with this exception, that radical \(\mathbf{A}\) a and \(\mathbf{A}\) \(\mathbf{E}\) and \(\mathbf{E}\) \(\mathbf{E}\) (or \(\mathbf{A}\)\(\mathbf{T}\) ar) have only \(\mathbf{A}\) a, and never \(\mathbf{E}\) i, as vowel of the reduplicating syllable: thus, from \(\nu\)\(\mathbf{P}\)\(\mathbf{P}\) fill comes the present-stem \(\mathbf{P}\)\(\mathbf{P}

measure comes the present-stem मिमा mimā, but the perfectstem ममा mamā; and so on.

- a. Irregularities of roots with initial consonants will be given below, 784.
- 783. For roots beginning with a vowel, the rules of reduplication are these:
- a. A root with initial ম a before a single final consonant repeats the ম a, which then fuses with the radical vowel to মা ā, (throughout the whole inflection): thus, মাহ ād from প্মহ ad eat; and in like manner মানু āj, মানু ān, মানু ās, মানু āh. The root ম r forms likewise throughout মাহু ār (as if from মহু ar
- b. A root with ξ i or \exists u before a single final consonant follows the same analogy, except in the strong forms (sing. act.); here the vowel of the radical syllable has guṇa, becoming ∇ e or बा o; and before this, the reduplicating vowel maintains its independent form, and is separated from the radical syllable by its own semivowel: thus, from $\sqrt{34}$ is comes द्वा is in weak forms, but द्वाप iyes in strong; from $\sqrt{34}$ uc, in like manner, come उत्त uc and उचीच uvoc. The root ξ i, a single vowel, also falls under this rule, and forms $\frac{1}{34}$ iy (y added before a vowel) and $\frac{1}{34}$ iye.
- c. Roots which begin with vowels long by nature or by position do not in general make a perfect-system, but use instead a periphrastic formation, in which the perfect tense of an auxiliary verb is added to the accusative of a verbal noun (see below, chap. XV.: 1070 ff.).
- d. To this rule, however, \sqrt{ap} obtain (probably originally ap: 1087 f) constitutes an exception, making the constant perfect stem \bar{ap} (as if from ap: above, a). Also are met with \bar{i} \bar{q} \bar{e} (RV.) and \bar{i} \bar{q} ire from \sqrt{i} \bar{q} , and \bar{i} \bar{q} ire (V.) from \sqrt{i} \bar{r} .
- e. For the peculiar reduplication an, belonging to certain roots with initial vowels, see below, 788.
- 784. A number of roots beginning with va and ending with a single consonant, which in various of their verbal forms and derivatives abbreviate the va to u, do it also in the perfect, and are treated like roots with initial u (above, 783 b), except that they retain

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the full form of root in the strong persons of the singular active. Thus, from vvac speak come ūc and uvac; from vvas dwell come ūs and uvas; and so on.

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- a. The roots showing this abbreviation are vac, vap, vad, vaç, vas, vah; and vā weave is said to follow the same rule.
- b. A single root beginning with ya, namely yaj offer, has the same contraction, forming the stems iyaj and ij.
- c. Occasional exceptions are met with: as, vavāca and vavakņē (RV.); vavāpa and vavāha and vavāhatus (E. and later); yejé (V.).
- 785. A number of roots having ya after a first initial consonant take i (from the y) instead of a in the reduplicating syllable: thus, from pyyac comes vivyac; from pyyac comes pipya.
- a. These roots are vyac, vyath, vyadh, vyā, jyā, pyā, syand; and, in the Veda, also tyaj, with eyu and dyut, which have the root-vowel u. Other sporadic cases occur.
- b. A single root with va is treated in the same way: namely svap, which forms susvap.
- c. These roots are for the most part abbreviated in the weak forms: see below, 794.
- 786. A considerable number of roots have in the Veda a long vowel in their reduplication.
- a. Thus, of roots reduplicating with ā: kan, kļp, gṛdh, tṛp, tṛṣ, dṛh, dhṛ, dhṛṣ, nam, mah, mṛj, mṛç, ran, radh, rabh, vañc, van, vaç, vas clothe, vāç, vṛṭ, vṛth, vṛth, vṛṣ, çad prevail, sah, skambh. Some of those occur only in isolated cases; many have also forms with short vowel. Most are Vedic only; but dādhāra is common also in the Brāhmaṇa language, and is even found later As to jāgṛ, see 1020 a.
- b. Of roots reduplicating with $\tilde{\imath}$: the so-called roots (676) dīdhī and dīdī, which make the perfect from the same stem with the present: thus, dīdétha, dīdāya; dīdhima, dīdhyus (also dīdhiyus, dīdiyus). But pīpī has pipye, pipyus, etc., with short i. In AV. occurs once jīhīḍa, and in AB. (and AA.) bībhāya.
 - c. Of roots reduplicating with u. tu, ju, and cu (or cva).
- 787. A few roots beginning with the (derivative: 42) palatal mutes and aspiration show a reversion to the more original guttural in the radical syllable after the reduplication: thus, p'ei forms ciki; p'eit forms oikit; p'ji forms jigi; p'hi forms jighi; p'han forms jaghan (and the same reversions appear in other reduplicated forms of these roots; 216, 1). A root da protect is said by the grammarians to form digi; but neither root nor perfect is quotable.
- 788. A small number of roots with initial a or r (ar) show the anomalous reduplication an in the perfect.
 - a. Thus (the forms occurring mainly in the older language only):

yanj or aj, which forms the pres. anákti, has the perfect ananja and anajé etc. (with anaja and anajyat);

 γ ac attain (from which comes once in RV. anaçamahāi), has the weak forms anaçma etc. (with opt. anaçyam), anaçé etc. (and L(S) has anaçadhve), and the strong forms anança and anaça—along with the regular aça etc.;

//rdh (from which comes once rnádhat) has anndhus and anndhe; //ro or arc has annous and annoé, and later anarca and anarcus; //arh has (in TS.) annhus;

anāha (RV., once) has been referred to a root ah, elsewhere $unknown_i$, and explained as of this formation; but with altogether doubtful propriety,

- b. The later grammar, then, sets up the rule that roots beginning with a and ending with more than one consonant have an as their regular reduplication; and such perfects are taught from roots like ake, arj, and anc or ac; but the only other quotable forms appear to be anarchat (MBh.) and anareat (TA.); which are accordingly recked as "pluperfects".
 - 789. One or two individual cases of irregularity are the following:
- a. The extremely common root bhū he has the anomalous reduplication ba, forming the stem babhū; and, in the Veda, γ sū forms in like manner sasū.
- b. The root bhr bear has in the Veda the anomalous reduplication as (as also in intensive: 1002); but RV. has once also the regular babhre, and pple babhrāņá.
- c. The root $\mathfrak{s}\mathfrak{t}h\bar{\imath}\mathbf{v}$ spew forms either tisthiv (GB, et al.) or tisthiv (not quotable).
- d. Vivakván (RV., once) is doubtless participle of Vvac, with irregular reduplication (as in the present, 660).
 - 790. Absence of reduplication is met with in some cases. Thus
- a. The root vid know has, from the earliest period to the latest a perfect without reduplication, but otherwise regularly made and inflected: thus, véda, véttha, etc., pple vidváns. It has the meaning of a present. The root vid find forms the regular vivéda.
- b. A few other apparently perfect forms lacking a reduplication are found in RV.: they are takṣathus and takṣus, yamatus, skambhathus and skambhus, nindima (for ninidima?), dhiṣe and dhire (P dhā), and vidré and arhire (P see 613). And AV. SV. have cetatus. The participial words dāçvāns, mīḍhvāns, sāhvāns are common in the oldest language; and RV. has once jānuṣas (/jñā), and khidvas (voc.), perhaps for cikhidvas.
- c. A few sporadic cases also are quotable from the later language, especially from the epics: thus, karsatus, cesta and cestatus, bhrā-jatus, sarpa, çansus and çansire, dhvansire, sransire, jalpire, edhire; also the pples çansivāns and darçivāns, the latter being not infrequent.

- 791. For an anomalous case or two of reduplicated preposition, see below, 1087 f.
- 792. Strong and weak stem-forms. In the three persons of the singular active, the root-syllable is accented, and exhibits usually a stronger form than in the rest of the tense-inflection. The difference is effected partly by strengthening the root in the three persons referred to, partly by weakening it in the others, partly by doing both.
 - 793. As regards the strengthening:
- a. A final vowel takes either the guṇa or vṛddhi change in 1st sing. act., guṇa in 2d, and vṛddhi in 3d: thus, from vin bhī, 1st लिभे bibhé or लिभे bibhāí; 2d लिभे bibhē; 3d लिभे bibhāí; from vin kr, 1st चकार cakár or चकार cakár, 2d चकार cakár, 3d चकार cakár.
- b. But the $\bar{\mathbf{u}}$ of γ bh $\bar{\mathbf{u}}$ remains unchanged, and adds \mathbf{v} before a vowel-ending: thus, babh $\bar{\mathbf{u}}$ va etc.
- °c. Medial म a before a single final consonant follows the analogy of a final vowel, and is lengthened or vriddhied in the 3d sing., and optionally in the first: thus, from vतप् tap, 1st ततप् tatáp or तताप् tatáp, 2d ततप् tatáp, 3d तताप् tatáp.
- d. In the earlier language, however, the weaker of the two forms allowed by these rules in the first person is almost exclusively in use: thus, ist only bibháya, tatápa; 3d bibháya, tatápa. Exceptions are cakāra and jagrāha (doubtful reading) in AV., cakāra in AÇS. and BAU. (ÇB. cakara), jigāya in AÇS., as first persons.
- e. A medial short vowel has in all three persons alike the guna-strengthening (where this is possible: 240): thus, from প্রস্থ druh comes ভ্রন্ত dudróh; from প্রিয় viç comes বিবয় vivéç; from প্রন krt comes ঘনন cakárt.
- f. An initial short vowel before a single final consonant is to be treated like a medial, but the quotable examples are very few: namely, iyes a from vis seek, uvocitha and uvoca from vuc, uvosa from vus. As to roots i and r, whose vowels are both initial and final, see above, 783 a, b.
- g. These rules are said by the grammarians to apply to the 2d sing. always when it has simple that as ending; if it has ithat (below, 797 d),

the accent is allowed to fall on any one of the syllables of the word, and the root-syllable if unaccented has sometimes the weak form (namely, in contracted stems with e for medial a: below, 794 e; and in certain other verbs, as vivijitha). The earlier language, however, affords no example of a 2d sing., whatever its ending, accented on any other than the radical syllable, or failing to conform to the rules of strengthening as given above (in a, c, e).

h. Occasional instances of strengthening in other than the singular persons are met with: thus, yuyopima and viveçus (RV.), pasparçus (KeU.), and, in the epics, cakartus and cakartire, cakarṣatus, jugū-hire, nanāmire, bibhedus, vavāhatus, viveçatus, vavarṣus. The roots dṛ, pṛ, and cṛ, and optionally jṛ, are said by the grammarians to have the strong stem in weak forms; but no examples appear to be quotable. AV., however, has once jaharus (probably a false reading); and in the later language occur caskare (ykṛ scatter) and tastare.

i. The root mṛj has (as in the present-system: 627) vṛddhi instead of guṇa in strong forms: thus, mamārja; and /guh (also as in present 745 c) has ū instead of o (but also juguhe E.).

794. As regards the weakening in weak forms:

- a. It has been seen above (783 b) that roots beginning with i of u fuse reduplicating and radical syllable together to I or ū in the weak forms; and (784) that roots contracting va and ya to u or in the reduplication do it also in the root in weak forms, the two elements here also coalescing to ū or I.
- b. A few roots having ya and va after a first initial consonant, and reduplicating from the semivowel (785), contract the ya and va to i and u: thus, vivic from /vyac, vividh from /vyadh (but vivyadhu MBh.), susup from /svap. The extended roots jyā, pyā, vyā, çvā hvā show a similar apparent contraction, making their weak forms from the simpler roots jī, pī, vī, çū, hū, while hvā must and çvā may ge their strong forms also from the same (and only jijyāu is quotable from the others).
- c. The root grabh or grah (if it be written thus: see 729 a) col tracts to grh, making the three forms of stem jagrah (1st and 21 sin act.), jagrah (3d), and jagrh; but prach (if it be so written: see 756 t remains unchanged throughout.
- d. Some roots omit in weak forms of this tense, or in some of the a nasal which is found in its strong forms: thus, we have cakrade et (RV.) from \(\nu\) krand; tatasr\(\text{e}\) (RV.) from \(\nu\) tann; dada\(\text{e}\) ada\(\text{e}\) from \(\nu\) bandh; sejus (\(\text{CB}\)) from \(\nu\) sanj; caskabh\(\text{a}\)na (AV.) from \(\nu\) skambh; tastabh\(\text{u}\)s etc. (V tastabh\(\text{a}\)na (V.B.), from \(\nu\) stambh. Compare also 788 a.
- e. A number of roots having medial a between single consonan drop that vowel. These are, in the later language, gam, khan, ja

han, ghas; they form the weak stems jagm, cakhn, jajñ, jaghn (compare 637), jaks (compare 640): but RV. has once jajanús.

- f. In the old language are found in like manner mamnāthe and mamnāte from /man; vavné from /van; tatne, tatnise, tatnire from /tan (beside tatane, and tate, as if from /tā); paptima and paptus and paptivāns from /pat (beside pet-forms; below, g); papné from /pan; saçcima and saçcus, saçce and saçciré, from /sac.
- g. Roots in general having medial a before a single final consonant, and beginning also with a single consonant that is repeated unchanged in the reduplication — that is, not an aspirate, a guttural mute, or h — contract their root and reduplication together into one syllable, having e as its vowel: thus, Vsad forms the weak stem sed, Vpac forms pec, Vyam forms yem; and so on
- h. Certain roots not having the form here defined are declared by the grammarians to undergo the same contraction most of them optionally; and examples of them are in general of very rare occurrence. They are as follows: rāj (E.C.) and rādh (radh?), notwithstanding their long vowel; phan, phal (phelire C.), bhaj (occurs from RV. down), though their initial is changed in reduplication; trap, tras (tresus E C.), crath, syam, svan, though they begin with more than one consonant; dambh (debhús, RV., from the weaker dabh), though it ends with more than one; and bhrām (bhremus etc. KSS.), bhrāj, granth, svañj, in spite of more reasons than one to the contrary. And (B. has sejus from /sañj, and KB. has cremus from /cram. On the other hand, RV. has once rarabhmá, and R. has papatus, for petus, from /pat.
- i. This contraction is allowed also in 2d sing. act. when the ending is itha: thus, tenitha beside tatantha (but no examples are quotable from the older language).
- j. The roots çaç and dad (from da: 672) are said to reject the contraction; but no perfect forms of either appear to have been met with in use.
- k. From /tr (or tar) occurs terus (R.); and jerus from /jr is authorized by the grammarians both against the general analogy of roots in r.
- 1. Roots ending in ā lose their ā before all endings beginning with a vowel, including those endings that assume the union-vowel i (796) unless in the latter case it be preferred to regard the i as a weakened form of the ā.
- 795. Endings, and their union with the stem. The general scheme of endings of the perfect indicative has been already given (553 c); and it has also been pointed out (543 a) that roots ending in 知 ā have 前 āu in 1st and 3d sing. active.

- a. The ending mas instead of ma is found in cucrumas (E.c.) For the alleged occurrence of chwe instead of chwe in 2d pl. mid., see 226 c.
- 796. Those of the endings which begin with a consonant namely द्य tha, च va, म ma in active; से se, बहे vahe, महे mahe, से dhve, रे re in middle are very often, and in the later language usually, joined to the base with the help of an interposed union-vowel इ i.
- a. The union-vowel i is found widely used also in other parts of the general verbal system: namely, in the sibilant acrist, the futures, and the verbal nouns and adjectives (as also in other classes of derivative stems) in the later language, a certain degree of correspondence is seen among the different parts of the same verb, as regards their use or non-use of the connective: but this correspondence is not so close that general rules respecting it can be given with advantage; and it will be best to treat each formation by itself.
- b. The perfect is the tense in which the use of i has established itself most widely and firmly in the later language.
- 797. The most important rules as to the use of \(\xi \) in the later language are as follows:
 - a. The 7 re of 3d pl. mid. has it always.
- . b. The other consonant-endings, except I that of 2d sing. act., take it in nearly all verbs.
- c. But it is rejected throughout by eight verbs namely kr make, bhr bear, sr go, vr choose, dru run, cru hear, stu praise, sru flor; and it is allowably (not usually) rejected by some others, in general accordance with their usage in other formations.
- d In 2d sing. act., it is rejected not only by the eight verbs just given, but also by many others, ending in vowels or in consonants, which in other formations have no 51; but it is also taken by many verbs which reject it in other formations;—and it is optional in many verbs, including those in 知 ā (of which the 知 ā is lost when the ending is 321 iths), and most of those in 3 i, 5 1, and 3 u.
- e. The rules of the grammarians, especially as regards the use of tha or itha, run out into infinite detail, and are not wholly consistent with one another; and, as the forms are very infrequent, if is not possible to criticise the statements made, and to tell how far they are founded on the facts of usage.

f. With this i, a final radical i or ī is not combined, but changed into y or iy. The ū of /bhū becomes ūv throughout before a yowel.

708. In the older language, the usage is in part quite otherwise. Thus:

a. In the RV., the union-vowel i is taken by roots ending in consonants provided the last syllable of the stem is a heavy one, but not otherwise: thus, asitha, uvocitha, viveditha, but tatantha and vivyaktha; ūcima, paptima, sedima, yuyopima, but jaganma, jagrbhma, yuyujma; ūcipė, jajnisė, sasahise, but vivitse and dadrksė; bubhujmahe and cacadmahe etc. (no examples of ivahe or imahe chance to occur, nor any of either idhve or dhve); įjirė, jajnirė, yetirė, tataksirė, but cakiprė, vividrė, duduhrė, pasprdhrė, tatasrė (and so on: twenty-two forms). The only exception in RV. is vettha from /vid, without i (in Br., also attha from /ah: below, 801 a). The other Vedic texts present nothing inconsistent with this rule, but in the Brābmaṇas 3d pl. forms in ire are made after light syllables also: thus, sasrjire, bubudhire, yuyujire, rurudhire.

b. In roots ending with a vowel, the early usage is more nearly like the later. Thus: for roots in ā the rule is the same (except that no 2d sing, in itha is met with), as dadhimá, dadhigé, dadhidhvé, dadhiré (the only persons with i quotable from RV. and AV.; and RV. has dadhre twice);—roots in r appear also to follow the later rule: as cakreé, papres, vavreé, vavrmáhe, but dadhries and jabhrise, and in 3d pl. mid. both cakriré and dadhrire;— 1/bhū has both babhūtha (usually) and babhūvitha, but only babhūvimá (AV.). But there are found, against the later rules, susuma, cicyuse, juhuré, and juhūré, without i: the instances are too few to found a rule upon.

- 769. The ending riré of 3d pl. mid. is found in RV. in six forms: namely, cikitrire, jagrbhriré, dadrire, bubhujriré, vividrire, sasrjrire; to which SV. adds duduhrire, and TB. dadrerire.
- 800. Examples of inflection. By way of illustration of the rules given above may be given in full the perfect indicative inflection of the following verbs:
- a. As example of the normal inflection of a root with final consonant, we take the root उप budh know: its strong form of perfect-stem is बुनांग् bubodh; weak form, जुजुग् bubudh.

active. middle.

6. d. p. s. d. p.

1 बुबोध बुबुधिव बुबुधिम बुबुधे बुबुधिवरे बुबुधिमरे

bubódha bubudhivá dhimá bubudhé dhiváhe dhimáh

- 2 बुबोधिय बुबुधयुम् बुबुध बुबुधिषे बुबुधाये बुबुधिधे bubodhitha -dhathus -dha bubudhine -dhathe -dhidhve 3 बुबोध बुबुधतुम् बुबुधुम् बुबुधे बुबुधाते बुबुधिर
- उ बुबाध बुबुधुत्त् बुबुधुत् बुबुध बुबुधात बुबुधार bubódha -dhátus -dhús bubudhé -dháte -dhíré

b. The asserted variety of possible accent in 2d sing, act. (above 793 g) needs to be noted both in this and in the remaining paradigms.

c. As example of the normal inflection of a root with final i or u-vowel, we may take the root নী nī lead: its forms of stem are নিনয় nináy or নিনায় nináy, and নিনী ninī.

নিন্যিৰ निन्यिम निन्ये निनग्र, निनाग्र निन्यिवके निन्यमः nináya, nináya ninyivá ninyimá ninyé ninyiváhe ninyimi निन्यिषे निन्याये निन्गिधे निनेष, निनयिय निन्ययुम् निन्य ninétha, nináyítha ninyáthus ninyá ninyisé ninyáthe ninyidh निनाय ninyús ninyé nináya

- d. The root krī would make (129 a) in weak forms cikriyivá, cikriyátus, cikriyús, etc.; and pbhū is inflected as follows in the active (middle forms not quotable):
 - ı babhūva babhūvivá babhūvimá
 - 2 babhútha, babhúvitha babhūváthus babhūvá
 - 3 babhūva babhūvátus babhūvús

Other roots in $\bar{\mathbf{u}}$ or \mathbf{u} change this to $\mathbf{u}\mathbf{v}$ before the initial vowel of an ending.

e. As example of the inflection of a root ending in ह्या ā, we may take दा dā give: its forms of stem are द्दा dadā and द्द dad (or दि dadi: see above, 794, 1).

दरी	द्दिव	द्दिम	ददे	ददिवके	द्दिमक्हे
dadāú	dadivá	dadimá	dadé .	dadiváhe	dadimal
द्दाच, द्दिच	दद्युम्	दद	ददिषे	ददाये	दिंदेधे
dadātha, daditha	dadáthus	dadá	dadişé	dadáthe	dadidhv
ददी	ददतुम्	दुइम्	ददे	ददाते	दिरि
dadāú	dadátus	dadús	dadé	dadáte	dadiré

f. The RV. has once paprá for papraú (and jahá for jahaú?).

- g. As example of a root with medial স a showing fusion of root and reduplication, resulting in medial ত e, in the weak forms (794 g), we may take নন্tan stretch: its forms of stem are নান্tatán or নান্tatán, and নান্ten.
- तेनिव ाततन, ततान तेनिम तनिमके tatána, tatána tenivá tenimá tené teniváhe tenimáhe 2 ततन्य, तेनिय तेन तेनिधे तीनिषे तेनाचे तन्यम tatántha, tenithá tenáthus tená tenisé tenáthe tenidhvé तेनिर ก่าเก่ 3 ततान tatána tenátus tenús tené tenáte tenire
- h. The root jan, with the others which expel medial a in weak forms (794 e), makes jajántha or jajňithá, jajňivá, jajňús; jajňé, jajňimáhe, jajňiré; and so on.
- i. As example of a root with initial ব va contracted to 3 u in the reduplication, and contracted with the reduplication to 3 ū in weak forms (784), we may take বহু vac speak: its forms of stem are ত্ৰব্ uvác or ত্ৰাহ্ uvác, and ক্ৰহ্ ūc.
- ऊचे । उवच, उवाच उत्तचव ऊचिम उत्तचवर्क uváca, uváca ūcimá ũcé üciváhe ūcimáhe ūcivá ऊ चिधे 💈 उवक्य, उवचिय जीवषे जवार्थ ऊचयुम् ऊच ücidhvé uváktha, uvácitha ücáthus ücá ūcișé üçáthe
- j. In like manner, /yaj forms iyája or iyája, iyástha or iyájitha; ijisé, and so on; /uc has uvóca and uvócitha in the strong forms, and all the rest like vac.
- k. Of the four roots in ₹ r mentioned at 797 c, the inflection is as follows:
- 1 चना, चनार चन्व चन्म त्रके चन्नवरे चन्मरे cakara, cakara cakrva cakrma cakre cakrvahe cakrmahe
- ² चक्रर्थ चक्रयुम् चक्र चक्र्रिये चक्राये चक्र्राये चक्र्र्ध cakártha cakráthus cakrá cakráthe cakrdhvé
- चकार् चक्रात्म् चक्रम् चक्रा चक्रात चिक्राः
 cakara cakrátus cakrús cakráte cakriré

Whitney, Grammar. 3. ed.

1. Of the roots in 和 r in general, the first persons are made as follows:

द्धार, द्धार द्धिव द्धिम द्धे द्धिवके द्धिमके dadhára, dadhára dadhrivá dadhrimá dadhré dadhriváhe dadhrimáh

m. We may further add here, finally, the active inflection (the middle is not in use) of the perfect of as be, which (like babhúva and cakára, given above) is frequently employed as an auxiliary.

1 ása āsivá āsimá 2 ásitha āsáthus āsá 3 ása āsátus āsús

- 801. A few miscellaneous irregularities call still for notice:
- a. The root ah speak occurs only in the perfect indicative, and only in the 3d persons of all numbers and in the 2d sing. and duin active (and in 2d sing, the h is irregularly changed to t before the ending): thus, āttha, āha; āhathus, āhatus; āhús (in V. only āha and āhús are met with).
- b. From /vē weave, the 3d pl. act. ūvus occurs in RV., and no other perfect form appears to have been met with in use. It is allowed by the grammarians to be inflected regularly as vē; and also as vay the present-stem is váya: 761 f), with contraction of va to u in weak forms and further, in the weak forms, as simple u.
- c. The root vyā envelop has in RV. the perfect-forms vivyathus and vivyé, and no others have been met with in use; the grammarians require the strong forms to be made from vyay, and the weak from vi.
- d. The root i go forms in RV. and AV. the 2d sing. act. iyátha beside the regular iyétha; and beside īriré from Vīr, RV. has several times eriré.
- e. RV. has an anomalous accent in dádrçe and dádrçre (beside dadrkeé) and the pple dádrçāna. And cíketa (once, beside cikéta) is perhaps a kindred anomaly.
- f. Persons of the perfect from the ir-forms of roots in changeable r (242) are titirus and tistire (both RV.); and they have corresponding participles.
- g. The bastard root ūrņu (713) is said by the grammarians to make the perfect-stem ūrņunu; the roots majj and naç are said to insert a nasal in the 2d sing, active, when the ending is simple that thus, mananstha, nananstha (also mamajjitha and necitha).
- h. Further may be noted sasajjatus (MBh.: /sañj, which has in passive the secondary form sajj), rurundhatus (R.), and dudūhus (BhP)
- i. The anomalous ajagrabhāiṣaṁ (AB. vi. 35) seems a formation on the perfect-stem (but perhaps for ajigrabhiṣan, desid.?).

Perfect Participle.

- so2. The ending of the active participle is বান্ váns (that is to say, in the strong forms: it is contracted to তথ্
 us in the weakest, and replaced by বন vát in the middle forms: see above, 458 ff.). It is added to the weak form of the perfect stem as shown, for example, in the dual and plural of the active inflection of the given verb; and, mechanically, the weakest participle-stem is identical with the 3d pl. active. Thus, ব্ৰুঘান bubudhváns, নিনীবান ninīváns, ঘক্ৰান্ cakṛváns.
- 803. If the weak form of the perfect stem is monosyllabic, the ending takes the union-vowel इ i (which, however, disappears in the weakest cases): thus, तीनवांस tenivans, जीववांस पंटांग्यंताड, जीववांस ग्रंडांग्यंताड, जीववांस पंटांग्यंताड, जीववांस ग्रंडांग्यंताड, ज्ञादिवांस adivans (from 183 a), and so on; द्दिवांस dadivans and its like, from roots in ज्ञा a, are to be reckoned in the one class or the other according as we view the इ i as weakened root-vowel or as union-vowel (794, 1).
- a. But participles of which the perfect-stem is monosyllabic by absence of the reduplication do not take the union-vowel: thus, vidváns, and in V., dāçváns (SV. dāçiváns), mīdhváns, sāhváns, khidvāns (?); and R. has also dadváns (AV. dadiváns and once dadāváns) from ydā (or dad: 672); an án-āçvāns (yaç eat) occurs in TS. and TB. But AV. has viçiváns and varjivāns (in negative fem. ávarjuṣī).
- 804. Other Vedic irregularities calling for notice are few. The long vowel of the reduplication (786) appears in the participle as in the indicative thus, varydhváns, sasahváns, jūjuváns. RV. and AV. have sasaváns from ysan or sā. RV. makes the participial forms of ytr or tar from different modifications of the root: thus, titirváns, but tatarúsas. Respecting the occasional exchanges of strong and weak stem in inflection, see above, 462 c.
- 8Q5. a. From roots gam and han the Veda makes the strong stems jaganvāns (as to the n, see 2:2 a) and jaghanvāns; the later language allows either these or the more regular jagmivāns and jaghnivāns (the weakest stem-forms being everywhere jagmús and jaghnús). RV. has also tatanvāns.

b. From three roots, vid find, viç, and drç, the later language allows strong participle-stems to be made with the union-vowel, as well as in the regular manner without it: thus, viviçivāns or viviçvāns; dadrcivāns occurs in KthU. PB. has once cicchidivāns.

- 806. The ending of the middle participle is aná. lt is added to the weak form of perfect-stem, as this appears in the middle inflection: thus, বুৰুয়ান bubudhaná, নিন্মান ninyaná, ব্যান dadaná, নিনান tenaná, রয়ান jajñāná, ক্রান ūcāná.
- a. In the Veda, the long reduplicating vowel is shown by many middle participles: thus, vāvrdhāná, vāvasāná, dādrhāņá, tūtujāná, etc. RV. has çaçayāná from /çī (with irregular guṇa, as in the present-system: 629); tistirāṇá from /str; and once, with māna, sasṛmāṇá from /sr. A few participles with long redupl. vowel have it irregularly accented (as if rather intensive: 1013) thus, tūtujāna (also tūtujāná), bābadhāna, çāçadāna, çūçujāna, çūçuvāna.
- 807. In the later language, the perfect participles have nearly gone out of use; even the active appears but rarely, and is made from very few verbs, and of the middle hardly any examples are quotable, save such as the proper name yuyudhāna, the adjective anūeāna learned in scripture, etc.

Modes of the Perfect.

- 808. Modes of the perfect belong only to the Vedic language, and even are seldom found outside of the Rig-Veda.
- a. To draw the line surely and distinctly between these and the mode-forms from other reduplicated tense-stems the present-stem of the reduplicating class, the reduplicated aorist, and the intensive is not possible, since no criterion of form exists which does not in some cases fail, and since the general equivalence of modal forms from all stems (582), and the common use of the perfect as a present in the Veda (823), deprive us of a criterion of meaning. There can be no reasonable doubt, however, that a considerable body of forms are to be reckoned here; optatives like āna-cyām and babhūyās and babhūyāt, imperatives like babhūtu, subjunctives like jabhárat, show such distinctive characteristics of the perfect formation that by their analogy other similar words are confidently classed as belonging to the perfect.
- 809. The normal method of making such forms would appear to be as follows: from a reduplicated perfect-stem, as (for example mumue, an imperative would be made by simply appending, as usual, the imperative endings; the derived subjunctive mode-stem would be mumóca (accented after the analogy of the strong forms

of the perfect indicative), and would take either primary or secondary endings; and the optative mode-stems would be mumucya in the active, and mumuci (accent on personal endings) in the middle.

And the great majority of the forms in question (about three quarters) are made in these ways. Thus:

- 810. Examples of the regular subjunctive formation are:
- a. with secondary endings, active: 2d sing., papráthas, cākánas, māmáhas, pipráyas, bubodhas, rāráṇas; 3d sing, cākánat, jabhárat, rāráṇat, sāsáhat, paspárçat, pipráyat; 1st pl., cākánāma, tatánāma, çūçávāma; 3d pl., tatánan, papráthan (other persons do not occur). This is the largest class of cases.
- b. with primary endings, active: here seem to belong only dadhársati and vavártati: compare the formation with different accent below, 811 a.
- c. of middle forms occur only the 3d sing tatápate, çaçámate, yuyójate, jujóṣate (SV.; RV. has jújoṣate); and the 3d pl. cākánanta, tatánanta (and perhaps two or three others: below, 811 b, end).
 - 811. But not a few subjunctives of other formation occur, thus:
- a. With strengthened root-syllable, as above, but with accent on the reduplication (as in the majority of present-forms of the reduplicating class: above, 645). Here the forms with primary endings, active, preponderate, and are not very rare: for example, jújoṣasi, jújoṣati, jújoṣathas, jújoṣatha (other persons do not occur). With secondary endings, jújoṣas, jújoṣat, and jújoṣan are the forms that belong most distinctly here (since dádāças and súṣūdas etc. are perhaps rather aorists). And there is no middle form but jújoṣate (RV.: sec above, 810 c).
- b. With unstrengthened root-syllable occur a small body of forms, which are apparently also accented on the reduplication (accented examples are found only in 3d pl. mid.): thus, active, for example, mumucas; vavṛtat, vividat, çūçuvat; the only middle forms are dadhṛṣate, vāvṛdhate, 3d sing.; and cákramanta, dádhṛṣanta, rúrucanta (with dadabhanta, paprathanta, māmahanta, juhuranta, which might also belong elsewhere: 810 c).
- c. Accented on the ending are vāvrdhánta and cakṛpánta (which are rather to be called augmentless pluperfects).
- $\mathbf{d}.$ As to forms with double mode-sign, or transfers to an a-conjugation, see below, 815.
 - 812. Examples of the regular optative formation are:
- a. In active: 1st sing., ānaçyām, jagamyām, papreyām, riricyām; 2d sing., vavṛtyās, viviçyās, çuçrūyās, babhūyās; 3d sing., jagamyāt, vavṛtyāt, tutujyát, babhūyāt; 2d du., jagmyātam, çuçrūyātam; 1st pl., sāsahyāma, vavṛtyāma, çūçuyāma; 3d pl., tatanyus, vavṛjyūs, vavṛtyus. The forms are quite numerous.

- b. In middle, the forms are few: namely, 1st sing., vavṛtīya; 2d sing., vāvṛdhīthās, cakṣamīthās; 3d sing., jagrasīta, vavṛtīta, māmṛjīta, dudhuvīta, ququcīta; 1st pl., vavṛtīmahi. And sāsahiṣṭhās and ririṣīṣṭa appear to furnish examples of precative optative forms.
- c. There is no irregular mode of formation of perfect optatives. Individual irregularities are shown by certain forms: thus, cakriyās, papīyāt, quqrūyās and quqrūyātam, with treatment of the final as before the passive-sign yá (770); anajyāt with short initial; qiqrītá from γ qrı, jakṣīyāt is anomalous: ririges in the only form that shows a union-vowel a (unless also siget, from γ sā).
- 813. Of regular imperative forms, only a very small number are to be quoted: namely, active, cākandhi, rārandhi, cikiddhi, titigdhi, mumugdhi, çuçugdhi, and piprīhi; cākantu, rārantu, mumoktu, and babhūtu; mumuktam and vavṛktam; jujuṣṭana and vavṛtana (unless we are to add mamaddhi, mamattu, mamattana); middle, vavṛtava and vavṛddhvam. AV. has once dadṛçrām.
- 814. As irregular imperatives may be reckoned several which show a union-vowel a, or have been transferred to an a-conjugation. Such are, in the active, mumócatam and jujoṣatam (2d du.), and mumócata (2d pl.); in the middle, pipráyasva (only one found with accent), and māmahasva, vāvṛdhasva, vāvṛṣasva (2d sing.), and māmahantām (3d pl.: probably to be accented -ásva and -ántām).
- 815. Such imperatives as these, taken in connection with some of the subjunctives given above (and a few of the "pluperfect" forms; below. 820), suggest as plausible the assumption of a double present-stem, with reduplication and added a (with which the desiderative stems would be comparable: below, 1026 ff.): for example, jujosa from vjus, from which would come jújosasi etc. and jújosate (811 a) as indicative, jújosas etc. as subjunctively used augmentless imperfect, and jujosatam as imperative. Most of the forms given above as subjunctives with primary ending lack a marked and constant subjunctive character, and would pass fairly well as indicatives. And it appears tolerably certain that from one root at least, vrdh, such a double stem is to be recognized; from vavrdha come readily vavrdhate, vavrdhanta, and from it alone can come regularly vāvrdhasva, vāvrdhéte and vāvrdhāti (once, RV.) - and, yet more, the participle vavrdhant (RV.; AV. vavrdhant: an isolated case): yet even here we have also vāvrdhīthas, not vāvrdhéthas. To assume double present-stems, however, in all the cases would be highly implausible; it is better to recognize the formation as one begun, but not carried out.
- a. Only one other subjunctive with double mode-sign namely, paproxsi is found to set beside vavrdhati.
- 816. Forms of different model are not very seldom made from the same root: for example, from /muc, the subjunctives mumócas, múmo-

cati, and mumucas; from /dhrs, dadharsati and dadhrsate; from /prī, the imperatives piprīhi and piprayasva.

Pluperfect.

- 817. Of an augment-preterit from the perfect-stem, to which the name of pluperfect is given on the ground of its formation (though not of its meaning), the Veda presents a few examples; and one or two forms of the later language (mentioned above, 788 b) have also been referred to it.
- a. There is much of the same difficulty in distinguishing the pluperfect as the perfect modes from kindred reduplicated formations. Between it and the aorist, however, a difference of meaning helps to make a separation.
- 818. The normal pluperfect should show a strong stem in the singular active, and a weak one elsewhere—thus, mumoc and mumuc—with augment prefixed and secondary endings added (us in 3d pl. act., ata in 3d pl. mid.).
- a. Of forms made according to this model, we have, in the active. 1st sing., ajagrabham and acacaksam (which, by its form, might be acrist: 860); 2d sing. ájagan; 3d sing., ajagan and aciket; 2d du., amumuktam; 2d pl. ájaganta, and ájagantana and ajabhartana (a strong form, as often in this person 556a); 3d pl. (perhaps), amamandus and amamadus. To these may be added the augmentless cākán and rārán, cikétam and cakaram. In the middle, the 3d pl. acakriran and ajagmiran (with iran instead of ata), and the augmentless 2d sing jugūrthās and susupthās, are the most regular forms to be found.
- 819. Several forms from roots ending in consonants save the endings in 2d and 3d sing, act, by inserting an ī (555b): thus, abubhojīs, aviveçīs; arirecīt, ajagrabhīt (avāvarīt and avāvacītām are rather intensives); and the augmentless jíninsīs (accent?) and dadharsīt belong with them.
- 820. A few forms show a stem ending in a: they are, in the active: 3d sing., asasvajat, acikitat, acakrat; in the middle: 3d sing., ápiprata; 2d du., ápaspṛdhethām; 3d pl., atitviṣanta (which by its form might be acrist), ádadṛhanta; and cakradat, cakṛpánta, vāvṛdhánta, juhuranta, would perhaps be best classified here as augmentless forms (compare 811, above).

Uses of the Perfect.

- 821. Perfects are quotable as made from more than half the roots of the language, and they abound in use at every period and in almost all branches of the literature, though not always with the same value.
 - a. According to the Hindu grammarians, the perfect is used in the

narration of facts not witnessed by the narrator; but there is no evidence of its being either exclusively or distinctively so employed at any period.

- b. In the later language, it is simply a preterit or past tense, equivalent with the imperfect, and freely interchangeable or coordinated with it. It is on the whole less common than the imperfect although the preferences of different authors are diverse, and it sometimes exceeds the imperfect in frequency (compare 927).
- c. The perfects veda and ana are everywhere used with present value. In the Brahmanas, also others, especially dadhara, also didaya, bibhaya, etc.
- 822. In the Brāhmaṇas, the distinction of tense-value between perfect and imperfect is almost altogether lost, as in the later language. But in most of the texts the imperfect is the ordinary tense of narration, the perfect being only exceptionally used. Thus in PB., the imperfects are to the porfects as more than a hundred to one; in the Brāhmaṇa parts of Tb and TB., as over thirty-four to one; and in those of MS. in about the same proportion; in AB., as more than four to one, the perfect appearing mostly in certain passages, where it takes the place of imperfect. It is only in ÇB. that the perfect is much more commonly used, and even to a considerable extent, in coordination with the imperfect. Throughout the Brāhmaṇas, however, the perfect participles have in general the true "perfect" value, indicating a completed or proximate past.
- 823. In the Veda, the case is very different. The perfect is user as past tense in narration, but only rarely, sometimes also it has a true "perfect" sense, or signifies a completed or proximate past (like the aorisi of the older language: 928); but oftenest it has a value hardly or not at all distinguishable in point of time from the present. It is thus the equivalent of imperfect, aorist, and present; and it occurs coordinated with them all.
- a. Examples are. of perfect with present, ná crāmyanti ná vi muñcanty éte váyo ná paptuh (RV.) they weary not nor stop, they flike birds; sé 'd u rājā kṣayati carṣaṇīnām arān ná nemíḥ pār tā babhūva (RV.) he in truth rules king of men; he embraces them all as the wheel the spokes;— of perfect with avist, úpo ruruce yuvatiná yóṣā... ábhūd agníḥ samídhe mānuṣāṇām ákar jyótir bādh amānā támānsi (RV.) she is come beaming like a young maiden: Agn hath appeared for the kindling of mortals; she hath made light, driving awa the darkness;— of perfect with imperfect, áhann áhim ánv apás tatardi (RV.) he slew the dragon, he penetrated to the waters. Such a coördinatio as this last is of constant occurrence in the later language: e. g. mumud 'pūjayac cāi 'nām (R.) he was glad, and paid honor to her; vastrānt jagrāha skandhadeçe 'srjat tasya srajam (MBh.) she took hold of the end of his garment, and dropped a garland on his shoulders.

CHAPTER XI.

THE AORIST SYSTEMS.

- 824. Under the name of agrist are included (as was pointed out above, 532) three quite distinct formations, each of which has its sub-varieties: namely—
- I. A SIMPLE AORIST (equivalent to the Greek "second aorist"), analogous in all respects as to form and inflection with the imperfect. It has two varieties: 1. the root-aorist, with a tense-stem identical with the root (corresponding to an imperfect of the root-class); 2. the a-aorist, with a tense-stem ending in \(\beta \), or with union-vowel \(\beta \) a before the endings (corresponding to an imperfect of the \(\beta \)-class).
- II. 3. A REDUPLICATING AORIST, perhaps in origin identical with an imperfect of the reduplicating class, but having come to be separated from it by marked peculiarities of form. It usually has a union-vowel \(\mathbf{A} \) a before the endings, or is inflected like an imperfect of one of the a-classes; but a few forms occur in the Veda without such vowel.
- III. A SIGMATIC OF SIBILANT AORIST (corresponding to the Greek "first aorist"), having for its tense-sign a H s added to the root, either directly or with a preceding auxiliary \(\bar{z} \); its endings are usually added immediately to the tensesign, but in a small number of roots with a union-vowel \(\mathbf{A} \) a; a very few roots also are increased by \(\mathbf{H} \) s for its formation; and according to these differences it falls into four varieties: namely, \(\mathbf{A} \). without union-vowel \(\mathbf{H} \) a before endings: 4. s-aorist, with \(\mathbf{H} \) s alone added to the root; 5. is-aorist, the same with interposed \(\bar{z} \) i; 5. sis-aorist, the same as the preceding with \(\mathbf{H} \) s added at the end of the root; \(\mathbf{B} \). with union-vowel \(\mathbf{H} \) a, 7. sa-aorist.

- 825. All these varieties are bound together and made into a single complex system by certain correspondences of form and meaning. Thus, in regard to form, they are all alike, in the indicative, augment-preterits to which there does not exist any corresponding present; in regard to meaning, although in the later or classical language they are simply preterits, exchangeable with imperfects and perfects, they all alike have in the older language the general value of a completed past or "perfect", translatable by have done and the like.
- 826. The acrist-system is a formation of infrequent occurrence in much of the classical Sanskrit (its forms are found, for example, only twenty-one times in the Nala, eight in the Hitopadeça, seven in Manu, six each in the Bhagavad-Gītā and Çakuntalā, and sixty-six times, from fourteen roots, in the first book, of about 2600 lines, of the Rāmāyaṇa: compare 927 b), and it possesses no participle, nor any modes (excepting in the prohibitive use of its augmentless forms: see 579; and the so-called precative: see 921 fl.); in the older language, on the other hand, is to quite common, and has the whole variety of modes belonging to the present, and sometimes participles. Its description, accordingly, must be given mainly as that of a part of the older language, with due notice of its restriction in later use.
- 827. a. In the RV., nearly half the roots occurring show agrist forms, of one or another class; in the AV., rather less than one third; and in the other texts of the older language comparatively few agrists occur which are not found in these two.
- b. More than fifty roots, in RV. and AV. together, make agrist forms of more than one class (not taking into account the reduplicated or "causative" agrist); but no law appears to underlie this variety; of any relation such as is taught by the grammarians, between active of one class and middle of another as correlative, there is no trace discoverable.
- c. Examples are: of classes 1 and 4, adhām and dhāsus from Vdhā, ayuji and ayukṣata from Vyuj;—of 1 and 5, agrabham and agrabhīṣma from Vgrabh, mṛṣṭhās and marṣiṣṭhās from Vmṛṣ;—of 1 and 2, ārta and ārat from Vṛ;—of 2 and 4, avidam and avitsi from Vvid find, anijam and anāikṣīt from Vnij;—of 2 and 5, sanéma and asāniṣam from Vsan;—of 2 and 7, aruham and arukṣat from Vruh;—of 4 and 5, amatsus and amādiṣus from Vmad;—of 4 and 6, hāsmahi and hāsiṣus from Vhā;—of 1 and 2 and 4, atnata and atanat and atān from Vtan;—of 1 and 4 and 5, abudhran and abhutsi and bodhiṣat from Vbudh, astar and stṛṣīya and

astaris from ystr. Often the second, or second and third, class is represented by only an isolated form or two.

1. Simple Aorist.

828. This is, of the three principal divisions of aorist, the one least removed from the analogy of forms already explained; it is like an imperfect, of the root-class or of the á-class, without a corresponding present indicative, but with (more or less fragmentarily) all the other parts which go to make up a complete present-system.

1. Root-aorist.

- 829. a. This formation is in the later language limited to a few roots in A ā and the root A bhū, and is allowed to be made in the active only, the middle using instead the s-aorist (4), or the is-aorist (5).
- b. The roots in मा ā take उस् us as 3d pl. ending, and, as usual, lose their मा ā before it; भू bhū (as in the perfect: 793 a) retains its vowel unchanged throughout, inserting a v after it before the endings मन् am and मन् an of 1st sing. and 3d pl. Thus:

	8.	d.	p.	s.	d.	p.
ı	ग्रहाम्	म्रदाव	म्रदाम	म्रभुवम्	म्रभूव	अ भूम
	ádām	ádāva	ádāma	ábhūvam	ábhūva	ábhūma
2	म्रदास्	म्रदातम्	म्रदात	म्रभूम्	अ भूतम्	म्रभूत
	ádās	ádātam	ádāta	ábhūs	ábhūtam	ábhūta
3	म्रदात्	म्रदाताम्	म्रहुम्	म्रभूत्	ग्रभूताम्	म्रभूवन्
	ådā t	ádātām	ádus	ábhūt	ábhütām	ábhüvan
			. ~		1 1	4

For the classical Sanskrit, this is the whole story.

- 830. In the Veda, these same roots are decidedly the most frequent and conspicuous representatives of the formation: especially the roots gā, dā, dhā, pā drink, sthā, bhū; while sporadic forms are made from jñā, prā, sā, hā. As to their middle forms, see below, 834 a.
- a. Instead of abhūvam, RV. has twice abhuvam. BhP. has agan, 3d pl., instead of agus.
- 831. But agrists of the same class are also made from a number of roots in 7, and a few in i- and u-vowels (short or long)—

with, as required by the analogy of the tense with an imperfect of the root-class, guna-strengthening in the three persons of the singular.

- a. Thus (in the active), from \$\sigma\crop{c}\text{ru}\$, acravam and acrot; from \$\sigma\crop{c}\text{rim}\$ acres and acrot; from \$\sigma\crop{k}\text{rim}\$ make, according according to the solution of the most part plural forms are much less frequent than singular; but for the most part they also show an irregular strengthening of the root-vowel: thus (including augmentless forms), according to the solution of the solution of the solution of the solution of the solution according to the solution of the s
- 832. Further, from a few roots with medial (or initial) vowel capable of guna-strengthening and having in general that strengthening only in the singular.
- a. Thus, abhedam and abhet from \(\nabla \) bhid; amok from \(\nabla \) muc; yojam from \(\nabla \) yuj; rok (VS.) from \(\nabla \) ruj; arodham and arudhma from \(\nabla \) rudh; avart from \(\nabla \) vrit; vark from \(\nabla \) vrij (AV. has once avrk); adarcam from \(\nabla \) drç; ardhma from \(\nabla \) ridh; and adrçan, avrjan, açvitan. But chedma. with guna, from \(\nabla \) chid, and adarçma (TS.) from \(\nabla \) drç
- 833. Again, from a larger number of roots with a as radical yowel:
- a. Of these, gam (with n for m when final or followed by m: 143a, 212a) is of decidedly most frequent occurrence, and shows the greatest variety of forms: thus, agamam, agan (2d and 3d sing.), agamma, aganta (strong form), agman. The other cases are akran from \(\nu\)kran. atan from \(\nu\)tan; abhrāt from \(\nu\)bhrāj; askan from \(\nu\)skand; asrat from \(\nu\)srans (? VS.); dhak and daghma from \(\nu\)dagh; ant (585a) and anaştām from \(\nu\)naç; aghas or aghat, aghastām, aghasta, and akṣan (for aghsan, like agman) from \(\nu\)ghas; and the 3d pl. in us, akramus, ayamus, dabhūs, nṛtus (pf. \(\nu\)), mandūs.
- 834. So far only active forms have been considered. In the middle, a considerable part of the forms are such as are held by the grammarians (881) to belong to the s-aorist, with omission of the s they doubtless belong, however, mostly or altogether, here. Thus
- a. From roots ending in vowels, we have adhithās, adhita (als ahita), and adhīmahi; adithās, adita, and adimahi (and adīmahi from Vdā cut); áçīta(?): sīmáhi; ásthithās and ásthita and ásthiran forms of ā-roots;—of ŗ-roots, akri, ákṛthās, ákṛta, akrātām, ákrati (and the anomalous kránta); avri, avṛthās, avṛta; ārta, ārata; mṛthās amṛta; dhṛthās; adṛthās; astṛta; ahṛthās; gūrta;—of i and u roots the only examples are ahvi (? AV., once), áhūmahi, and ácidhvam The absence of any analogies whatever for the omission of a s in sur forms, and the occurrence of avri and akri and ákrata, show that theireference to the s-aorist is probably without sufficient reason.
- b. As regards roots ending in consonants, the case is more question able, since loss of s after a final consonant before thas and ta (and,

course, dhvam) would be in many cases required by euphonic rule (233 c ff.). We find, however, such unmistakable middle inflection of the root-sorist as ayuji, áyukthās, áyukta, ayujmahi, áyugdhvam, áyujran; áṣṭa and áṭata; náṅṭi; apadi (1st sing.) and apadmahi and apadran; ámanmahi; gánvahi and áganmahi and ágmata; atnata; ájani (1st sing.) and ajñata (3d pl.); from /gam are made agathās and agata, from /tan, atathās and átata, and from /man, amata, with treatment of the final like that of han in present inflection (637). The ending ran is especially frequent in 3d pl., being taken by a number of verbs which have no other middle person of this aerist: thus, agrbhran, ásrgran, adrçran, abudhran, ávrtran, ajuṣran, akṛpran, aspṛdhran, avasran, áviçran; and ram is found beside ran in ádrçram, ábudhram, ásrgram.

- c. From roots of which the final would combine with s to ks, it seems more probable that aorist-forms showing k (instead of s) before the ending belong to the root-aorist: such are amukthās (and amugdhvam), aprkthās and aprkta, abhakta, avrkta, asakthās and asakta, rikthās, vikthās and vikta, arukta; apraṣṭa, ayaṣṭa, aspaṣṭa, asrṣṭhās and aṣrṣṭa, and mṛṣṭhās would be the same in either case.
- d. There remain, as cases of more doubtful belonging, and probably to be ranked in part with the one formation and in part with the other, according to their period and to the occurrence of other persons: chitthäs, nutthäs and ánutta and ánuddhvam, patthäs, bhitthäs, amatta, atapthäs, alipta, asrpta; and finally, árabdha, alabdha, aruddha, abuddha, ayuddha, and drogdhäs (MBh.: read drugdhäs): see 883.

Modes of the Root-aorist.

- 835. Subjunctive. In subjunctive use, forms identical with the augmentless indicative of this acrist are much more frequent than the more proper subjunctives. Those to which no corresponding form with augment occurs have been given above; the others it is unnecessary to report in detail.
- 836. a. Of true subjunctives the forms with primary endings are quite few. In the active, kárāṇi, gāni, gamāni (for bhuvāni, see below, c); kárasi; sthāti, dấti and dhấti (which are almost indicative in value), karati, joṣati, padāti, bhédati, rādhati, varjati; stháthas, karathas and karatas, darçathas, cravathas and crávatas; and (apparently) karanti, gámanti. In the middle, joṣase; idhaté (?), kárate, bhójate, yojate, várjate; dhéthe and dhāithe; kárāmahe, dhāmahe, gámāmahāi.
- b. Forms with secondary endings are, in the active, dárçam, bhojam, yojam; káras, tárdas, párcas, yamas, rādhās, váras; kárat, gámat, garat, jóṣat, daghat, padāt, yámat, yodhat, rādhat, varat, vártat, çrávat, sághat, spárat; kárāma, gamāma, rādhāma; gáman,

garan, dárçan, yaman. No middle forms are classifiable with confidence here.

c. The series bhuvam, bhuvas, bhuvat, bhuvan, and bhuvani (compare abhuvam: 830 a), and the isolated cruvat, are of doubting belongings; with a different accent, they would seem to be of the next class; here, a guna-strengthening would be more regular (but note the absence of guna in the aorist indicative and the perfect of /bhu).

837. Optative. The optative active of this agrist constitutes, with a sinterposed between mode-sign and personal endings (567), the precative active of the Hindu grammarians, and is allowed by them to be made from every verb, they recognizing no connection between it and the agrist. But in the 2d sing, the interposed s is not distinguishable from the personal ending; and, after the earliest period (see 838), the ending crowds out the sibilant in the 3d sing., which thus comes to end in yat instead of yas (compare 555 a).

a. In the older language, however, pure optative forms, without the s, are made from this tense. From roots in ā occur (with change of ā to e before the y 250 d) deyām, dheyām and dheyus, and stheyāma; in u-vowels, bhūyāma; in r, kriyāma; in consonants, açyām and açyas, vrjyām, çakyām, yujyāva and yujyātām, sāhyāma, and trdyus.

b. The optative middle of the root-agrist is not recognized by the Hindu grammarians as making a part of the precative formation. The RV has, however, two precative forms of it, namely padīṣṭā and mucīṣṭa Much more common in the older language are pure optative forms. namely, açīyā and açīmāhi (this optative is especially common), indhīya, gmīya, murīya, rucīya; arīta, uhīta, vurīta; idhīmahi, naçīmahi, nasīmahi, proīmahi, mudīmahi, yamīmahi; and probably, from ā-roots sīmāhi and dhīmahi (which might also be augmentless indicative, sinci sahīmahi and adhītām also occur). All these forms except the three in 3d sing, might be precative according to the general understanding of that mode, as being of persons which even by the native authorities are no claimed ever to exhibit the inserted sibilant.

838. Precative active forms of this aerist are made from the earlier period of the language. In RV., they do not occur from any root which has not also other aerist forms of the same class to show. The RV. form are: 1st sing., bhūyāsam; 2d sing., avyās, jñeyās, bhūyās, mṛdhyā sahyās; 3d sing. (in -yās, for -yāst; RV. has no 3d sing. in yāt, whis later the universal ending), avyās, açyās, rdhyās, gamyās, daghyā peyās, bhūyās, yamyās, yūyās, vṛjyās, çrūyās, sahyās; 1st pkriyāsma (beside kriyāma: 837 a). AV. has six 1st persons sing. -yāsam, one 2d in -yās, one 3d in -yāt (and one in -yās, in a R passage), three 1st pl. in -yāsma (beside one in yāma, in a RV. passag and the 2d bhūyāstha (doubtless a false reading: TB. has -sta in 4 corresponding passage). From this time on, the pure optative forms nea

disappear (the exceptions are given in 837 a). But the precative forms are nowhere common, excepting as made from /bhū; and from no other root is anything like a complete series of persons quotable (only bhūyāsva and bhūyāstām being wanting; and these two persons have no representative from any root). All together, active optative or precative forms are made in the older language from over fifty roots; and the epic and classical texts add them from hardly a dozen more see further 925.

839. Imperative. Imperative forms of the root-acrist are not pare in the early language. In the middle, indeed, almost only the 2d ling. occurs: it is accented either regularly, on the ending, as kṛṣvá, dhi yuksvá, or on the root, as mátsva, yáksva, váňsva, rásva, sáksva; dīsva and māsva are not found with accent; the 2d pl. is represented by krdhvam, vodhvam. In the active, all the persons (2d and 3d) are found in use; examples are: 2d sing., kṛdhi, vṛdhi, çagdhi, çrudhi, gadhi, yamdhi, gahi, māhi, sāhi, mogdhi; 3d sing., gamtu, dātu, astu, crótu, sótu; 2d du., dātam, jitam, çaktam, çrutám, bhūtám, sprtám, gatám, riktám, vodham, sitam, sutám; 3d du., only gamtām, dātām, vodhām; 2d pl., gātá, bhūtá, cruta, kṛta, gata, dāta, dhātana; 3d pl., only dhāntu, çruvantu. These are the most regular forms; but irregularities as to both accent and strengthening are not infrequent. Thus, strong forms in 2d du. and pl. are yamtam, varktam, vantam; kárta, gámta (once gamtá), yámta, vartta, heta, çróta, sóta; and, with tana, kártana, gámtana, yamtana, sotana, and the irregular dhetana (/dha); in 3d du., gamtam. Much more irregular are yódhi (instead of yuddhi) from /yudh, and bodhi from both /budh and /bhū (instead of buddhi and bhudhi). A single form (3d sing.) in tat is found, namely castat. We find krdhi also later (MBh. BhP.).

a. As to 2d persons singular in si from the simple root used in an imperative sense, see above, 624

Participles of the Root-aorist.

- 840. In the oldest language, of the RV., are found a number of participles which must be reckoned as belonging to this formation
- a. In the active, they are extremely few: namely, kránt, citánt (?), gmánt, sthánt, bhidánt, vṛdhánt, dyutant- (only in composition), and probably ṛdhánt. And BhP. has mṛṣant (but probably by error, for mṛṣyant).
- b. In the middle, they are in RV. much more numerous. The accent is usually on the final of the stem: thus, arāṇá, idhāná, krāṇá, juṣāṇá, tṛṣāṇá, nidāná, piçāná, pṛcāná, prathāná, budhāná, bhiyāná, manāná, mandāná, yujāná, rucāná, vipāná, vrāṇá, urāṇá, çubhāná, sacāná, suvāná or svāná, sṛjāná, spṛdhāná, hiyāná;—but sometimes on the root-syllable: thus, cítāna, cyávāna, rúhāṇa, úhāna (pres.?), vásāna, cúmbhāna;— while a few show both accentuations

(compare 619 d): thus, dreans and dreans, dyutans and dyútans, yatans and yatans; and cetans and hrayans occur only in composition. A very few of these are found once or twice in other texts, namely citans, dyutans, ruhans, vasans, suvans; and -kupans occurs once in Apast. (xiv. 28. 4).

841. All together, the roots exhibiting in the older language forms which are with fair probability to be reckoned to the root-aorist-system are about a hundred and thirty; over eighty of them make such forms in the RV.

Passive Aorist third person singular.

- 842. A middle third person singular, of peculiar formation and prevailingly passive meaning, is made from many verbs in the older language, and has become a regular part of the passive conjugation, being, according to the grammarians, to be substituted always for the proper third person of any acrist middle that is used in a passive sense.
- 843. This person is formed by adding \(\xi\) i to the root, which takes also the augment, and is usually strengthened
- a. The ending i belongs elsewhere only to the first person; and this third person apparently stands in the same relation to a first in i as do, in the middle voice, the regular 3d sing. perfect, and also the frequent Vedic 3d sing. present of the root-class (613), which are identical in form with their respective first persons. That a fuller ending has been lost of is extremely improbable; and hence, as an acrist formation from the simple root, this is most properly treated here, in connection with the ordinary root-acrist.
- 844. Before the ending \(\xi\), a final vowel, and usually also a medial \(\xi\) a before a single consonant, have the vrddhistrengthening; other medial vowels have the guṇa-strengthening if capable of it (240); after final 知 \(\xi\) is added \(\pi\) y.
- a. Examples (all of them quotable from the older language) are: from roots ending in ā, ájňāyi, ádhāyi, ápāyi; in other vowels, áçrāyi, ástāvi, áhāvi, ákāri, ástāri; from roots with medial i, u, r, aceti, ácchedi, açeşi, ábodhi, ámoci, áyoji, ádarçi, asarji, varhi; from roots with medial a strengthened, agāmi, ápādi, ayāmi, avāci, vāpi, ásādi (these are all the earlier cases); with a unchanged, only ájani (aud RV. has once jāni), and, in heavy syllables, ámyakşi, vandi, çansi, syandi; with medial ā, ábhrāji, árādhi; from roots with initial vowel, ārdhi (only case).

b. According to the grammarians, certain roots in am, and y/vadh, retain the a unchanged: quotable are ajani (or ajāni), agami (or agāmi),

C)

asvani, avadhi, also araci; and there are noted besides, from roots sometimes showing a nasal, adançi, arambhi, arandhi, ajambhi, abhañji or abhāji, alambhi (always, with prepositions) or alābhi, astambhi; ÇB. has asañji.

- c. Augmentless forms, as in all other like cases, are met with, with either indicative or subjunctive value: examples (besides the two or three already given) are: dhāyi, crāvi, bhāri, reci, védi, roci, jáni, pādi, sādi, ardhi. The accent, when present, is always on the root-syllables. (SV. dhāyí is doubtless a false reading).
- 845. These forms are made in RV. from forty roots, and all the other earlier texts combined add only about twenty to the number; from the later language are quotable thirty or forty more; in the epics they are nearly unknown. When they come from roots of neuter meaning, as gam, pad, sad, bhrāj, rādh, ruc, sañj, they have (like the so-called passive participle in ta: 952) a value equivalent to that of other middle forms; in a case or two (RV. vii. 73. 3 [?]; VS. xxviii 15; TB. ii. 6. 102) they appear even to be used transitively.

2. The a-aorist.

- 846. a. This agrist is in the later language allowed to be made from a large number of roots (near a hundred). It is made in both voices, but is rare in the middle, most of the roots forming their middle according to the s-class (878 ff.) or the is-class (898 ff.).
- b. Its closest analogy is with the imperfect of the á-class (751 ff.); its inflection is the same with that in all particulars; and it takes in general a weak form of root—save the roots in π r (three or four only), which have the guna-strengthening.
- c. As example of inflection may be taken the root सिंच sic pour. Thus:

middle. artive. d. p. म्रिनचार्याक म्रिनचामिक 1 म्रसिचम ग्रसिचाम म्रामिचे म्रसिचाव ásicam ásicāva ásicāvahi ásicāmahi ásicāma ásice ² श्रमिचस अमिचतम् श्रमिचत म्रितिच्यास म्रितिचेयाम मासचधन ásicathas ásicetham ásicadhvam ásicas ásicatam ásicata ३ श्रसिचत ग्रनिचत ग्रसिचेताम् ग्रसिचल म्रसिचताम म्रसिचन ásicetām ásicanta ásicata ásicatām ásican Whitney, Grammar. 3. ed. 20

- 847. The a-acrist makes in the RV. a small figure beside the rootacrist, being represented by less than half the latter's number of roots. It becomes, however, more common later (it is the only form of sorist which is made from more verbs in AV. than in RV.); and in Veda and Brahmana together about eighty roots exhibit the formation more or less fully. Of these a large number (fully half) are of the type of the roots which make their present-system according to the a-class, having a vowel capable of guna-strengthening before a final consonant (754): thus, with i, chid, bhid, nij, ric, ris, lip, vid, 1 çiş (çās), 2 çiş, çriş, çliş, sic, sridh; - with u, krudh, kşudh, guh, duş, dyut, druh, puş, budh, bhui. mue, mrue, yuj, rue, rud, rudh, muh, ruh, çue; - with r, rdh. krt, grdh, grh, trp, trs, trh, drp, drc, dhrs, nrt, mrdh, mrs, vrt, vrdh, vrs, srp, krs. A small number end in vowels: thus, r, kr, sr (which have the guna-strengthening throughout), hi (? ahyat once in AV.), and several in a, apparent transfers from the root-class by the weakening of their a to a: thus, khya, hva, vya, cva, and da and dha: and asthat, regarded by the grammarians as agrist to vas throw, is doubtless a like formation from vstha. A few have a penultimate nasal in the present and elsewhere, which in this agrist is lost: thus, bhranc, tans, dhvans, srans, krand, randh. Of less classifiable character are aç, kram, gam, ghas, tam, çam, çram, tan, san, sad, āp, das, yas, cak, dagh. The roots pat, nac, vac form the tense-stems papta, neca, voca, of which the first is palpably and the other two are probably the result of reduplication; but the language has lost the sense of their being such, and makes other reduplicated acrists from the same roots (see below, 854).
- a. Many of these agrists are simply transfers of the root-agrist to an a-inflection. Conspicuous examples are akarat etc. and agamat etc. (in the earliest period only akar and agam).
- 848. The inflection of this sorist is in general so regular that it will be sufficient to give only examples of its Vedic forms. We may take as model avidam, from vvid find, of which the various persons and modes are more frequent and in fuller variety than those of any other verb. Only the forms actually quotable are instanced; those of which the examples found are from other verbs than vid are bracketed. Thus:

active. middle,

s. d. p. s. d. p.

i ávidam ávidāva ávidāma ávide [ávidāvahi] ávidāmahi

ávidas [ávidata] [ávidathās]

ávidat ávidan [avidata] [avidetām] ávidanta

a. The middle forms are rare in the earlier language, as in the later we have any etc., akhye etc., avide (?) and avidanta, avocathās and avocāvahi (and avidāmahe GB. and asicāmahe KB. are doubtless to be amended to -mahi).

b. Augmentless forms, with indicative or subjunctive value, are not infrequent. Examples, showing accent on the tense-sign, according to the general analogies of the formation, are: ruhâm, srpas, bhujât, vidât, aratām, vocata, çakan; vidata and vyâta (3d sing.), arāmahi, çiṣāmahi, vidânta, budhânta, mṛṣanta (for exceptions as regards accent, see below, 853).

Modes of the a-aorist.

849. The subjunctive forms of this sorist are few; those which occur are instanced below, in the method which was followed for the indicative:

ı [vidāva] vidāma [vidāmahe]

vidási vidás

vidāthās vidātha

3 vidát

[vidātāi?] .

- a. The ending thana is found once, in risathana Of middle forms occur only cisatai (AV.: but doubtless misreading for cisyatai) and cisamaha (AV., for RV. cisamahi). The form sadathas seems an indicative, made from a secondary present-stem.
- 850. The optatives are few in the oldest language, but become more frequent, and in the Brāhmaṇas are not rare. Examples are: in active, bhfdeyam, vidéyam, sanèyam (TB. once sanem); vidés, games; gamet, vocet; gametam; gaméma, çakéma, sanéma; vareta; in middle, (only) videya; gamemahi, vanemahi: ruhethās etc. in the epics must be viewed rather as present forms of the á-class.
- a. A single middle precative form occurs, namely videeta (AV., once); it is so isolated that how much may be inferred from it is very questionable.
- 851. A complete series of active imperative forms are made from /sad (including sadatana, 2d pl.), and the middle sadantām. Other imperatives are very rare: namely, sána, sára, ruha, vidá; ruhátam, vidátam; khyáta. TS. has once vrdhātu (compare 740).

Participles of the a-aorist.

- 852. a. The active participles trpánt, rísant or rísant, vrdhánt, cisánt, queánt, sádant, and (in participial compounds, 1309) krtant, guhant, vidant- (all RV.), are to be assigned with plausibility to this actist.
- b. Likewise the middle participles guhámāna, dhṛṣámāṇa, dásamāna (?), nṛtámāna, quoámāna, and perhaps vṛdhāná, sridhāná.

Irregularities of the a-aorist.

853. A few irregularities and peculiarities may be noticed here. The roots in 7, which (847) show a strengthening like that of the

present of the unaccented a-class, have likewise the accent upon the radical syllable, like that class: thus, from /r, áranta (augmentless 3d pl.), sárat and sára. The root sad follows the same rule: thus, sádatam; and from /san are found sánas and sánat and sánema and sána, beside sanéyam and sanéma. It is questionable whether these are not true analogues of the bhū-class (unaccented a-class) present-system. On the other hand, rúhat (beside ruhám, ruháva, ruhátam), çíşat and çíṣātāi (?), and ríṣant or ríṣant are more isolated cases. In view of such as these, the forms from the stem bhúva and çrúva (836 c) are perhaps to be referred hither. From /vac, the optative is accented vocéyam, vocés, vocéma, vocéyus; elsewhere the accent is on the rootsyllable: thus, vóce, vócat, vócati, vócanta.

- 854. a. The stem voc has in Vedic use well-nigh assumed the value of a root; its forms are very various and of frequent use, in RV especially far outnumbering in occurrences all other forms from //vac. Besides those already given, we find vocā (1st sing. impv.) and vocāti, vocāvahāi; voces, voceya, vocemahi; vocatāt (2d sing.), vocatu, vocatam, vocata.
 - b. Of the stem neca only necat occurs.
- c. The root çās (as in some of its present forms: 639) is weakened to çiş, and makes açişam.
- 855. Isolated forms which have more or less completely the aspect of indicative presents are made in the oldest language from some roots beside the agrist-systems of the first two classes. It must be left for maturer research to determine how far they may be relies of original presents, and how far recent productions, made in the way of conversion of the agrist-stem to a root in value.
- a. Such forms are the following: from Vkr make. kárši, kṛthas, kṛtha, kṛṣe; from Vgam, gathá; from Vci yather, ceti; from Vda give, dắti, dātu; from Vdhā put, dhāti; from Vpā drink, pāthás, pānti; from Vbhr, bharti; from Vmuc, mucánti; from Vrudh, rudhmas (?); from Vvṛt, vartti.

II. (3) Reduplicated Aorist.

856. The reduplicated agrist is different from the other forms of agrist in that it has come to be attached in almost all cases to the derivative (causative etc.), conjugation in AU áya, as the agrist of that conjugation, and is therefore liable to be made from all roots which have such a conjugation, beside the agrist or agrists which belong to their primary conjugation. Since, however, the connection of

the two is not a formal one (the aorist being made directly from the root, and not from the causative stem), but rather a matter of established association, owing to kinship of meaning, the formation and inflection of this kind of aorist is best treated here, along with the others.

- 857. Its characteristic is a reduplication of the radical syllable, by which it is assimilated, on the one hand, to the imperfect of the reduplicating class (656 ff.), and, on the other hand, to the so-called pluperfect (817 ff.). But the aorist reduplication has taken on a quite peculiar character, with few traces left even in the Veda of a different condition which may have preceded this.
- 858. a. As regards, indeed, the consonant of the reduplication, it follows the general rules already given (590). And the quality of the reduplicated vowel is in general as in the formations already treated: it needs only to be noted that an a-vowel and r (or ar) are usually (for exceptions, see below, 860) repeated by an i-vowel as they are, to a considerable extent, in the reduplicated present also (660).
- b. But in regard to quantity, this aorist aims always at establishing a diversity between the reduplicating and radical syllables, making the one heavy and the other light. And the preference is very markedly for a heavy reduplication and a light root-syllable which relation is brought about wherever the conditions allow. Thus:
- 859. If the root is a light syllable having a short vowel followed by a single consonant, the reduplication is made heavy.
- a. And this, usually by lengthening the reduplicating vowel, with i for radical a or r or 1 (in the single root containing that vowel): thus, arīriṣam, adūduṣam, ajījanam, avīvṛdham, acīklpam. The great majority of reduplicated agrists are of this form.
- b. If, however, the root begins with two consonants, so that the reduplicating syllable will be heavy whatever the quantity of its vowel,

the vowel remains short: thus, aciksipam, acukrudham, atitrasam, apisprçam.

- 860. If the root is a heavy syllable (having a long vowel, or a short before two consonants), the vowel of the reduplication is short: and in this case সূত্ৰ or সাই, and মূ r (if it occurs), are reduplicated by স a.
- a. Thus, adidīkṣam, abubhūṣam (not quotable), adadakṣam, adadhāvam, atatahsam. And, in the cases in which a root should both begin and end with two consonants, both syllables would be necessarily heavy, notwithstanding the short vowel in the former. thus, apapraccham, acaskandam (but no such forms are found in use).
- b. A medial r is allowed by the grammarians to retain the strengthening of the causative stem, together with, of course, reduplication by a: thus, acakarşat, avavartat (beside acīkrṣat, avīvrṭtat); but no such forms have been met with in use.
- c. These agrists are not distinguishable in form from the so-called pluperfects (817 ff.).
- 861. a. In order, however, to bring about the favored relation of heavy reduplication and light radical syllable, a heavy root is sometimes made light: either by shortening its vowel, as in arīradham from /rādh, avīvaçam from /vāç, asīṣadham from /sādh, ajījivam from /jīv, adīdipam (K. and later: RV. has didīpas) from /dīp, abībhiṣam from /bhīṣ, asūsucam from /sūc; or by dropping a penultimate nasal, as in acikradam from /krand, asiṣyadam from /syand.
- b. In those cases in which (1047) an aorist is formed directly from a causal stem in ap, the a is abbreviated to i: thus, atisthipam etc., ajijñipat (but KSS. ajijñapat), jīhipas, ajījipata (but VS. ajījapata); but from grap comes acigrapāma (CB.).
- 862. Examples of this aorist from roots with initial vowel are very rare; the older language has only āmamat (or amamat) from ν am, āpipan (CB.: BAU. āpipipat) from ν āp, and arpipam (augmentless) from the causative stem arp of ν r—in which latter the root is excessively abbreviated. The grammarians give other similar formations, as ārcicam from ν arc, āubjijam from ν ubj, ārjiham from ν arh, āicikṣam from ν īkṣ, ārdidham from ν rdh. Compare the similar reduplication in desiderative stems: 1029 b.
 - 863. Of special irregularities may be mentioned:
- a. From ydyut is made (V.B.) the stem didyuta, taking its reduplicating vowel from the radical semivowel. From ygup, instead of jūgupa (B.S.), JB. has jugūpa, and some texts (BS.) have jugupa; and jihvara (B.) is met with beside the regular jihvara (V.B.). In caccha-

ia (Nir.), and the more or less doubtful paprátha and caçvacá and sasvaja (RV.) we have a instead of i in the reduplication.

b. In support of their false view of this agrist as made from the sausative stem instead of directly from the root, the native grammarians each that roots ending in an u-vowel may reduplicate with i, as representing the ā of the strengthened stem; thus, bibhava from bhāv-aya, as well as būbhuva from bhū. No example of such a formation, however, s met with except apiplavam (QB., once); against it we find dudruva, būbhuva, rūruva, cucruva, and others.

- c. As to apaptam, avocam, and anecam, see above, 847.
- 864. The inflection of the reduplicated aorist is like that of an imperfect of the second general conjugation: that is to say, it has হা a as final stem-vowel, with all the peculiarities which the presence of that vowel conditions (733a). Thus, from গোনু jan give birth (stem jījana):

middle. active. d. d. म्रजीजनाविक म्रजीजनामिक म्रजीजनाम म्रजीजने जीजनम् म्रजीजनाव ájījanāvahi ájījanāmahi jījanam ájījanāva ájījanāma ájījane म्रजीतनयास् म्रजीतनेयाम् म्रजीतनधम् ज्ञीजनम् स्रजीजनतम् स्रजीजनत jījanas ájījanatam ájījanata ájījanathās ájījanethām ájījanadhvam जीजनत स्रजीजनताम् स्रजीजनन् म्रजीजनत म्रजीजनेताम् म्रजीजनस ájījanetām ájījananta ájijanata jījanat ajījanatām ajījanan

- 865. The middle forms are rare in the older language (the 3d pl. is decidedly the most common of them, being made from eleven roots; the 3d s. from seven); but all, both active and middle, are quotable except 1st and 2d du. middle and 1st du. active.
- a. Atītape appears to be once used (RV.) as 3d sing., with passive sense.
- 806. A final r has the guna-strengthening before the endings: thus, acīkarat, apīparam, atītaras, dīdaras, adīdharat, amīmarat, avīvaran, jihvaras. Of similar strengthened forms from ī and u-roots are found apiprayan (TS), abībhayanta (RV.), apiplavam (ÇB.), acucyavat (K.), acucravat (MS.), atuṣṭavam (RV.). Not many roots ending in other vowels than r make this acrist: see below, 868.
- 867. Forms of the inflection without union-vowel are occasionally met with: namely, from roots ending in consonants, sisvap (2d sing., augmentless) from y'svap, and acicnat from y'cnath; from roots in r or ar, didhar (2d sing.), and ajīgar (2d and 3d sing.); for roots in i-and u-vowels, see 868. Of 3d pl. in us are found almost only a form

or two from i- and u-roots, with guna before the ending: thus, acicrayus, acucyavus, acucravus, asuṣavus; but also abībhajus (ÇB.), and nīnacus (MBh.).

- 868. In the later language, a few roots are said by the grammarians to make this agrist as a part of their primary conjugation: they are cri and cvi, dru and sru, kam, and dhā suck (cvi and dhā optionally).
- a. In the older language are found from 1/cri acicret and acicrayus (noticed in the preceding paragraph) and acicriyat (CB.); from 1/dru, adudrot and adudruvat (TB.: not used as acrist); from 1/sru, asusrot and (augmentless) susros and susrot; from 1/kam, acīkametām and -manta (B.S.). Of forms analogous with these occur a number from roots in u or ū: thus, anūnot and nūnot from 1/nu; yūyot from 1/yu separate; dūdhot from 1/dhū; apupot from 1/nu; yūyot from 1/yu; asuṣot from 1/sū; and one or two from roots in i or ī: thus siṣet from 1/sū (or sā) bind; amīmet from 1/mā bellow; apipres (with apiprayan, noticed above) from 1/prī (and the "imperfects" from didhī etc., 676, are of corresponding form). And from 1/cyu are made, with anion-vowel ī, acucyavīt and acucyavītana. Few of these forms posses a necessarily causative or a decidedly acristic value, and it is very doubtul whether they should not be assigned to the perfect-sy.tem.
- b. From the later language are quotable only activity etc. $(3d^9)1$, -yan or -yus) and aduduvat.

Modes of the Reduplicated Aorist.

- 869. a. As in other preterit formations, the augmentless indicative persons of this agrist are used subjunctively, and they are very much more frequent than true subjunctives.
- b. Of the latter are found only riradhā '(1st sing.); tītapāsi; cīkļpāti and sīṣadhāti, and pispṛçati (as if corresponding to an indicative apispṛk, like açiçnat); and perhaps the 1st sing. mid. çaçvacāf.
- c. The augmentless indicative forms are accented in general on the reduplication: thus, didharas, ninaças; jijanat, piparat; jijanan; also sişvap; but, on the other hand, we have also piparat, çiçrathas and çiçnathat, and dudravat and tuştavat (which may perhaps belong to the perfect: compare 810). According to the native grammarians, the accent rests either on the radical syllable or on the one that follows it
- 870. Optative forms are even rarer. The least questionable case is the middle "precative" rīriṣīṣṭa (ririṣīṣṭa has been ranked above with sāsahīṣṭa, as a peifect: 812b). Cucyuvīmahi and cucyavīrata helong either here or to the perfect-system.
- 871. Of imperatives, we have the indubitable forms pupurantu and cicrathantu. And jigrtám and jigrtá, and didhrtam and didhrtá,

and jajastám (all RV. only), and perhaps suṣūdáta (AV.), are to be referred hither, as corresponding to the indicatives (without union-vowel) ajīgar and adīdhar: their short reduplicating vowel and their accent assimilate them closely to the reduplicated imperfects (656 ff.), with which we are probably to regard this acrist as ultimately related.

872. No participle is found belonging to the reduplicated agrist.

873. The number of roots from which this agrist is met with in the earlier language is about a hundred and twenty. In the later Sanskrit it is unusual; in the series of later texts mentioned above (826) it occurs only twice; and it has been found quotable from hardly fifty roots in the whole epic and classical literature.

III. Sigmatic or Sibilant Aorlst.

- 874. a. The common tense-sign of all the varieties of this agrist is a π s (convertible to π s: 180) which is added to the root in forming the tense-stem.
- b. This sibilant has no analogues among the class-signs of the presentsystem; but it is to be compared with that which appears (and likewise with or without the same union-vowel i) in the stems of the future tensesystem (932 ff.) and of the desiderative conjugation (1027 ff.).
- c. To the root thus increased the augment is prefixed and the secondary endings are added.
- 875. In the case of a few roots, the sibilant tense-stem (always ending in \(\pi \) ks) is further increased by an \(\pi \) a, and the inflection is nearly like that of an imperfect of the second or a-conjugation.
- 876. a. In the vast majority of cases, the sibilant is the final of the tense-stem, and the inflection is like that of an imperfect of the first or non-a-conjugation.
- b. And these, again, fall into two nearly equal and strongly marked classes, according as the sibilant is added immediately to the final of the root, or with an auxiliary vowel \(\xi\) i, making the tense-sign \(\xi\) is. Finally, before this \(\xi\) is the root is in a very small number of cases increased by a \(\xi\) s, making the whole addition fing sis.

- 877. We have, then, the following classification for the varieties of sibilant-acrist:
 - A. With endings added directly to the sibilant:
 - 4. with H s simply after the root: s-aorist;
 - 5. with ξ i before the H s: is-aorist;
 - 6. the same, with H s at end of root: sis-aorist.
 - B. With A a added to the sibilant before the endings:
 - 7. with sibilant and A a: sa-aorist.
- a. As regards the distinction between the fourth and fifth forms, it may be said in a general way that those roots incline to take the auxiliary i in the acrist which take it also in other formations; but it is impossible to lay down any strict rules as to this accordance. Compare 903.

4. The s-aorist.

- 878. The tense-stem of this agrist is made by adding H s to the augmented root, of which also the vowel is usually strengthened.
- 879. The general rules as to the strengthening of the root-vowel are these:
- a. A final vowel (including ऋ r) has the vrddhi-change in the active, and (excepting ऋ r) guna in the middle: thus, from vनी lead, active stem मनिष anais, middle stem मनिष anes; from vम çru hear, ममीष açraus and ममोष açros; from va kr make, मनाष् akars and मनुष akrs.
- b. A medial vowel has the vrddhi-change in the active, and remains unaltered in the middle: thus, from vहन्द् 'chand seem, active stem ब्रह्मान्स acchants, middle stem ब्रह्मान्स acchants; from vरिच rio leave, श्रीन arāiks and श्रीन ariks; from vरुघ rudh obstruct, श्रीत्म arāuts and श्रीन aruts; from vसूत ari pour out, श्रामान asrāks and श्रीन asrks.
- 880. a. The endings are the usual secondary ones, with ত্ৰম us (not হান an) in 3d pl. act., and হান ata (not হান anta) in 3d pl. mid.

- b. But before स s and त t of 2d and 3d sing. act. is in the later language always inserted an ई ī, making the endings ईस् īs and ईत् īt.
- c. This insertion is unknown in the earliest language (of the RV.); see below, 888.
- 881. a. Before endings beginning with t or th, the tense-sign s is (233 c-e) omitted after the final consonant of a root—unless this be r, or n or m (converted to anusvāra).
- b. The same omission is of course made before dhwam after a consonant; and after a vowel the sibilant is either omitted or assimilated (the equivalence of dhw and ddhw in the theories of the grammarians and the practice of the manuscripts makes it impossible to say which: 232); and then the ending becomes dhwam, provided the sibilant, if retained, would have been § (226 c): thus, astodhwam and avrdhwam (beside astogata and avrşata); drdhwam (/dr regard: QB., once), which is to drthās (2d sing.) as avrdhwam and avrṣata to avri and avrthās; and krdhwam (M.).
- c. According to the grammarians, the omission of s before t and th takes place also after a short vowel (the case can occur only in the 2d and 3d sing. mid.); but we have seen above (834 a) that this is to be viewed rather as a substitution in those persons of the forms of the root-aorist. Neither in the earlier nor in the later language, however, does any example occur of an aorist-form with s retained after a short vowel before these endings.
- d. After the final sonant aspirate of a root, the sibilant before the same endings is said by the Hindu grammarians to disappear altogether, the combination of the aspirate with the th or t of the ending being then made according to the ordinary rule for such cases (160): thus, from the stem arauts, for araudh-s, is made arauddha, as if from araudh + ta directly. No example of such a form is quotable from the literature; but the combination is established by the occurrence of other similar cases (233 f). In the middle, in like manner, aruts + ta becomes aruddha, as if from arudh + ta; but all such forms admit also of being understood as of the root-acrist. Those that have been found to occur were given above (834 d); probably they belong at least in part to this acrist.
- e. From the three nasal roots gam, tan, man are made the 2d and 3d sing mid. persons agathās and agata, atathās and atata, and amata (amathās not quotable), reckoned by the native grammarians as s-aorist forms, made, after loss of their final root-nasal, with loss also of the sibilant after a short vowel. They are doubtless better referred to the root-aorist. But JB. has a corresponding 1st sing. atasi from /tan.
 - 882. As examples of the inflection of this variety of

sibilant aorist we may take the roots নী nī lead, and হিন্

		active,			middle.	
	8.	d.	p.	s.	đ.	р.
1	म्रीयम्	म्रनेघ	म्रनैष्म	म्रनेषि	म्रनेघक्टि	ग्रनेष्मिक
	ánāisam	•	ánāişma	áneși	áneșvahi	ánesmahi
2	म्रनैषीम्	म्रनेष्टम्	শ্বনিষ্ট	ग्रनेष्ठाम्	ग्र नेषायाम्	म्रनेहुम्
	ánāi șī s	ánāistam	ánāista	ánesthãs	ánesāthām	ánedhvam
3	म्रनैषीत्	म्रनिष्टाम्	य नैषुम्	म्रनेष्ट	म्रनेषाताम्	म्रनेपत
	ánāiṣīt`	ánăișțām	ánāişus	ánesta	áneṣātām	ánesata

active.

- s. d. p. १ ग्रद्येहरसम् श्रद्येहरस्य ग्रद्येहरसम् acchāitsam acchāitsva acchāitsma
- 2 ग्रन्हेत्सीम् ग्रन्हेत्तम् ग्रन्हेत्त ácchāitsīs ácchāittam ácchāitta
- यह्कित्मीत् म्रह्किताम् म्रह्कित्मुस् ácchāitsīt ácchāittām ácchāitsus

middle.

- । ग्रहिकृतिस ग्रहिकृतस्विक् ग्रहिकृतस्मिक् ácchitsi ácchitsvahi ácchitsmah:
- 2 म्रिट्कत्याम् म्रिट्कित्सायाम् म्रिट्कित्रम् ácchitthās ácchitsāthām ácchiddhvam
- 3 ग्रीटेक्त ग्रीटिक्तमाताम् ग्रीटिक्तमत acchitta acchitsatam acchitsata
- a. From /rudh obstruct, the 2d and 3d du. and 2d pl. act. and the 2d and 3d sing. mid. would be árāuddham, árāuddhām, árāuddhā, áruddhā, áruddhā, áruddha, from /srj pour out, ásrāṣṭam, ásrāṣṭām, asrṣṭtās, asrṣṭa; from /drç see, ádrāṣṭam etc. (as from srj). But from /kr do the same persons in the active are ákārṣṭam, ákārṣṭām, ákārṣṭām, ákārṣṭa; from /tan stretch they are átānstam, átānstām, átānsta.
- 883. The omission of s in the active persons (acchaittam, acchaittam, acchaittam, acchaitta) is a case of very rare occurrence; all the quotable examples were given above (233 e). As to the like omission in middle persons see 881. The ChU. has twice avastam for avasts-tam (yvas dwell) this may be viewed as another case of total disappearance of the sibilant, and consequent restoration of the final radical to its original form.

- 884. Certain roots in ā weaken the ā in middle inflection to i (as also in the root-aorist: above, 834 a): these are said to be sthā, dā, and dhā; in the older language have been noted ádişi and adişata from y'dā give (and adişi perhaps once from y'dā bind), adhişi and adhişata (with the optative dhiṣīya) from y'dhā put, and asthiṣata; also agīṣthās and agīṣata from y'gā go (with adhi).
- a. The middle inflection of the aerist of 1/dā would be, then, according to the grammarians: ádişi, ádithās, ádita; ádişvahi, ádişāthām, ádişātām; ádişmahi, ádiḍhvam, ádişata.
- 885. Roots ending in changeable r (-o-called roots in r: 242) are said by the grammarians to convert this vowel to īr in middle ferms; thus, astīrṣṭhās etc. (from /str); of such forms, however, has been found in the older language only akīrṣata, PB.
- 886. The s-aorist is made in the older language from about a hundred and forty roots (in RV., from about seventy; in AV., from about fifty, of which fifteen are additional to those in RV.); and the epic and classical literature adds but a very small number. It has in the Veda certain peculiarities of stem-formation and inflection, and also the full series of modes—of which the optative middle is retained also later as a part of the "precative" (but see 925 b.
 - 887. Irregularities of stem-formation are as follows:
- a. The strengthening of the root-syllable is now and then irregularly made or omitted: thus, ayokṣīt (AB), chetsīs (B.S; also occurs in MBh., which has further yotsīs), rotsīs (KU.); amatsus (RV.); ayāmsi and arāutsi (AB.), asākṣi etc. (V.B. /sah), mānsta (AV.) and mānstām (TA.); lopsīya (U.); and MBh. has drogdhās From /saj is made sānkṣīt (U. etc.), and from /majj, amānkṣīt (not quotable). The form ayunkṣmahi (BhP.) is doubtless a false reading.
- b. A radical final masal is lost in agasmahi (RV.) and gasāthām (TA.) from p/gam, and in the optatives masīya and vasīmahi (RV.) from p/man and van.
- c. The roots hū, dhū, and nū have ū instead of o in the middle: thus, ahūṣata, adhūṣata, anūṣi and anūṣātām and anūṣata; /dhur (or dhūrv) makes adhūrṣata.
 - d. CB. has once atrāsatām for atrāstām (/trā).
- 888. The principal peculiarity of the older language in regard to inflection is the frequent absence of $\bar{\imath}$ in the endings of 2d and 3d sing. act., and the consequent loss of the consonant-ending, and sometimes of root-finals (150). The forms without $\bar{\imath}$ are the only ones found in RV. and K., and they outnumber the others in AV. and TS.; in the Brāhmaṇas they grow rarer (only one, adrāk, occurs in GB.; one, ayāt, in KB.; and two, adrāk and ayāt, in ÇB.; PB. has none).

- 889. If the root ends in a vowel, only the consonant of the ending is necessarily lost: thus, aprās (for both aprās-s and aprās-t) from γ prā; and in like manner ahās from γ hā; ajāis (for ajāiṣ-t) from γ ji; and in like manner acāis from γ ci, and nāis (augmentless) from γ nī; and yāus (for ayāuṣ-t) from γ yu.
- a. But (as in other like cases: 555 a) the ending is sometimes preserved at the expense of the tense-sign; and we have in 3d sing. ajāit (beside ajāis and ajāiṣīt) from Vji; and in like manner acāit, açrāit, ahāit, nāit (no examples have been noted except from roots in i and \tilde{i}) compare ayās and srās, 2d sing., 890 a.
- 890. a. If the root (in either its simple or strengthened form) ends in a consonant, the tense-sign is lost with the ending. Thus, abhār (for abhārṣ-t: beside abhārṣam, abhārṣṭām) from ybhṛ; other like cases are ahār, and (from roots in ar) akṣār, atsār, asvār, hvār. Further, ārāik (585 a: for arāikṣ-t) from yric; like cases are açvāit from ycvit, and (from roots with medial u) adyāut from ydyut, arāut from yrudh, and māuk from ymue. Further, from roots ending in the palatals and h, aprāk from ymue. Further, from roots ending in the paladrāk from ydṛç, adhāk from ydah; but, with a different change of the final, ayāt from yyaj, aprāt from ypṛch, avāt from yvah, and asrāt from ysṛj; and (above, 146 a) srās appears to stand twice in AV. for srāṣ-s from ysṛj; RV. has also twice ayās from yyaj. Further, from roots ending in a nasal, atān from ytan, khān from ykhan, ayān and anān from yyyam and nam (143 a).
- b. If, again, the roots end in a double consonant, the latter of the two is lost along with tense-sign and ending: thus, acchān (for acchānts-t, beside acchāntta and acchāntsus) from /chand, and other like cases are akrān, askān, and asyān.
- 891. A relic of this peculiarity of the older inflection has been preserved to the later language in the 2d sing. bhāis, from /bhī.

Modes of the s-Aorist.

- 892. The indicative forms without augment are used in a subjunctive sense, especially after mā prohibitive, and are not uncommon. Examples with accent, however, are extremely rare; there has been noted only váńsi, middle; judging from this, the tone would be found on the radical syllable. According to the Hindu grammarians, it may be laid on either root or ending.
- 893. Proper subjunctive forms are not rare in RV., but are markedly less common in the later Vedic texts, and very seldom met with in the Brāhmaṇas. They are regularly made with guṇa-strengthening of the radical vowel, in both active and middle, and with accent on the root.

- a. The forms with primary endings are: in active, stoṣāṇi; darṣasi; neṣati, parṣati, pāsati, matsati, yoṣati, vakṣati, sakṣati; dāsathas, dhāsathas, parṣathas, vakṣathas, varṣathas; pāsatas, yamsatas, yakṣatas, vakṣatas; dhāsatha, neṣatha, parṣatha, matsatha;—in middle, namsāi, mansāi; mansase; kramsate, trāsate, darṣate, mansate, yakṣate, rāsate, vansate, sākṣate, hāsate; trāsāthe (not trāsāithe, as we should rather expect); namsante, mansante: and, with the fuller ending in 3d sing., māsātāi.
- b. The forms with secondary endings are (active only): jéşas, vákşas; dárşat, néşat, pákşat, párşat, préşat, yákşat, yóşat, vánsat, vákşat, véşat, sátsat, chantsat, etc. (some twenty others); yakşatām; vánsama, sákşāma, stoşāma; parşan, yamsan, yoşan, rásan, vakşan, çéşan, çróşan. Of these, yakşat and vakşat are found not rarely in the Brāhmanas; any others, hardly more than sporadically.
 - 894. Of irregularities are to be noted the following:
- a. The forms drksase and prksase (2d sing. mid.) lack the gunastrengthening.
- b. Jeşam, stoşam, and yoşam (AV. yūşam, with ū for o as in anūşata etc.) appear to be first persons formed under government of the analogy of the second and third—unless they are relics of a state of things anterior to the vrddhi-strengthening: in which case jeşma is to be compared with them (we should expect jāişma or jeṣāma).
- c. From roots in a are made a few forms of problematic character: namely, yeşam (only case in RV.), khyeşam, jñeşam, geşam and geşma, deşma, seşam and set, stheşam and stheşus. Their value is optative. The analogy of jeşam and jeşma suggests the possibility of their derivation from i-forms of the a-roots; or the sibilant might be of a precative character (thus, yā-ī-s-am). That they really belong to the is-aorist appears highly improbable.
- d. The RV. has a few difficult first persons middle in se, which are perhaps best noted here. They are: 1. from the simple root, kṛṣe, hiṣe (and ohiṣe P), stuṣé; 2. from present-stems, arease, rhjase, yajase, gāyiṣe, gṛṇiṣé and punīṣé. They have the value of indicative present. Compare below, 897 b.
- 895. Optative forms of this acrist are made in the middle only, and they have in 2d and 3d sing. always the precative s before the endings. Those found to occur in the older language are: diṣīya, dhiṣīya, bhakṣīya, masīya (for mansīya), mukṣīya, rāsīya, lopsīya, sākṣīya, stṛṣīya; mansīṣṭhās; darṣīṣṭa, bhakṣīṣṭa, mansīṣṭa, mṛkṣīṣṭa; bhakṣīmahi, dhukṣīmahi, mansīmahi, vansīmahi, vasīmahi, sakṣīmahi; mansīrata. PB. has bhukṣiṣīya, which should belong to a siṣ-acrist. The RV. form trāsīthām (for trāsīyāthām or trāsāthām) is an isolated anomaly.
- a. This optative makes a part of the accepted "precative" of the later-language: see below, 923, 925 b.

896. Imperative persons from this aorist are extremely rare: we find the 2d sing. act. ness and parsa and the 2d pl. yamsata (from a-stems, and showing rather, therefore, a treatment of the aorist-stem as a root), and the 3d sing. mid. rāsatām and pl. rāsantām (of which the same may be said).

Participles of the s-aorist.

897. a. Active participles are dakṣat or dhakṣat, and sakṣat (both RV.).

b. If rňjase (above, 894 d) is to be reckoned as an s-aorist form, rňjasāná is an s-aorist participle; and of a kindred character, apparently, are arçasāná, óhasāna, jrayasāná, dhiyasāná, mandasāná, yamasāná, rabhasāná, vrdhasāná, sahasāná, çavasāná, all in RV.; with namasāná, bhiyásāna, in AV. In RV. occurs also once dhíṣamāṇa, apparently an a-form of an s-aorist of y'dhī.

5. The is-acrist.

- 898. The tense-stem of this agrist adds the general tense-sign H s by help of a prefixed auxiliary vowel \(\xi\) i, making \(\xi\) is, to the root, which is usually strengthened, and which has the augment.
- 899. The rules as to the strengthening of the root are as follows:
- a. A final vowel has vradhi in the active, and guna in the middle: thus, ग्रमाचिष् apāvis and ग्रपचिष् apavis from $\sqrt{\gamma}$ pū cleanse; ग्रनारिष atāris, act., from $\sqrt{\gamma}$ tr pass; ग्रनारिष açayis, mid., from $\sqrt{\gamma}$ or lie.
- b. A medial vowel has guna, if capable of it, in both voices: thus, म्रलेशिय aleçis, act. and mid., from vिनश् liq tear; म्रांचिय arocis from v क्न ruc shine; म्रविषय avarsis from vau vrs rain; but म्रजीविय ajīvis from vsīla jīv live.
- c. Medial 双 a is sometimes lengthened in the active; but it more usually remains unchanged in both voices.
- d. The roots in the older language which show the lengthening are kan, tan, ran, stan, svan, han, vraj, sad, mrad, car, tsar, svar, jval, das, tras. From ran, san, kram, vad, raks, and sah occur forms of both kinds. From /math or manth are made the two stems mathis and manthis.

- 800. a. Of exceptions may be noted: /mrj has (as elsewhere: 627) vrddhi instead of guna: thus, amārjisam; Vstr has astarīs, and Vcr has acarit (also acarait in AV.), with guna in active.
- b. The root grabh or grah has (as in future etc., below, 936e, 956) long I instead of i before the sibilant: thus, agrabhīsma, agrahīsta, agrabhīṣata. The roots in changeable r (so-called roots in r. 242), and Nor are said by the grammarians to do the same optionally; but no forms with long I from such roots have been found quotable. A Sutra (PGS.) has once anayīṣṭa from /nī (doubtless a false reading).
- 901. The endings are as in the preceding formation (उस us and श्रत ata in 3d pl.). But in 2d and 3d sing., the combinations is-s and is-t are from the earliest period of the language contracted into the is and the it.
- a. The 2d pl. mid. should end always in idhvam (or iddhvam, from is-dhvam: 226); and this is in fact the form in the only examnles quotable, namely ajanidhvam, artidhvam, āindhidhvam, vepidhvam; as to the rules of the native grammarians respecting the matter, see 226 c.
- 902. As examples of the inflection of the is-aorist may be taken the roots प् pu cleanse, and ब्य budh wake. Thus:

active. middle. d. ग्रपाविषम् म्रपाविष म्रपाविष्म ग्रपविष्ठिक ग्रपविषि श्रपविष्मकि ápāvisam ápāvisva ápāvisma ápavisi ápavisvahi ápavismahi ग्रपावीस श्रपाविष्टम् श्रपाविष्ट अपविष्ठाम् अपविषायाम् अपविष्म् ápāvistam ápāvista ápavisthās ápavisāthām ápavidhvam ग्रपावीत श्रपाविष्टाम् ग्रपाविष्म म्रपविष्ट म्रपविषाताम् म्रपविषत ápāvistām ápāvisus ápavista ápavişātām ápavisata म्रवोधिषम् म्रबोधिष म्रबोधिष्म म्बोधिषि म्रवोधिष्ठकि म्रवोधिष्मिक ábodhi**șam ábodhișva ábodhișm**a ábodhiși

903. The number of roots from which forms of this agrist have been noted in the older language is nearly a hundred and fifty (in RV., about eighty; in AV., more than thirty, of which a dozen are additional to those in RV.); the later texts add less than twenty. Among these are no roots in a; but otherwise they are of every variety of form (rarest in final i and $\bar{\imath}$). Active and middle persons are freely made, but sparingly from the same root; only about fifteen

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etc.

ábodhişvahi ábodhismahi

roots have both active and middle forms in the older language, and of these a part only exceptionally in the one voice or the other.

- a. No rule appears to govern the choice of usage between the is- and the s-aorist; and in no small number of cases the same r_{000} t shows forms of both classes.
 - 904. Irregularities are to be noticed as follows:
- a. The contracted forms akramim, agrabhim, and avadhim (with augmentless v\u00e9dhim) are found in 1st sing. act.
- b. For acarit occurs in AV. acarait; also (in a part of the manuscripts) carais for caras; agrahaisam is found in AB. (also the monstrous form ajagrabhaisam: see 801 i). Ajayit, with short i in the ending, occurs in TS.
 - c. AV. has once nudisthas, without guna. .
- d. The forms atārima (RV.), avādiran (AV.), and bādhithās (TA.), though they lack the sibilant, are perhaps to be referred to this arist: compare avitá, 908. A few similar cases occur in the epics, and are of like doubtful character: thus, jānithās, mādithās, vartithās, çankithās, and (the causative: 1048) aghātayithās. Agrhītām and grhīthās and grhīta, if not false readings for grhnī-, are probably irregular present-formations.

Modes of the is-acrist.

- 905. As usual, augmentless indicative forms of this acrist are more common than proper subjunctives. Examples, of all the persons found to occur (and including all the accented words), are, in the active: çânsiṣam, vádhīm; máthīs, vádhīs, yávīs, sávīs; ávīt, júrvīt, máthīt, vádhīt, veçīt; mardhiṣṭam, doṣiṣṭam, hinsiṣṭam; aviṣṭām, jániṣṭām, bādhiṣṭām; cramiṣma, vādiṣma; vadhiṣṭa and vadhiṣṭana, mathiṣṭana, hinsiṣṭa; hvāriṣus, grahīṣus;—in the middle: rādhiṣi; jániṣṭās, marṣiṣṭhās, vyathiṣṭhās; krámiṣṭa, jániṣṭa, paviṣṭa práthiṣṭa, mándiṣṭa; vyathiṣmahi. The accent is on the root-syllable (tāriṣūs, AV. once, is doubtless an error).
- 906. a. Of subjunctive forms with primary endings occur only the 1st sing. act. davisāni, and the 1st pl. mid. (with unstrengthened e yācisāmahe and sanisāmahe.
- b. Forms with secondary endings are almost limited to 2d and 3e sing. act. There are found: avişas, kānişas, tārişas, rakṣiṣas, vádhiṣas, vādiṣas, váṣiṣas, çaṅsiṣas; kāriṣat, jambhiṣat, jóṣiṣat takṣiṣat, tāriṣat, níndiṣat, pāriṣat, bódhiṣat, mardhiṣat, yāciṣat yodhiṣat, rakṣiṣat, vaniṣat, vyathiṣat, çaṅṣiṣat, saniṣat, sāviṣat They are made, it will be noticed, with entire regularity, by adding a to the tense-stem in iṣ before the endings. The only other persons found to occur are the 3d pl. act. saniṣan and mid. saniṣanta (and TS. has vaniṣanta)

for the problematic vanuanta of RV.), which are also regular. Bhavigāt (AB. once) is a solitary example of a form with double mode-sign; cánisthat (BY.; SV. instead jánisthat) seems hopelessly corrupt. The radical syllable always has the accent, and its vowel usually accords with that of the indicative: but we have san- in the subjunctive against asānisam (as to cay- and ran-, see below, 908).

907. The middle optative of this acrist also forms a part of the accepted "precative" of the later language (923, 925 b). It is very rare at all periods, being made in RV. from only five roots, and in AV. from two of the same and from three additional ones (six of the eight have other informs); and the remaining texts add, so far as noticed, only four other roots. All the forms found to occur are as follows: janiqiya, indhiqiya, edhiqiya, ruciqiya and rociqiya, gmiqiya; modiqiqthas; janiqiqta; vaniqiqta; sahiqivahi; idhiqimahi, edhiqimahi, janiqimahi, tāriqimahi, mandiqimahi, vandiqimahi, vardhiqimahi, sahiqimahi and sahiqimahi. The accent is on the ending, and this would lead us to expect a weak form of root throughout; but the usage in this respect appears to be various, and the cases are too few to allow of setting up any rule. The forms janiqeyam and -ya, from a secondary a-stem, occur in K.

908. Of imperative forms, we have from vav a series: namely, aviddhí, aviştu, aviştám, avitá (if this, as seems probable, stauds anomalously for aviştá) and aviştána; two of these are of unmistakably imperative form. Other forms occur only in 2d du. and 2d pl., and are accordingly such as might also be subjunctives used imperatively (which is further made probable for two of them by their accentuation on the root-syllable): they are kramiştam, gamiştam, caniştám, cayiştam (against acāyiṣam), táriştam, yodhiştam, vadhiştam, çnathiştam; rániştana (against arānişus), çnathiştana.

909. No words having a participial ending after in are found anywhere to occur.

910. This is the only agrist of which forms are made in the secondary and denominative conjugations: see below, 1035, 1048, 1068.

6. The sis-aorist.

911. According to the grammarians, this aorist is made from roots in आ ह (including मि mi fix, मि mi (or mī) damage and जी 11 cling, which substitute forms in ā), and from नम nam bow, यम yam reach, and म ram be content, and is used only in the active; the corresponding middle being of the s-form (878 ff.). Its inflection is precisely like that of the is-aorist; it is unnecessary, then, to give more than

its first persons, which we may form from the roots আ yā go and নম্ nam bow. Thus:

- s. d. p. s. d. p. 1 श्रयासिषम् श्रयासिष श्रयासिष्म श्रनेसिषम् श्रनेसिष श्रनेसिष्म áyāsişam áyāsişva áyāsişma ánamsişam ánamsişva ánamsişma etc. etc. etc. etc. etc.
- 912. The sis-aorist is properly only a sub-form of the is-aorist, having the tense-sign and endings of the latter added to a form of root increased by an added s. It is of extreme rarity in the older language, being made in RV. only from the roots gā sing and yā go, and in AV. only from hā leave, and doubtless also from pyā fill up and van win (see below, 914 b); the remaining older texts add jñā know (B.), jyā overpower, dhyā think (ÇB. once: the edition reads -dhā-), and ram be content (SV.: a bad variant for RV. rāsīya); other Brāhmana forms which might be also of the s-aorist are adrāsīt, avāsīt, and ahvāsīt; and bhuksiṣīṣva (PB. S.) must be regarded as an anomalous formation from ybhuj, unless we prefer to admit a secondary root bhuks, like bhaks from bhaj. In the later language have been found quotable from other roots only glāsīs, addmāsīt, anamsīt, apāsīt, mlāsīs, and amnāsigus.
- a. The participle hasamana and causative hasayanti (RV.) show that has had assumed, even at a very early period, the value of a secondary root beside ha for other forms than the agrist.
- 913. The whole series of older indicative forms (omitting, as doubtful, the 2d and 3d sing.) is as follows: agāsiṣam, ajñāsiṣam, ayāsiṣam, adhyāsiṣam; ajyāsiṣṭām, ayāsiṣṭām; ajñāsiṣma; ajñāsiṣṭa, áyāsiṣṭa; agāsiṣus, ayāsiṣus (ākṣiṣus is from //akṣ attain).
- a. Forms without augment are these: jñásiṣam, ramsiṣam, hāsiṣam; hāsiṣṭam; hāsiṣṭam; hāsiṣṭa; hāsiṣus, 'gāsiṣus, jñāsiṣus. The accent would doubtless be upon the root-syllable.
- 914. a. Of proper subjunctives are found two, gāsiṣat and yāsiṣat (both RV.).
- b. Optatives are not less rare: namely, yāsisīṣṭhās and pyāsiṣīmahi (for which the AV. manuscripts read pyāciṣīmahi, altored in the edition to pyāyiṣ-); and doubtless vaṅciṣīya (AV, twice) is to be corrected to vaṅsiṣīya, and belongs here. As to bhukṣiṣīya, see above, 912.
- c. The accent of yāsiṣṭám (like aviṣṭám, 908) shows it to be a true imperative form; and yāsīṣṭa (RV., once) is doubtless the same, with anomalous I for i.
- 915. Middle forms of this acrist, it will be noticed, occur from the optative only; but, considering the great rarity of the whole formation, we are hardly justified in concluding that in the ancient language the middle persons in -sigi, -sigthas, etc., were not allowable, like those in -igi, -igthas, and the others of the ig-acrist.

7. The sa-aorist.

- 916. In the later language, the roots allowed to form this agrist end in \(\mathbf{q} \), \(\mathbf{q} \), or \(\mathbf{q} \) h—all of them sounds which in combination with the tense-sign make \(\mathbf{q} \) ks; and they have \(\mathbf{z} \) i, \(\mathbf{z} \) u, or \(\mathbf{R} \) r as radical vowel.
- a. They are as follows: diç, riç, liç, viç, kliç, kruç, ruç, mṛç, spṛç; tviṣ, dviṣ, cliṣ, viṣ, kṛṣ; dih, mih, lih, guh, duh, ruh, tṛh, vṛh, stṛh; from about half of them sa-forms, earlier or later, are quotable. Some of them may, or with certain meanings must, take acrists of other forms. And a few are allowed to drop both tense-sign and union-vowel a in certain persons of the middle: that is, they may make instead forms of the root-acrist.
- 917. As the tense-stem ends in Ξ a, the inflection is in the main like that of an imperfect of the second general conjugation. But (according to the grammarians: the forms unfortunately have not been found quotable) the 1st sing. mid. ends in Ξ i instead of $\overline{\zeta}$ e, and the 2d and 3d du. mid. in MANH ātām and MANH ātām, as in imperfects of the other conjugation. Both active and middle inflection is admitted. The root is throughout unstrengthened.
- 918. As example of inflection we may take the root दिश् dio point. Thus:

middle. active. d. p. श्चरित्ताम म्रदिति **म्रिटिताविक** म्रोदंत्तामोक ग्राटनाव ádikşāvahi ádikşāmahi ádik**şam ádikşāva** ádikṣāma ádikṣi **श्रदिततम** म्राइन्तर म्बदिनयाम् श्चीदत्तायाम श्राटनधम ádiksas ádiksatam ádiksata ádiksathas ádiksatham ádiksadhvam ग्रदित्तत्त ³ श्रदितत श्रदित्तत श्रदिताताम् श्रीदत्तताम् ádikşat ádikşatām ádikşan ádikşata ádiksatam ádiksanta

919. In the earlier language, the forms of the sa-aorist are hardly more than sporadic. They are made in RV. from seven roots; in AV., from two of these and from two others; and the remaining texts add ten more, making nineteen in all (the later language makes no additions to this number). As later, all have i or u or r as root-vowel, and a final consonant which combines with s to ks; but there are in the list also two

ending in j, namely mrj and vrj. All the examples noted are given below.

- a. So far as the middle forms are concerned, this acrist would be fully explained as a transfer of certain s-acrists to an a-inflection. The marked difference in the strength of radical vowel in the active, however, stands in the way of the successful application of such an explanation to the active forms.
- 920. a. In the indicative, we find, in the active: avṛkṣam; adrukṣas, adhukṣas, arukṣas, akrukṣas, aspṛkṣas (and MBh. adds amṛkṣas); adikṣat, amikṣat, alikṣat, avikṣat, ákrukṣat, aghukṣat, adukṣat and ádhukṣat, árukṣat, avṛkṣat, akṛkṣat, ámṛkṣat, áspṛkṣat; aghukṣatām; arukṣāma, amṛkṣāma, avṛkṣāma; ádhukṣan, apikṣan (//piṣ), arukṣan, aspṛkṣan;—in the middle, only akṛkṣathās (//kṛṣ), ádhukṣata, and amṛkṣanta (and MBh. adds amṛkṣata?).
- b. Forms without augment (no true subjunctives occur) are, in the active: dṛkṣam, mṛkṣam; dukṣas, rukṣas, mṛkṣata; dhukṣán and dukṣán;— in the middle, dvikṣata, dukṣata and dhúkṣata, dhukṣánta.
 - c. There are no optative forms.
- d. Imperative are: in the active, mrkṣatam; in the middle, dhukṣasva.
- e. The few accented forms without augment which occur have the tone on the tense-sign sá, in analogy with the a-aorist (2) and the imperfect of the á-class: a single exception is dhúkṣata, which probably needs emendation to dhukṣáta.
- f. The aspiration of initial d and g, after loss of the aspirated quality of the root-final (155), is seen in forms from the roots duh and guh, but not from druh (only a single case, AB.); RV., however, has also adukṣat and dukṣas, dukṣata.

Precative.

- 921. As the so-called precative is allowed by the grammarians to be made in the later language from every root, and in an independent way, without reference to the mode of formation of the acrist from the same root, it is desirable to put together here a brief statement of the rules given for it.
- 922. The precative active is made by adding the active precative endings (above, 568) directly to the root. But:
- a. Of final root-vowels (as before the passive-sign y4: 770), i and u are lengthened; r is usually changed to ri, but to ir and ur in these roots which elsewhere show ir- and ur- forms (so-called r-roots: 242), and to ar in r and smr; ā is changed to e in the roots dā, dhā, sthā, pā drink, gā sing, and a few others, in part optionally.

- b. The root in general assumes its weakest form: a penultimate masal is lost, as in badhyāsam from /bandh; the roots which are abbreviated in the weak persons of the perfect (794) have the same abbreviation here, as in ucyāsam, ijyāsam, vidhyāsam, supyāsam, grhyāsam; /çās forms çişyāsam (compare 639, 854 c): and so on.
- c. It has been pointed out above (837) that the active precative is an optative of the root-aorist, with a problematic insertion of a sibilant between mode-sign and ending.
- 923. a. The precative middle is made by adding the middle precative endings (above, 568) to the root increased by H s or H is that is, to the tense-stem of an s-aorist or of an is-aorist (but without augment).
- b. The root is strengthened according to the rules that apply in forming the middle-stem of the s and of the isacrists respectively: in general, namely, a final vowel is gunated in both formations; but a medial vowel, only before 34 is.
- c. As was pointed out above (567) the middle precative is really the optative of certain acrists, with the insertion of a sibilant between mode-sign and ending only (so far as authenticated by use) in the 2d and 3d singular. In the older language, such forms are oftenest made from the s-acrist (895) and the ig-acrist (907); but also from the root-acrist (837 b), the a-acrist (850 a), the reduplicated acrist (870), and the sig-acrist (914 b); and even from the perfect (812 b).
- 924. As example of inflection, we may take the root in bhu be, which is said (no middle acrist or precative from it is quotable) to form its middle on the is-stem. Thus:

active. d. p. 1 भूयासम् भयास्व भयास्म bhūyāsva bhūyásma bhūyāsam भयास्तम् भयास्त 2 भयास bhūyāsta bhūyāstam भ्यामुस् भयास्ताम् 3 भूपात bhūyāstām bhūyāsus

middle.

a.	d.	p.
ı भविर्षीय	भविषीविस	भविषीमिं
bhavişīyá	bhavişīváhi	b hāvişīm áhi
² भविषीष्ठास्	भविषीयास्थाम्	भविषीढुम्
bhavişīşthās	bhavişīyāsthām	bhaviş ī dhvám
ः भविषीष्ट	[.] भविषीयास्ताम्	भविषीर्ग्
bhavişīşţá	bhavişīyāstām	bhavişīrån

- a. The forms given by the grammarians as 2d and 3d dual are of very questionable value, as regards the place assigned to the sibilant. Those persons, and the 2d pl., have never been met with in use. For the question respecting the ending of the 2d pl., as dhvam or dhvam, see 236 c.
- 925. a. The precative active is a form of very rare occurrence in the classical language. In each of the texts already more than once referred to (Manu, Nala, Bhagavad-Gītā, Çakuntalā, Hitopadeça) it occurs once and no more, and not half-a-dozen forms have been found quotable from the epics. As to its value, see 573 c.
- b. The precative middle is virtually unknown in the whole later literature, not a single occurrence of it having been brought to light. The BhP. has once rīriṣīṣṭa, which is also a RV. form, belonging probably to the reduplicated agrist: see 870.

Uses of the Aorist.

- 926. The uses of the aorist mode-forms (as has been already pointed out: 582) appear to accord with those of the mode-forms of the present-system. The predilection of the earlier language, continued sparingly in the later, for the augmentless forms in prohibitive expression after ma was sufficiently stated and illustrated above (579).
- a. The tense-value of the agrist indicative has also been more than once referred to, and calls only for somewhat more of detail and for illustration here.
- 927. The agrist of the later language is simply a preterit, equivalent to the imperfect and perfect, and frequently coördinated with them.
- a. Thus, tatah sa gardabham lagudena tādayāmāsa; tenā 'sāu pañcatvam agamat (H.) thereupon he beat the donkey with a stick; and hereof the latter died; tatah sā vidarbhān agamat punah; tām tu bandhujanah samapūjayat (MBh.) thereupon she went back, to Vidarbha; and her kindred paid her reverence; prītimān abhūt, uvāca

căi 'nam (MBh.) he was filled with affection, and said to him; tam adahat kāṣṭhāiḥ so 'bhūd divyavapus tadā (R.) he burned him with wood, and he became then a heavenly form.

- 926. The agrist of the older language has the value of a proper "perfect": that is, it signifies something past which is viewed as completed with reference to the present; and it requires accordingly to be rendered by our tense made with the auxiliary have. In general, it indicates what has just taken place; and oftenest something which the speaker has experienced.
- a. Examples from the Veda are: párī 'mé gắm aneṣata páry agním ahṛṣata, devéṣv akrata çrávaḥ ká imān ā dadharṣati (RV.) these here have led about a cow, they have carried around the fire, they have done honor to the gods—who shall venture anything against them? yām āíchāma mānasā sò 'yām ā 'gāt (RV.) he whom we (formerly, impf.) sought with our mind has (now, aor.) come; yéne 'ndro havíṣā kṛtvy ābhavad dyumny ùttamáḥ, idám tād akri devā asapatnáḥ kílā 'bhuvam (RV.) that libation by which Indra, making it, became (impf.) of highest glory, I have now made, ye gods; I have become free from enemies.
- b. Examples from the Brāhmaņa language are: sa hā 'smin jyóg uvāsa... táto ha gandharváh sám ūdire: jyóg vá iyám urváçī manuşyèşv avātsīt (ÇB.) she lived with him a long time. Then the Gandharvas said to one another, "this Urvaçi, forsooth, has dwelt a long time among mortals"; tasya ha dantāḥ pedire: tam ho 'vāca: apatsata vā asya dantāḥ (AB.) his teeth fell out. He said to him: "his teeth truly have fallen out"; índrasya vrtrám jaghnúsa indriyám víryám prthivím ánu vy ärchat tád ósadhayo vīrúdho 'bhavan sá prajāpatim úpā 'dhāvad vrtram me jaghnúşa indriyam vīryam prthivím ánu vy arat tád ósadhayo vīrúdho bhūvann íti (TS.) of Indra, when he had slain Vritra, the force and might went away into the earth, and became the herbs and plants; he ran to Prajapati, saying: "my force and might, after slaying Vritra, have gone away into the earth, and have become the herbs and plants"; svayam enam abhyudetya bruyad vrátya kvà 'vatsīḥ (AV., in prose passage) going up to him in person, let him say: "Vrātya, where hast thou abode"? yad idanīm dvau vivadamānāv eyātām ahám adarçam ahám açrāuşam íti yá evá brūyād ahám adarçam íti tásmā evá çraddadhyāma (ÇB.) if now two should come disputing with one another, [the one] saying "I have seen", [the other] "I have heard", we should believe the one who said "I have seen".
- 929. a. This distinction of the aerist from the imperfect and perfect as tenses of narration is very common in the Brahmana language (including the older Upanishads and the Sūtras), and is closely observed; violation of it is very rare, and is to be regarded as either due to corruption of text or indicative of a late origin.

b. In the Vedic hymns, the same distinction is prevalent, but is both less clear and less strictly maintained, many passages would admit an

interpretation implying either sense; and evident aorist-forms are sometimes used narratively, while imperfect-forms are also occasionally employed in the aorist sense.

980. The boundary between what has just been and what is is an evanescent one, and is sometimes overstepped, so that an aorist appears where a present might stand, or was even rather to be expected. Thus: sväsasthe bhavatam indave na iti somo väi räje 'nduh soma-yäi 'väi 'ne etad räjña äsade 'cīklpat (AB. i. 29. 7) "be ye comfortable seats for our Indu", he says: Indu is king Soma: by this means he has made them (instead of makes them) suitable for king Soma to sit upon; värunir åpo yåd adbhir abhisiñcáti várunam eväi 'nam akar (MS. iv. 3. 10) the waters are Varuna's: in that he bepours him with waters, he has made him Varuna; pañcábhir vyághārayati päñkto yajñó yåvän evá yajñás tám álabdhá 'tho yávān evá yajñás tám falabdhá 'tho yávān evá yajñás tám álabdhá 'tho yávān evá yajñás tám álabhá 'tho yávān evá yajñás tám álabdhá 'tho yávān evá yajñás tám álabdhá 'tho yávān evá yajñá

CHAPTER XII.

THE FUTURE-SYSTEMS.

931. The verb has two futures, of very different age and character. The one has for tense-sign a sibilant followed by U ya, and is an inheritance from the time of Indo-European unity. The other is a periphrastic formation, made by appending an auxiliary verb to a derivative noun of agency, and it is a recent addition to the verb-system; its beginnings only are met with in the earliest language. The former may be called the s-future (or the old future, or simply the future); the latter may be distinguished as the periphrastic future.

. There .

I. The s-future.

- 932. The tense-sign of this future is the syllable स्य syá, added to the root either directly or by an auxiliary vowel इ i (in the latter case becoming उत्य isyá). The root has the guna-strengthening. Thus, from vरा dā give is formed the future tense-stem रास्य dāsyá; from vर् i go, the stem एट्य esyá; from vर् duh milk, the stem धोत्य dhoksyá; from v्र bhū be, the stem भविष्य bhavisyá; from vर् प्राप्त thrive, the stem श्रीष्ट्रिय ardhisyá; and so on.
- a. But from ν jīv live the stem is jīvişya, from ν ukş sprinkle it is ukşişya, and so on (240).

b. There are hardly any Vedic cases of resolution of the tense-sign sym into sia; RV. has kaesiantas once.

present-stem ending in A a (second general conjugation: 733 a). We may take as models of inflection the future of val a give, and that of val kr make. Thus:

active. middle.

d. d. 8. 5. दास्ये टास्यावकं दास्यावस् दास्यामस् dāsyé dāsyāvahe dāsyāmahe dasyāmi dasyāvas dasyāmas दास्येये टास्यधे दास्यसे 2 दास्यमि दास्यथम् दास्यथ dāsyádhve dāsyáse dāsyéthe dāsyáthas dāsyátha dāsyási दास्यते टास्यते टास्यति ः दास्यति dāsyate dāsyete dāsyánte dāsyátas dāsyánti

ा करिष्यामि करिष्यावम् करिष्यामम् करिष्ये करिष्यावक् करिष्यामक् karişyámi karişyámas karişyámas karişyé karişyávahe karişyámahe etc. etc. etc. etc. etc.

a. In the epics are found occasional cases of 1st du. and pl. in va and ma: e. g. ramsyāva (R.), bhakṣyāva (causative: MBb.); eṣyāma (MBb.), vatsyāma (R.).

984. With regard to the use or non-use of the auxiliary vowel i before the sibilant, there is a degree of general accordance between this tense and the other future and the desiderative; but it is by no means absolute, nor are any definite rules to be laid down with regard to it (and so much the less, because of the infrequency of the two latter formations in actual use): between this and the aorist

(s-aorist on the one side, or is-aorist on the other), any correspondence is still less traceable. Practically, it is necessary to learn, as a matter of usage, how any given root makes these various parts of its conjugational system.

- 935. Below is added a statement of the usage, as regards the auxiliary vowel, of all the roots found quotable for the most part, in the form of a specification of those which add the tense-sign directly to the root; in brackets are further mentioned the other roots which according to the grammarians also refuse the auxiliary vowel.
- a. Of roots ending in vowels, the great majority (excepting those in r) take no i. Thus, all in ā (numerous, and unnecessary to specify: but compare c below); those in i, as kṣi posses, ci gather, ci note, mi, si or sā bind (siṣya), hi; from i, kṣi destroy, and ji occur forms of both classes; cri [and cvi] has i; those in ī, as krī, bhī, mī, vlī; but cī lie and nī have both forms [and dī takes i]; those in u, as cyu, dru, plu, cru, hu; but su press out and stu have both forms [and kṣu, kṣṇu, nu, yu, ru, snu take i]; of those in ū, dhū and bhū take i; sū has both forms. But all in r (numerous, and nnnecessary to specify) take i [those in changeable r, or so-called r-roots (242), are said by the grammarians to take either i or ī; no I-forms, however, are quotable].
- b. Of roots ending in mutes, about half add the tense-sign directly. Thus, of roots ending in gutturals, çak; - in palatals: in c, pac, muc, ric, vac, vic, vraçe, sic (but yac takes i); in ch, prach; in j, bhañj, mṛj (mārkṣya and mrakṣya), yaj, bhuj, yuj, vṛj, sṛj [also bhrajj, rañj, sañj, svañj, nij, ruj], while tyaj, bhaj, and majj (mañkṣya and majjişya) have both forms, and vij (vijişya and vejişya) and vraj take i; - in dentals: in t, krt cut and vrt [also crt and nrt] make both forms; in d, ad, pad, cad fall, skand, syand, chid, bhid, vid find, nud [also had, khid, svid, ksud, tud]; while sad (satsya and sīdiṣya) and vid know make both forms [also chrd and trd], and vad has i; in dh, vyadh (vetsya), rādh, sidh succeed, budh, yudh, rudh, vrdh [also sadh, krudh, ksudh, qudh], and bandh and sidh repet have both forms; in n, tan, while man and han have both forms; -- in labials: in p, ap, kaip, gup, trp, srp (srapsya and sarpsya) [also cap, lip, lup], while tap, vap, svap, drp, and klp have both forms in bh, yabh and rabh, labh having both forms; in m, ram, while kram kşam, nam, and yam make both forms.
- c. Of the roots reckoned by the grammarians as ending in semivowel (761 d-g) all take i. And va or vi weave, vya or vi envelop, and hvi or hū call take a y-form, as in their present-system, to which then i is added thus, vayiaya, vyayiaya, hvayiaya (but also hvasya).
- d. Of roots ending in spirants, the minority (about a third) are with out the auxiliary vowel. They are: roots in ç, diq, viq, drç (drakşya) sprç (sprakşya) [also danç, riç, liç, kruç, mrç], while naç be los has both forms (nankşya and naçişya);—in ş, piş, viş, çiş [also

- tvis, dvis, çliş, tuş, duş, puş, çuş], while kṛṣ has both forms (krakṣya and karşişya); — in s, vas shine, vas clothe [also ghas], while vas dwell has both forms; — in h, mih, duh, druh [also nah, dih, lih], while dah, vah, sah and ruh have both forms.
- e. In the older language, a majority (about five ninths) of simple roots add the sya without auxiliary i; of the futures occurring in the later language only, nearly three quarters have the i, this being generally taken by any root of late origin and derivative character—as it is also uniformly taken in secondary conjugation (1019, 1036, 1050, 1068).
- 936. As the root is strengthened to form the stem of this future, so, of a root that has a stronger and a weaker form, the stronger form is used: thus, from Vbandh or badh bind, bhantsya or bandhişya.
- a. By an irregular strengthening, nañksya (beside naçişya) is made from /naç be lost, and mañksya (beside majjişya) from /majj sink.
- b. But a few roots make future-stems in the later language without strengthening: thus, likhişya, milişya (also TS.), vijişya (also vejişya), sişya (/sā or si), sūşya (939 b), sphuţişya; and /vyadh makes vetsya from the weaker form vidh.
- c. The CB. has once the monstrous form açnuvişyāmahe, made upon the present-stem açnu (697) of vaç attain. And the later language makes sīdişya and jahişya from the present-stems of vsad and vhā. Compare further hvayişya etc., 935 c. Also khyāyişya from vkhyā (beside khyāya) appears to be of similar character.
- d. A number of roots with medial r strengthen it to ra (241): thus, krakşya, trapsya, drapsya, drakşya, mrakşya (beside mārkşya), sprakşya, srakşya, srapsya (beside sarpsya), and mradişya (beside mardişya); and Vklp forms klapsya (beside kalpişya)
- e. The root grah (also its doublet glah) takes ī instead of i, as it does also in the acrist and elsewhere.
- 937. This future is comparatively rare in the oldest language—in part, apparently, because the uses of a future are to a large extent answered by subjunctive forms—but becomes more and more common later. Thus, the RV. has only seventeen occurrences of personal forms, from nine different roots (with participles from six additional roots); the AV. has fifty occurrences from twenty-five roots (with participles from seven more); but the TS. has occurrences (personal forms and participles together) from over sixty roots; and forms from more than a hundred and fifty roots are quotable from the older texts.

Modes of the s-future.

938. Mode-forms of the future are of the utmost rarity. The only example in the older language is karisyás, 2d sing subj. act., occurring once (or twice) in RV. (AB. has once notsyāvahāi, and GB. has eṣyā-mahāi, tansyāmahāi, sthāsyāmahāi, but they are doubtless false

readings for -he. Two or three optative forms are found in the epics: thus dhakayet and mansyeran (MBh.), and drakayeta (B.); also an imperative patsyantu (Har.). And several 2d pl. mid. in dhwam are quotable from the epics: thus, vetsyadhvam, saviayadhvam, and (the causative) kālayiayadhvam (PB.) and jīvayiayadhvam (MBh.: and one text has moksyadhvam at i. 133. 13, where the other reads moksyadhvam) and bhaviayadhvam (MBh. R.): it is a matter of question whether these are to be accounted a real imperative formation, or an epic substitution of secondary for primary endings (compare 542 a).

Participles of the s-future.

- 939. Participles are made from the future-stem precisely as from a present-stem in म a: namely, by adding in the active the ending त् nt, in the middle the ending मान māna; the accent remains upon the stem. Thus, from the verbs instanced above, दास्यत् dāsyánt and दास्यमान dāsyámāna, कारियात् karişyánt and कारियामाण karişyámāṇa.
- a. According to the grammarians, the feminine of the active participle is made either in anti or in ati; but only the former has been noted at occurring in the older language, and the latter is everywhere extremely rare: see above, 449 e, f.
- b. In RV. occurs once súşyantī, from /sū, with anomalous accentuation.

Preterit of the s-future: Conditional.

- 940. From the future-stem is made an augment-preterity by prefixing the augment and adding the secondary endings in precisely the same manner as an imperfect from a present stem in 习 a. This preterit is called the conditional.
- a. It stands related to the future, in form and meaning, as the French conditional aurais to the future aurai, or as the English would have to will have nearly as the German würde haben to werde haben.
 - . b. Thus, from the roots already instanced:

active. middle. s. d. p. s. d. p. ı श्रदास्यम् श्रदास्याव श्रदास्याम श्रदास्य श्रदास्याविक् श्रदास्यामिक् ádāsyam ádāsyāva ádāsyāma ádāsye ádāsyāvahi ádāsyāmah

- 1 म्रकारिष्यम् भ्रकारिष्यात्र भ्रकारिष्याम भ्रकारिष्ये भ्रकारिष्यात्रिक् भ्रकारिष्यामिक् kkarişyam kkarişyava kkarişyama kkarişye kkarişyavahi kkarişyamahi etc. etc. etc. etc. etc.
 - 941. The conditional is the rarest of all the forms of the Sanskrit verb. The RV. has but a single example, abharisyat was going to carry off, and none of the Vedic texts furnishes another. In the Brāhmaṇas it is hardly more common except in CB., where it is met with more than fifty times. Nor does it, like the future, become more frequent later: not an example occurs in Nala, Bhagavad-Gītā, or Hitopadeça; only one in Manu; and two in Çakuntalā. In the whole MBh. (Holtzmann) it is found about twenty-five times, from thirteen roots. The middle forms are extremely few.

II. The Periphrastic Future.

- 942. a. This formation contains only a single indicative active tense (or also middle: see 947), without modes, or participle, or preterit.
- b. It consists in a derivative nomen agentis, having the value of a future active participle, and used, either with or without an accompanying auxiliary, in the office of a verbal tense with future meaning.
- 943. The noun is formed by the suffix त tr (or तर् tar); and this (as in its other than verbal uses: see 1182) is added to the root either directly or with a preceding auxiliary vowel इ i, the root itself being strengthened by guna, but the accent resting on the suffix: thus, दात datr from va da give; कर्त् kartr from va kr make; भवित् bhavitr from va bhu be.
- a. As regards the presence or absence of the vowel i, the usage is said by the grammarians to be generally the same as in the s-future from the same root (above, 935). The most important exception is that the roots in r take no it thus, kartr (against karisya); roots han and gam show the same difference; while vrt, vrdh, and syand have i here, though

not in the s-future. The few forms which occur in the older language agree with these statements.

944. In the third persons, the nom. masc. of the noun, in the three numbers respectively (873), is used without auxiliary: thus, শবিনা bhavitá he or she or it will be; শবিনাম bhavitárau both will be; শবিনাম bhavitáras they will be. In the other persons, the first and second persons present of গ্রম as be (636) are used as auxiliary; and they are combined, in all numbers, with the singular nom. masc. of the noun.

a. Thus, from /दा da give:

active. d. 1 दातास्मि दातास्वस दातास्मस dātāsmi dātásvas datásmas 2 दातासि दातास्थ्रम दातास्थ dātási dātāsthas dātāstha दातारी 3 राता दातारम् dātā dātārāu dātáras

- b. Occasionally, in the epics and later (almost never in the older language), the norm of the tense as given above is in various respects departed from: thus, by use of the auxiliary in the 3d person also; by its omission in the 1st or 2d person; by inversion of the order of noun and auxiliary; by interposition of other words between them, by use of a dual or plural nom. with the auxiliary; and by use of a feminine form of the noun. Examples are: vaktā 'sti (MBh.) he will speak; nihantā (MBh.) I shall or thou wilt strike down, yoddha'ham (R.) I shall fight, aham drașță (MBh.) I shall see, kartă ham to (BhP.) I will do for thee, tvam bhavitā (MBh. Megh.) thou wilt_be; asmi gantā (MBh.) I shall go; pratigrahītā tām asmi (MBh.) *I will receive her*, hantā tvam asi (MBh.) thou wilt slay; kartarau svah (MBh.) we two shall do; drastry asmi (MBh.) I (f.) shall see, udbhavitrī (Nāiṣ.) she will increase. gantrī (Y.) she will go. AB. has once sotā as 2d sing., thou wilt press; JUB. makes the combination emaçanani bhavitaras the cemeteries will be.
- c. An optative of the auxiliary appears to be once used, in yoddhā syām I would fight (R. i. 22. 25 Peterson; but the Bombay edition reads yoddhum yāsyāmi).
- 945. The accent in these combinations, as is all the ordinary cases of collocation of a verb with a preceding predicate noun or

adjective (592), is on the noun itself; and, unlike all the true verbal forms, the combination retains its accent everywhere even in an independent clause: thus, tarhi va atinastro bhavitasmi (CB.) then I shall be out of danger (where bhavisyami, if used, would be accentless). Whether in a dependent clause the auxiliary verb would take an accent (595), and whether, if so, at the expense of the accent of the noun (as in the case of a preposition compounded with a verbform: 1093 b), we are without the means of determining.

- 946. In the Veda, the nomina agentis in tr or tar, like various other derivative nouns (271), but with especial frequency, are used in participial construction, governing the accusative if they come from roots whose verbal forms do so (1182). Often, also, they are used predicatively, with or without accompanying copula; yet without any implication of time; they are not the beginnings, but only the forerunners, of a new tense-formation. Generally, when they have a participial value, the root-syllable (or a prefix preceding it) has the accent. The tense-use begins, but rather sparingly, in the Brāhmaṇas (from which about thirty forms are quotable); and it grows more common later, though the periphrastic future is nowhere nearly so frequent as the s-future (it is quotable later from about thirty additional roots).
- 947. a. A few isolated attempts are made in the Brāhmaņas to form by apalogy middle persons to this future, with endings corresponding after the usual fashion to those of the active persons. Thus, TS. has once prayoktāse I will apply (standing related to prayoktāsmi as, for example, çāse to çāsmi); ÇB. has çayitāse thou shalt lie (similarly related to çayitāsi); and TB. has yaṣṭāsmahe we will make offering. But in TA. is found (1.11) yaṣṭāhe as 1st sing., showing a phonetic correspondence of a problematic character, not elsewhere met with in the language.

b. On the basis of such tentative formations as these, the native grammarians set up a complete middle inflection for the periphrastic future, as follows:

s. d. v

- 1 datahe datasvahe datasmahe
- 2 dātāse dātāsāthe dātādhve,
- 3 dātā dātārāu dātāras
- c. Only a single example of such a middle has been brought to light in the later language, namely (the causative) darçayitāhe (Nāiṣ.).

Uses of the Futures and Conditional.

948. As the s-future is the commoner, so also it is the one more indefinitely used. It expresses in general what is going to take place at some time to come—but often, as in other languages, adding on the one hand an implication of will or intention, or on the other hand that of promise or threatening.

a. A few examples are: varşişyáty āişámah parjányo víştimān bhavieyati (CB.) it is going to rain; Parjanya is going to be rich in rain this year; yas tan na veda kim roz karişyati (RV.) whoever does not know that, what will he do with verse? a vai vayam agni dhasyamahé 'tha yuyam kim karisyatha (CB.) we are going to build the two fires: then what will you do f tam indro 'bhyadudrava hanisyan (CB.) him Indra ran at, intending to slay; yády evá karişyátha sakáth deváír yajñiyāso bhavişyatha (RV.) if ye will do thus, ye shall be worthy of the sacrifice along with the gods; dantas to catsyanti (AV.) thy teeth will fall out; ná marisyasi má bibheh (AV.) thou shalt not die; be not afraid; brūhi kva yāsyasi (MBh.) tell us; where are you going to go? yadi mām pratyākhyāsyasi visam āsthāsye (MBh.) if you shall reject me, I will resort to poison. As in other languages, the tense is also sometimes used for the expression of a conjecture or presumption: thus: ko 'yam devo gandharvo vā bhavişyati (MBh.) who is this? he is doubtless a god, or a Gandharva; adya svapsyanti (MBh.) they must be sleeping now.

b. The spheres of future and desiderative border upon one another, and the one is sometimes met with where the other might be expected. Examples of the future taken in a quasi-desiderative sense are as follows. yád dāçuṣe bhadrám kariṣyási távé 't tát satyám (RV.) what favor thou willest to bestow on thy worshiper, that of thee becometh uctual (is surely brought about); yáthā 'nyád vadiṣyánt sò 'nyád vadet (ÇB.) as if, intending to say one thing, one were to say another.

949. The periphrastic future is defined by the grammarians as expressing something to be done at a definite time to come. And this, though but faintly traceable in later use, is a distinct characteristic of the formation in the language where it first makes its appearance. It is especially often used along with cvás tomorrow.

a. A few examples are: adyá varşişyati ... çvó vraştá (MS.) it is going to rain today; it will rain tomorrow; yataran va ime cvah kamitaras te jetaras (K.) whichever of two parties these shall choose tomorrow, they will conquer; pratar yaşţasmahe (TB.) we shall sacrifice tomorrow morning; ityahé vah paktásmi (CB.) on such and such a day I will cook for you; tán ma ékām rátrim ante çayitáse jātá u te 'yám tarhi putro bhavita (CB.) then you shall lie with me one night, and at that time this son of yours will be born. In other cases, this definiteness of time is wanting, but an emphasis, as of special certainty, seems perhaps to belong to the form: thus, bibhrhí mā pārayişyāmi tvé 'ti: kasmān mā pārayişyāsi 'ty aughá imāh sárvāh prajā nirvodhá, tátas tvā pārayitāsmī 'ti (CB.) support me and I will save you, said it. From what will you save me? said he. A flood is going to carry off all these creatures; from that I will save you, said it; paridevayam cakrire mahac chokabhayam praptasmah (GB) they set up a lumentation: "we are going to meet with great pain and dread"; yaje 'yaksi yaştahe ca (TA.) I sacrifice, I have sacrificed, and I shall eacrifice. In yet other cases,

in the older language even, and yet more in the later, this future appears to be equivalent to the other: thus, prajāyām enam vijnātāsmo yadi vidvān vā juhoty avidvān vā (AB.) in his children we shall know him, whether he is one that sacrifices with knowledge or without knowledge; vaktāsmo vā idam devebhyah (AB.) we shall tell this to the gods; yadi svārtho mamā 'pi bhavitā tata evam svārtham karisyāmi (MBh.) if later my own affair shall come up, then I will attend to my own affair; katham tu bhavitāsy eka iti tvām nrpa çocimi (MBh.) but how will you get along alone? that, O king, is the cause of my grief about you.

- 950. The conditional would seem to be most originally and properly used to signify that something was going to be done. And this value it has in its only Vedic occurrence, and occasionally elsewhere. But usually it has the sense ordinarily called "conditional"; and in the great majority of its occurrences it is found (like the subjunctive and the optative, when used with the same value) in both clauses of a conditional sentence.
- a. Thus, yó vrtráya sínam átrá 'bharisyat prá tám jánitrī viduşa uvāca (RV.) him, who was going here to carry off Vritra's wealth; his mother proclaimed to the knowing one; çatāyum gām akarişyam (AB.) I was going to make (should have made) the cow live a hundred years (in other versions of the same story is added the other clause, in which the conditional has a value more removed from its original: thus, in GB., if you, villain, had not stopped [prāgrahīṣyaḥ] my mouth ; táta evà 'sya bhayam vì 'yāya kasmād dhy abheşyad dvitīyād vāi bhayam bhavati (QB.) thereupon his fear departed; for of whom was he to be afraid? occasion of fear arises from a second person; utpapata cirám tán mene yád vásah paryádhāsyata (CB.) he leaped up; he thought it long that he should put on a garment; så tåd evå nå 'vindat prajāpatir yatra 'hosyat (MS.) Prajāpati, verily, did not then find where he was to (should) sacrifice; evam cen nā 'vakṣyo mūrdhā te vyapatisyat (GB.) if you should not speak thus, your head would fly off; sá yád dhāi 'tāvad evá 'bhavişyad yávatyo hāi 'vá 'gre prajáh srstas tavatyo hai 'va 'bhavişyan na pra 'janişyanta (CB.) if he had been only so much, there would have been only so many living creatures as were created at first; they would have had no progeny; kim va bhavişyad arunas tamasam vibhetta tam cet sahasrakirano dhuri nā 'karişyat ((.) would the Dawn, forsooth, be the scatterer of the darkness, if the thousand-rayed one did not set her on the front of his chariot?

CHAPTER XIII.

VERBAL ADJECTIVES AND NOUNS: PARTICIPLES, INFINITIVES, GERUNDS.

- 951. a. Those verbal adjectives, or participles, which are made from tense-stems, and so constitute a part of the various tense-systems, have been already treated. It remains to describe certain others, which, being made directly from the root itself, belong to the verbal system as a whole, and not to any particular part of it.
- b. The infinitive (with a few sporadic exceptions in the $\rm older$ language) also comes in all cases from the root directly, and not from any of the derived tense-stems.
- c. The same is true of the so-called gerunds, or indeclinable participles.

Passive Participle in tá or ná.

- 952. By the accented suffix a tá—or, in a comparatively small number of verbs, a ná—is formed a verbal adjective which, when coming from transitive verbs, qualifies anything as having endured the action expressed by the verb: thus, a dattá given; 医病 uktá spoken. Hence it is usually called the passive participle; or, to distinguish it from the participle belonging to the passive present-system (771), the past passive participle.
- a. When made from an intransitive or neuter verb, the same participle, as in other languages, has no passive but only an indefinite past sense: thus, মন gatá gone; মূন bhūtá been; पনিন patitá fullen.
- 958. In general, this participle is made by adding a tá to the bare verbal root, with observation of the ordinary rules of euphonic combination.
- a. Some roots, however, require the prefixion of the auxiliary vowel i to the suffix. For these, and for the verbs that add no instead of ta, see below, 956, 957.

- b. As to the accent when the root is preceded by a preposition, see 1085 a.
- 954. The root before 7 tá has usually its weakest form, if there is anywhere in the verbal system a distinction of weak and strong forms. Thus:
- a. A penultimate nasal is not soldom dropped: examples are aktá (γañj), baddhá (γbandh', çrabdha (γçrambh), daṣṭá (γdaṅç), srasta (γsraṅs), bāḍha (γbaṅh).
- b. Roots which are abbreviated in the weak forms of the perfect (794) suffer the same abbreviation here: examples are uktá (/vac), uṣtá (/vas shine), uptá (/vap: also vapta), ūḍhá (/vah), suptá (/svap), iṣtá (/yaj), viddhá (/vyadh); and, by a similar procedure, /prach (or praç) makes pṛṣtá, /bhraṅç makes bhṛṣṭa (beside the regular bhraṣṭá), and /çrā boil makes çṛtá (beside çrātá).
- c. Final ā is weakened to ī in gītá (/ gā eing), dhītá (/ dhā suck), pītá (/ pā drink), sphīta; and jītá, vītá, çītá are made from the roots jyā, vyā, çyā, (or jī etc.); and further to i in chitá (beside chātá), dita (/ dā divide and dā bind), drita (? / drā sleep), hitá (/ dhā put: with h for dh; but dhita also occurs in V.). mitá (/ mā measure), çitá (also çāta), sitá, sthitá.
- d. A final m is lost after a in gatá, natá, yatá, ratá (from //gam etc.); and a final n in kṣata, tatá, matá, hatá. As to the other roots in am and an taking ta, see 955 a, b.
- e. More isolated cases are -ūta (RV.: γav), utả or ūta (γvã weave), çiṣṭá (also çāsta: γçās), mūrtá (referred to γmūrch). As to -gdha and jagdhá, see 233 f.
 - f. On the other hand, Vsvad makes svātta.
 - 955. Of more irregular character are the following:
- a. A number of roots ending in am retain the nasal, and lengthen the radical vowel (as also in some others of their verbal forms: thus, kāmtá, krāmtá, klāmtá, kṣāmta, cāmta, tāmtá, dāmtá, bhrāmta, vāmtá, çāmtá (, çam be quiet, çrāmtá (from y kam etc.); and one in an, dhyan sound, makes dhyāntá.
- b. A few roots in an make their participle from another root-form in ā: thus, khātá, jātá, -vāta, sātá; dham has both dhamitá and dhmātá.
- c. Certain roots in Iv take their $y\bar{u}$ -form (765 a): thus, dyūtā ($y'd\bar{v}v$ play), sthyūta, syūtā; but $y'm\bar{v}v$ makes -mūta.
- d. From roots in changeable r (generally taking na. 957 b) are made also pūrtá (ypr All: beside prta), qīrta and qūrtá (yer crush); and qūrta is further made from yerī mix.

- e. Double forms are mugdhá and mūḍha, sāḍhá and Boḍha, dhūrta and dhruta, hvṛta and hrutá.
- f. The root dā give makes dattá (from the secondary root-form dad; but dāta also in V.). But the anomalously contracted form -tta (as if for dāta, with the radical vowel lost) is also frequent in composition, especially with prepositions: thus, ātta, anutta, parītta, pratta, pratta; rarely with other elements, as devatta, punartta, mārutta (?). And the same abbreviated form comes from Vdā divide in avatta.
- g. The roots making participles in both ta and ita, or ta and na, or in all three, will be noted in the next two paragraphs.
- 956. The suffix with \(\xi\) i, or in the form \(\xi\)? itá, is used especially with roots having finals that are only with difficulty, if at all, combinable with \(\pi\) t according to the usual analogies of the language, and often with roots of a secondary, derivative, or late character; but also not seldom with original rocts.
- a. Thus, of roots presenting difficulties of combination:—1. all that end in two consonants (save those of which one consonant is lost by a weakening process: 954 a, b): e. g. çañk, valg, vāñch, laji, ubj, ceṣṭ, ghūrņ, katth, nind, jalp, cumb, umbh, khall, pinv, çaṅs (also çastá), rakṣ, hiṅs, garh (in all, over fifty); but takṣ makes taṣṭā;—2. ali that end in linguals (including ṣ after a or ā): e. g. aṭ, truṭ, paṭh, luṭh, iḍ, vruḍ, bhaṇ, kaṣ, bhāṣ;—3. all that end in surd spirants: e. g. likh, grath, nāth, kuth, riph, guph;—4. all that end in 1: c. g. cal, gil, mīl, lul, khel;—5. all that end in other persistent semivowels: namely, carv (also cūrṇa), jīv (for the other roots in īv, see 955 c), dhāv run, sev, day, vyay, pūy;—6. ujh.—This class includes more than half of the whole number that take only ita.
- b. Of other roots ending in consonants:—1. in gutturals, cak, dhāuk (çak has both ta and ita); çlāgh;—2. in palatals, ac (also akná), uc, kuc, khac, yāc, ruc; aj?, kūj, vraj, also tyaj and mṛj in late texts (usually tyaktā and mṛṣṭā);—3. in dentals, at, pat, çcut, also yat in epos (elsewhere only yattā); krad, khād, gad, cud, nad, mud, mṛd, rad, rud, vad, vid know, hrād; also nud in epos (elsewhere nuttā and nunna); mad has both mattā and maditā (the majority of roots in d take na: 957 d); edh, kṣudh, gadh, dudh, nādh, bādh, spardh; an, in, kvan, dhvan, pan, ran ring, van, stan, svan, and dhvan (also dhvāntā);—4. in labials, cup, yup, rup, and usually kup (kupta late) and lap (lapta epic), occasionally kṣip, gup, tap, dṛp, vap, qap, while jap has both ta and ita; grabh (gṛbhītā), qubh, skabh, and occasionally lubh, while kṣubh and stabh have both forms; tim, dham, çam labor, stim, and kṣam in epos (also kṣāmta);—5. in spirants, aq eat, iq, kāq, kṛq, vāq, yaq,

while pic has both forms, and mrc takes ita only late; in send, in, kun, trn, tvin, prun, min, rūn, hen, hren, also mun except late, while dhrn, run, and hrn show both forms; as, bhas, bhas, ran, lan, van clothe, han, also as throw occasionally, while kan, gran, yan, van shine, van dwell, oan (with qinta and canta), cvan, and hran make both forms; ih, gran (grhīta), jah (secondary form of hā), mah, rah, and occasionally üh remove, while gah has both forms.

- c. Of roots ending in vowels, only $c\bar{i}$ ie, which makes cayita (with guna of root, as elsewhere: 629).
- d. In general, a root maintains its full form before ita; but there are a few exceptions: thus, gṛbhītá and gṛhītá (the root being reckoned as grabh and gṛah: see 729), uditá (also vadita in the later language), uṣita (/vas shine; beside uṣṭá), uṣita (/vas dwell: also sporadically vasita and uṣṭa), ukṣitá (/vakṣ increase), çṛthitá (/cṛath). From /mṛj are made both mṛjita and mārjita (with strengthening as in present and elsewhere: 827), beside mṛṣṭá.
 - e. Instead of i, long ī is taken in grbhītá and grhītá.
- 957. The suffix $\overline{\gamma}$ ná (always without auxiliary ξ i) is taken instead of $\overline{\gamma}$ tá by a number of roots (about seventy). Thus:
- a. Certain roots in ā: thus, kṣā, glā, drā run, drā sleep, (also drita?), mlā (also mlātá), vā blow (also vāta), çyā (also çīná), styā, hā leave (also hīná and hāta), hā go forth; and dā divide makes diná (also dita and -tta). Further, certain roots in i- and u-vowels: thus, kṣi destroy (kṣīṇa; also kṣitá), dī, pī, lī cling, vlī, çī or çyā coagulate (beside çyāna and çīta), hrī (beside hrīta), dū burn (also duta), lū, çū; and dīv lament makes dyūna (compare 765).
- b. Roots in r, which before the suffix becomes ir or ūr: the forms are, arna (late; beside rtá), kirna (/kr scatter), girná (/gr swallow), jirná and jürná (/jr waste away), tirná and tūrná (also tūrtá), dīrná (/dr pierce: also drta). pūrná (/pr fill: also pūrtá and prta), mūrná (/mr crush), qīrná (/cr crush: also çīrta and çūrtá?), stīrná (also strta). Of like character with these are īrná from /īr, cīrna (beside carita) from /car, gūrna (beside gūrtá) from /gur, a secondary form of gr, and cūrna (beside carvita) from /carv, which is also plainly a secondary root.
- c. A few roots ending in j (which becomes g before the suffix against the usual rule of internal combination: 216 f): thus, bhagna (/bhañj), bhugna (/bhuj bend), magná (/majj), rugná, vigna (beside vikta). Further, two or three ending in c (similarly treated): thus, akná (/ac or año: also acita and añoita), vṛkṇá (/vraço), and apparently -pṛgṇa (RV., once: with doubly irregular change of root-final, from //pṛc). And one root in g, lagna.

- d. A considerable number, some of them very comman ones, of room in d (which, against ordinary rule, becomes n before the suffix: 157b). The forms are: unna (also utta), arnna?, klinna, ksunna, ksvinna, khinna, channa, chinná, chrnná, tunná, trnná, nunna (also nuttá and nudita), panná, bhinná, vinna (void find: also vittá), çanna (vçad fall), sanná (also sattá), skanná (vskand), syanná (vsyand) svinná, hanna. And ánna food, in spite of its different accent, appear to be a like formation from vad eat.
- 958. The native grammarians reckon as participles of this formation a few miscellaneous derivative adjectives, coming from roots which do not make a regular participle: such are kṣāma burnt, kṛçi emaciated, pakvā ripe, phullā expanded, çúṣka dry.

Past Active Participle in tavant (or navant).

- 959. From the past passive participle, of whatever formation, is made, by adding the possessive suffix বন্ vant, a secondary derivative having the meaning and construction of a perfect active participle: for example, নন্ ক্লেবান tát kṛtávān having done that; tam nigīrṇavān having swallowed him down. Its inflection is like that of other derivatives made with this suffix (452 ff.); its feminine ende in ব্রবী vatī; its accent remains on the participle.
- 960. Derivative words of this formation are found in RV., but withou anything like a participial value. The AV. has a single example, with par ticipial meaning: acitavaty átithau one's guest having eaten (loc. abs.) In the Brahmanas also it is hardly met with. In the later language, however it comes to be quite common. And there it is chiefly used predicatively and oftenest without copula expressed, or with the value of a personal verb form in a past tense: primarily, and not seldom, signifying immediate past or having a true "perfect" value; but also (like the old perfect and the old acrist in later use) coming to be freely used for indefinite time, or with the value of the imperfect (779). For example: mām na kaçcid dratavār no one has seen (or saw) me; sa nakulam vyāpāditavān he destroyet the ichneumon; or, with copula, mahat krechram praptavaty asi thou hast fallen upon great misery. Although originally and properly mad only from transitive verbs (with an object, to which the participle in to stands in the relation of an objective predicative), it is finally found als from intransitives: thus, cutena samcritavati (C.) has become united with the mango-tree; gatavatī (ib.) she has gone.
- a. The same participle is also made in the secondary conjugations e. g. darqitavant having shown, prabodhitavant having awakened.

b. Possessives also in in made from passive participles are sometimes found used in an analoguos manner, nearly as perfect active participles: e. g. istin having sacrificed, vijitino manyamānāh (AB.) thinking themselves to have conquered.

Future Passive Participles: Gerundives.

- 961. Certain derivative adjectives (for the most part more or less clearly secondary derivatives) have acquired in the language a value as qualifying something which is to, or which ought to, suffer the action expressed by the root from which they come; and they are allowed to be made from every verb. Hence they are, like more proper participles, sometimes treated as a part of the general verbal system, and called future passive participles, or gerundives (like the Latin forms in ndus, to which they correspond in meaning).
- 962. The suffixes by which such gerundives are regularly and ordinarily made are three: namely ਧ ya, ਨਵਧ tavya, and ਸ਼ਜੀਧ aniva.
- a. Derivatives in ya having this value are made in all periods of the language, from the earliest down; the other two are of more modern origin, being entirely wanting in the oldest Veda (RV.), and hardly known in the later. Other derivatives of a similar character, which afterward disappear from use, are found in the Veda (966).
- 963 The suffix ya in its gerundive use has nothing to distinguish it from the same suffix as employed to make adjectives and nouns of other character (see below, 1213). And it exhibits also the same variety in the treatment of the root.
- a. The original value of the suffix is ia, and as such it has to be read in the very great majority of its Vedic occurrences. Hence the conversion of e and o to ay and ay before it (see below).
- b. Thus: 1. Final ā becomes e before the suffix: déya, dhyeya, khyéya, méya (perhaps dá-ia etc., with euphonic y interposed); but RV. has once -jñāya.—2. The other vowels either remain unchanged, or have the guna or the vyddhi strengthening; and e usually and o always are treated before the ya as they would be before a vowel: thus, -kṣayya, jáyya, bháyya, lāyya; návya, bhávya, hávya, bhāvyá; várya: and, in the later language, nīya, jeya, dhūya (such cases are wanting earlier). In a few instances, a short vowel adds t

before the suffix: thus, itya, mitya, çrûtya, stûtya, krtya (the only Vedic examples). — 3. Medial a remains unchanged or is lengthened thus, dâbhya, vândya, sâdya; mādya, vācya. — 4. Medial i., uand r-vowels are unchanged or have the guna-strengthening: thus ídya, gûhya, dhrşya; dvéşya, yôdhya, márjya.

- c. The RV. has about forty examples of this gerundive, and the AV adds half as many more. Except in bhāviá (once), the accent in RV is always on the root; AV. has several cases of accent on the i of the suffix (hence written ādyh, ācyh, -vyādhyh, -dharşyh). According to the grammarians, the accent is on the root or else the ending is circumflexed; always the former, if the ya follow a vowel.
- 964. a. The suffix tavya is a secondary adjective derivative from the infinitival noun in tu (below, 968), made by adding the suffix ya (properly ia, whence the accent ya), before which the final u, as usual (1203 a), has guna-strengthening, and is resolved into av.
- b. Hence, as regards both the form taken by the root and the use or omission of an auxiliary vowel i before the tavya, the rules are the same as for the formation of the infinitive (below, 968).
- c. No example of this formation is found in RV., and in AV. occur only two, janitavyà and hińsitavyà. In the Brāhmaṇa language it begins to be not rare, and is made both from the simple root and from the derived conjugational stems (next chapter); in the classical language it is still more frequent. According to the grammarians, the accent of the word is either circumflex on the final or acute on the penult: thus, kartavyà or kartávya; in the accentuated texts, it is always the former (the accent távya given to certain gerundives in the Petersburg lexicons is an error, growing out of the ambiguous accentuation of QB.: 88 c).
- 965. a. The suffix anīya is in like manner the product of secondary derivation, made by adding the adjective suffix īya (1215) to a nomen actionis formed by the common suffix ana.
- b. It follows, then, as regards its mode of formation, the rules for the suffix ana (below, 1150).
- c. This derivative also is unknown in RV., and in AV. is found only in upajīvanīya and āmantranīya (in both of which, moreover, its distinct gerundive value admits of question). In the Brāhmaṇas (where less than a dozen examples of it have been noted), and in the later language, it is less common than the gerundive in tavya. Its accent, as in all the derivatives with the suffix īya, is on the penult: thus, karanīya.
- 966. Other formations of kindred value are found in the Veda as follows:
- a. Gerundives in tua or tva, apparently made from the infinitival noun in tu with the added suffix a (1209). They are kartua (in two occurrences kartva), -gamtva, jantua, jetua, namtua, vaktua, sotua,

snátua, hántua, hétua, hótva; and, with auxiliary i (or ī), jánitva, sánitva, bhávītva.

- b: Gerundives in enia or enya (compare 1217): they are īkṣenia, Idénia, carénia, drcénia, -dviṣenia, bhūṣénya, yudhénia, várenia (and bhajenya BhP.); with one example from an apparent acrist-stem, yamsényap and three or four from secondary verb-stems (see below, 1019, 1038, 1068 a).
- c. Gerundives in áyia (once áyya: compare 1218): they are dakşáyia, panáyia, vidáyia, çraváyia, hnaváyia; with a few from secondary conjugation-stems (below, 1019, 1038, 1051, 1088a); and stuşéyia is of close kindred with them.
- d. A few adjectives in elima, as pacelima, bhidelima (only these quotable), are reckoned as gerundives by the grammarians.
- 967. The division-line between participial and ordinary adjectives is less strictly drawn in Sanskrit than in the other Indo-European languages. Thus, adjectives in u, as will be seen later (1178), from secondary conjugational stems, have participial value; and in the Brāhmaṇas (with an example or two in AV.) is found widely and commonly used a participial adjective formed with the suffix uka (1180).

Infinitives.

- 968. The later language has only a single infinitive, which is the accusative case of a verbal noun formed by the suffix तु tu, added to the root usually directly, but often also with aid of the preceding auxiliary vowel इ i. The form of the infinitive ending, therefore, is तुम् tum or इतुम् itum. The root has the guna-strengthening, and is accented. Thus, for example, एतुम् étum from $\sqrt{3}$ i; कर्तुम् kártum from $\sqrt{3}$ kṛ; चित्तुम् cáritum from $\sqrt{3}$ bhū.
- a. As regards the use or omission of i, the infinitive (as also the gerund in tvā: 991) follows in general the analogy of the passive participle (956). Examples are (with the gerund added) as follows: dagdhá, dágdhum, dagdhvá from ydah; bhinná, bhéttum, bhittvá from ybhid; matá, mántum, matvá from yman; ūḍhá, vóḍhum, ūḍhvá from yvah; patitá, pátitum, patitvá from ypat; yācitá, yắcitum, yācitvá from yyāc; çayitá, çáyitum, çayitvá from yçī. But certain exceptions and special cases require notice. Thus:
- b. Of roots having no quotable participle, infinitive stems in tu are made from ad, sagh; in itu from uñch, üh consider, kṣap, lunth, lok, svar; and in both from yabh.

- o. Of roots making participles of both forms, an infinitive stem is to only is quotable for kṣip, kṣubh, tap, tyaj, mṛç, lubh, vas shim çak, stabh; only in itu for gāh, carv, jap, mad, yat, van, çans çvas; in both for as throw, üh remove, gup, car, mṛj (marṣṭu, mar jitu), lap, vas dwell, çap, çās.
- d. Also in a number of other cases (besides those already-noticed) a infinitive stem is made both with and without i. Thus, in addition to the more regular form, a stem in itu is occasionally met with from roots at attain, is seek, bandh, bhaj, yaj (ijitum), rudh obstruct, ruh, vṛṣ sad (sīditum), sah, han, hṛ; and one in tu from roots ās, bhāṣ, vic know. Both forms occur also from certain am-roots, namely nam, yam ram, and, with ā before tu as in the pple, kram and bhram (kṣan has only kṣantu, against the analogy of kṣānta); further, from certain roots in variable ṛ, namely tṛ (tartu, tarītu), vṛ cover (vartu, varītu) and stṛ (startu, starītu, starītu) (but from cṛ crush occur only caritu caritu, and from vṛ choose only varītu; while gṛ swallow and pṛ fil make their infinitive from other root-forms, namely giritum, pūritum) further, from a few vowel-roots, namely nī, cyu, sū (sūtu); and finallig from kṛṣ, nṛṭ, cuc.
- e. Against the analogy of the participle, infinitive-stems in itu afte a final consonant are made from the roots av, kṣan, khan and jan (the pples coming from khā and jā), guh, jabh, tam, dīv play and dīv lament (both devitu), majj, vṛt, vṛdh, sṛp; and after a final vewel from roots in ū, namely pū, bhū, sū (also sūtu), and from çri and çvi as to roots in variable ṛ, see just above, d.
- f. As the infinitive is made from the (accented and) strengthener root, so it naturally has, as a rule, the stronger or fuller root-form where a weaker or contracted form is taken by the participle (and gerund n två): e. g. våktu against uktå (and uktvå), yåşţu against işţa (and iştvå), banddhum against baddhá (and baddhvå), and so on. Deserving special notice are gātu (ygā sing) against gītå, and dhātu (ydhi suck) against dhītå; and so from dā give and hā leave are made only dātu and hātu; but dhā put, mā measure, and sthā add to the regula dhātu, mātu, sthātu the late forms -dhītu, -mitu, -sthitu; and si or si has sātu, sétu, and -situ; vā weave (pple utå) has bothr vātu and otu; hū or hvā has havītu, hvāyiu, and hvātu. The root vyadī makes its only quotable infinitive, veddhum, from its vidh-form; from saĥj or saj occur both sañktu and saktu. The anomalous epic form ijitum (yyaj) and sīditum (ysad), were mentioned above. The root grah makes grāhītum.
- g. In the later language, the infinitive-stem forms possessive compounds with kama and manas (especially the former): e.g. svaptu kama having the wish to sleep, yastukama desirous of sacrificing vaktumanas minded to speak.
 - h. In very rare instances, dative infinitives in tave or tavai or

made from the infinitive stem in the later language (as abundantly in the earlier: 970 b): thus, pratihartave (BhP.). And jivase (973 a) is once found in MBb. (i. 3. 67 = 732), in a quasi-Vedic hymn to the Acvins.

- 969. In the Veda and Brāhmana, however, a number of verbal nouns, nomina actionis, in various of their cases, are used in constructions which assimilate them to the infinitive of other languages—although, were it not for these other later and more developed and pronounced infinitives, the constructions in question might pass as ordinary case-constructions of a somewhat peculiar kind.
 - 970. The nouns thus used infinitively are the following:
- a. The root-noun, without derivative suffix, is so used in its accusative in am, its dative in e or (from a-roots) ai, its genitive and ablative is as, and its locative in i.
- b. The verbal noun in tu is so used in its accusative in tum, its dative in tave or taval, and its ablative and genitive in tos.
- Of other nouns only single cases, generally datives, are reckoned as used with infinitive value; thus:
- c. From the verbal noun in as, the dative in ase; and also, in an extremely small number of instances, a dative in se (or se), from a noun formed with s simply.
 - d. From nouns in man and van, datives in mane and vane.
- e. From nouns in ti, datives in taye, or (from one or two verbs) in tyai.
 - f. From nouns in i, datives in aye.
 - g. From nouns in dhi and şi, datives in dhyāi and şyāi.
- h. A for infinitives in sani are perhaps locatives from nouns in an added to a root increased by s.
- i. From a single root, dhr., are made infinitively used forms in tari, of which the grammatical character is questionable.
- j. Among all these, the forms which have best right to special treatment as infinitives, on account of being of peculiar formation, or from suffixes not found in other uses, or for both reasons, are those in se, sani; tari, dhyāi, and tavāi.
- k. Except the various cases of the derivative in tu, and of the rootnoun, these infinitives are almost wholly unknown outside the Rig-Veda.
- 1. Other suffixes and forms than those noticed above might be added; for it is impossible to draw any fixed line between the uses classed as infinitive and the ordinary case-uses: thus, prajápatim pragnám āitām (TS.) they went to ask Prajápati; víçvam jīvám prasuvántī caráyāi (kV.) quickening every living being to motion; apáh sármáya codáyan (kV.) impelling the waters to flow; çaknuyád gráhanáya (instead of the usual gráhītum: ÇB.) may be able to apprehend; ā tamanāt (instead of the usual tamitoh: S.) until exhaustion. And the so-called infinitives

are found coördinated in the same sentence with common nouns, and even with compound nouns: e. g. cáritave...ābhogáya istáye rāyé (RV.) to go abroad, to enjoy, to seek wealth; ārtatrānāya na prahartum anāgasi (Q.) for the rescue of the distressed, not for hurling at the innocent.

More special rules as to the various formations are as follows:

- 971. The root-noun used as infinitive has the same form (except that it does not take an added t: 383 f), and the same accent, both when simple and when combined with prepositions, as in its other uses. In the very great majority of instances, it is made from roots ending in a consonant; but also from a few in ā (khyā, dā, dhā, pā?, mā, yā), from two or three in i- and u-vowels (hi, mī, bhū), and from one or two in changeable r, which takes the ir-form (tir, stir).
- a. The roots in ā form the accus. in ām, the dat. in āi, the abl. in ās (understanding avasā before ā as for avasās and not avasāí in RV. iii. 53. 20), and the locative in e (only two examples, of which one is perhaps better understood as dative).
- '972. The infinitive noun in tu is made freely from roots of every form. The root takes the guna-strengthening, if capable of it, and often adds the auxiliary vowel i before the suffix (according to the rules already stated, 968). The root is accented, unless the nonn be combined with a preposition, in which case the later has the accent instead: thus, kartum, étave, hantos; but nikartum, niretave, nirhantos.
- a. The dative in tavāi is in two respects anomalous: in having the heavy feminine ending āi along with a strengthened u; and in taking a double accent, one on the root or on the prefixed preposition, and the other on the ending āi: thus, étavāí, hantavāí, átyetavāí, ápabhartavāí.
- 973. a. The infinitive in ase is made in RV, from about twenty-five roots; in AV, and later there have been noted no other examples of it. In nearly three quarters of the cases, the accent is on the suffix: e. g. rnjáse, jīváse, bhiyáse, tujáse; the exceptions are cákṣase; dháyase (with y inserted before the suffix: 258); and áyase, bhárase, spárase, hárase (with guṇa-strengthening of the root). Strengthening of the root is also shown by javáse, doháse, bhojáse, cobháse. In puṣyáse is seen, apparently, the present-stem instead of the root.
- b. The ending se is extremely rare, being found only in jiṣé and perhaps stusé, and one or two still more doubtful cases.
- 974. Infinitives in mane are made from only five roots: thus, tråmane, dåmane, dårmane, bhårmane, and (with different accent) vidmane. From /dā comes dāvāne; turvāne may come directly from /tr,
 or through the secondary root turv; dhūrvane is rather from /dhūrv
 than from /dhvr.
- 975. a. The infinitives in tay are istaye (/is), pitáye (/pā drink), vitáye, satáye, and perhaps ütáye (ütáye nfn to help his men:

RV.) In tyāi, the only examples noted are ityāi (RV.) and sādhyāi (MS. AB.).

b. With aye are formed işáye, tujáye, drçáye, maháye, yudháye, sanáye; and citáye (VS.), grhaye (K.).

- 976. The ending dhyāi is, more than any other, irregular and various in its treatment. It has always an a before it; and in the majority of cases it is accented upon this a, and added to a weak form of root: thus, queádhyāi, pṛṇádhyāi, dhiyádhyāi, huvádhyāi. But the form of root is the strong one in a few cases: namely, qayádhyāi, stavádhyāi, tarádhyāi, jarádhyāi, mandádhyāi, vandádhyāi. In half-adozen forms, again, the root has the accent: namely, kṣáradhyāi, gámadhyāi, yájadhyāi (but once or twice also yajádhyāi), váhadhyāi, sáhadhyāi, bháradhyāi. In a single instance, píbadhyāi, the suffix is added distinctly to a present-stem; and in one, vāvṛdhádhyāi, to a perfect stem. Finally, in a number of instances (ten), this infinitive is made from a causative stem in ay: thus, mādayádhyāi, riṣayádhyāi, etc.
- a. This infinitive is by no means rare in RV., being made in thirty-five different forms (with seventy-two occurrences). But it is hardly known outside of the RV.; the AV. has it but once (in a passage found also in RV.); and elsewhere half-a-dozen examples have been noticed, in mantra-passages (one of them TS. falsely reads gámadhye); in the Brāhmaṇa language proper it appears to be entirely wanting.
- 977. An example or two are met with of an infinitive in syāi: thus, róhişyāi (TS.), avyathişyāi (K. Kap.; MS. avyáthişe; VS. vyathişat), and perhaps -dhāsyāi (PGS.).
- 978. The infinitives in ṣaṇi are: iṣaṇi (?) from yiṣ send, -bhūṣaṇi from ybhū; çūṣaṇi from y'çū or çvā; neṣaṇi from ynī; sakṣaṇi from ysah; parṣaṇi from ypr, tarīṣaṇi from ytr; and gṛṇīṣaṇi and stṛṇīṣaṇi from y'gr and str—the last containing evident present tensesigns (compare the 1st sing. gṛṇīṣa, 884 d).
- 979. The only infinitive in tari is dhartari (with its compound vidhartari), from 1/dhr.

Uses of the Infinitives.

- 980. The uses of the so-called infinitives are for the most part closely accordant with those of the corresponding cases from other abstract nouns. Thus:
- 981. The accusative, which is made only from the root-noun and the noun in tu, is used as object of a verb.
- a. Especially, of forms from the root cak be able, and arh be worthy, have the right or the power. Thus, cakema tva samidham (RV.) may we accomplish thy kindling; ma caken pratidham sum (AV.) may they not be able to fit the arrow to the string; mano va imain sadyah pary-

aptum arhati manah paribhavitum (TS.) the mind, forsooth, can at once attain and surpass her; ko hy ètasya rhati guhyam nama grahlitum (CB.) for who is worthy to take his secret name? In the Veds, the construction with these verbs is only one among others; in the Brahmans, it becomes the greatly prevalent one (three quarters or more of all the cases)

- b. Further, of verbs of motion (next most frequent case): thus, dākṣiṇāni hôtum eti (TS.) he goes to sacrifice things pertaining to sacrificial gifts; indram pratiram emy āyuḥ (RV.) I go to Indra for (i. e. beseech of him) the lengthening out of life; of yāhr persist in, undertake: as, sá idám jātāh sárvam evá dágdhum dadhre (CB.) he, as soon as born, began to burn this universe; of verbs meaning desire, hope, notice, know, and the like: as, pāṇān vicṛtam vettha sárvān (AV.) thou knowest how to loosen all bonds; tásmād agnim nā "driyeta párihantum (CB.) therefore one should not be careful to smother the fire; and of others.
- 982. Of the infinitive datives, the fundamental and usual sense is that expressed by for, in order to, for the purpose of.

Examples are: víçvam jīvám caráse bodháyantī (RV.) awahening every living creature to motion; tấn úpa yāta píbadhyāi (RV.) rome to drink them; nāi 'tấm to devá adadur áttave (AV.) the gods did not give her to thee for eating; prāi "d yudháye dásyum índrah (RV.) Indra went forward to fight the demon; cákṣur no dhehi vikhyāi (RV.) give us sight for looking abroad.

Some peculiar constructions, however, grow out of this use of the infinitive dative. Thus:

a. The noun which is logically the subject or the object of the action expressed by the infinitive is frequently put beside it in the dative (by a construction which is in part a perfectly simple one, but which is stretched beyond its natural boundaries by a kind of attraction): thus, cakāra sūryāya pánthām ánvetavā u (RV.) he made a track for the sun to follow (made for the sun a track for his following); qíqīte qṛnge rakṣobhyo viníkṣe (RV.) he whets his horns to pierce the demons; rudrāya dhānur ā tanomi brahmadvíṣe qárave hāntavā u (RV.) I stretch the bow for Rudra, that with his arrow he may slay the brahmahater; asmābhyam dṛqāye sūryāya pūnar dātām āsum (RV.) may they grant life again, that we may see the sun.

b. An infinite with Vkr make is used nearly in the sense of a causative verb: thus, prå 'ndham gronam caksasa étave krtham (RV.) ye make the blind and lame to see and yo; agnim samidhe cakartha (RV.) thou hast made the fire to be kindled. Of similar character is an occasional construction with another verb: as, yad Im uçması kartave karat tat (RV.) what we wish to be done, may he do that; kavinr icchami samdige (RV.) I desire to see the sages.

c. A dative infinitive is not seldom used as a predicate, sometimes

with, but more usually without, a copula expressed: thus, agnir iva na praticining bhavati (TS.) like fire, he is not to be resisted; mahima te anyena na samnage (VS.) thy greatness is not to be attained by another; nakim indro nikartave na çakran pariçaktave (RV.) Indra is not to be put down, the mighty one is not to be overpowered.

- d. Sometimes an infinitive so used without a copula has quite nearly the value of an imperative: thus, tyá me yaçásā...āuçijó huvádhyāi [asti] (RV.) these glorious ones shall the son of Ucij invoke for me; sūktébhir vaḥ...indrā nv àgni ávase huvádhyāi [staḥ] (RV.) with your hymns shall ye call now on Indra and Agni for aid; vandádhyā agnim námobhiḥ [asmi] (RV.) let me greet Agni with homage; asmākā-saç ca sūrāyo viçvā āçās tarīṣáṇi (RV.) and let our sacrificers cross all regions; tán nāi 'váṁ kártavāi (MS.) that must not be done so; brahmadviṣaḥ çárave hántavā u (RV.) let the arrow slay the brahmahaters. The infinitives in dhyāi and ṣaṇi (which latter is in all its uses accordant with datives) are those in which the imperative value is most distinctly to be recognized.
- e. In the Brāhmaṇas and Sūtras (especially in ÇB.) the dative in tavāi is not seldom used with a verb signifying speak (brū, vac, ah), to express the ordering of anything to be done: thus, tásmād óṣadhīnām evá mūlāny úcchettavāi brūyāt (ÇB.) therefore let him direct the roots of the plants to be cut up (speak in order to their cutting up · cf. yé vaçāyā ádānāya vádanti who dissuade from giving the cow: AV.).
- 983. The ablative infinitive which, like the accusative, is made only from the root-noun and that in tu is found especially with the prepositions a until and pura before.
- a. Thus, ā támitoḥ (TS. etc.) until exhaustion; purā vācaḥ právaditoḥ (TS.) before utterance of the voice. In the Brāhmaṇa language, this is the well-nigh exclusive construction of the ablative (it occurs also with prāk, arvāk, etc.); in the Veda, the latter is used also after ṛté without, and after several verbs, as trā and pā protect, yu separate, bhī, etc.
- b. In a few instances, by an attraction similar to that illustrated above for the dative (982 a), a neun dependent on this infinitive is put in the ablative beside it: thus, pura vagbhyah sampravaditoh (PB.) before the utterance together of the voices; tradhvam kartad avapadah (RV.) save us from falling down into the pit; pura daksinabhyo netoh (Apast.) defore the gifts are taken away.
- 984. The genitive infinitive (having the same form as the ablative) is in common use in the Brahmana language as dependent on içvara lord, master, employed adjectively in the sense of capable or likely or exposed to.
- a. Examples are: tā [devátāḥ] īçvarā enam pradáhaḥ (TS.) they are likely to burn him up; átha ha vā īçvarò 'gnim citvā kim-cid dāuritám āpattor vi vā hválitoḥ (ÇB.) so in truth he is liable,

after piling the fire, to meet with some mishap or other, or to stagger; Iqvaram väi rathantaram udgätuç cakçun pramathiton (PB.) the rathantara is liable to knock out the eye of the chanter.

- b. The dative is used in CB. instead of the genitive in a single phrase (īçvarāú jánayitavāí); and, in the later language, sometimes the accusative in tum. In a case or two the maso, sing, nom. īçvaraḥ is used, without regard to the gender or number of the word which it qualifies; thus, tasye "çvaraḥ prajā pāpīyasī bhavitoḥ (CB.) his proyeny is liable to deteriorate. And in a very few instances the word īçvara is omitted, and the genitive has the same value without it: thus, dve madhyamidinam abhi pratyetoḥ (AB.) two may be added to the noon libation; tato dīkṣitaḥ pāmanó bhavitoḥ (CB.) then the consecrated is liable to get the itch.
- c. This construction with īçvara, which is the only one for the genitive infinitive in the Brāhmaṇa, is unknown in the Veda, where the genitive is found in a very small number of examples with madhyā, and with the root īç: thus, madhyā kartoḥ (RV.) in the midst of action; içe rāyó dātoḥ (RV.) he is master of the giving of wealth; içe yótoḥ (RV.) is able to keep away.
- 985. Unless the infinitives in sani and tari are locative in form (their uses are those of datives), the locative infinitive is so rare, and has so little that is peculiar in its use, that it is hardly worth making any account of. An example is usaso budhi (RV.) at the awakening of the dawn.
- 986. In the Veda, the dative infinitive forms are very much more numerous than the accusative (in RV., their occurrences are twelve times as many; in AV., more than three times); and the accusative in tum is rare (only four forms in RV., only eight in AV.). In the Brāhmaṇas, the accusative has risen to comparatively much greater frequency (its forms are nearly twice as many as those of the dative); but the ablative-genitive, which is rare in the Veda, has also come to full equality with it. The disappearance in the classical language of all excepting the accusative in tum (but see 968 h) is a matter for no small surprise.
- 987. The later infinitive in tum is oftenest used in constructions corresponding to those of the earlier accusative: thus, na vāṣpam açakat soḍhum he could not restrain his tears; tam draṣṭum arhasi thou oughtest to see him; prāptum icchanti they desire to obtain; samkhyātum ārabdham having begun to count. But also, not infrequently, in those of the other cases. So, especially, of the dative: thus, avasthātum sthānāntaram cintaya devise another place to stay in; tvām anveṣṭum ihā "gatah he has come hither to seek for thee;—but likewise of the genitive: thus, samartho gantum capable of going; samdhātum īçvarah able to mend. Even a construction as nominative is not unknown: thus, yuktam tasya mayā samāçvā-

sayitum bhāryām (MBh.) it is proper for me to comfort his wife; na naptāram svayam nyāyyam çaptum evam (R.) it is not suitable thus to curse one's own grandson; tad vaktum na pāryate (Çatr.) it is not possible to say that.

988. In the later language, as in the earlier, the infinitive in certain connections has what we look upon as a passive value. Thus, kartum arabdhah begun to be made; crotum na yujyate it is not fit to be heard (for hearing). This is especially frequent along with the passive forms of yeak: thus, tyaktum na cakyate it cannot be abandoned; cakyav iha "netum they two can be brought hither; na ca vibhūtayah cakyam avaptum ūrjitāh nor are mighty successes a thing capable of being attained.

Gerunds.

989. The so-called gerund is a stereotyped case (doubtless instrumental) of a verbal noun, used generally as adjunct to the logical subject of a clause, denoting an accompanying or (more often) a preceding action to that signified by the verb of the clause. It has thus the virtual value of an indeclinable participle, present or past, qualifying the actor whose action it describes.

a. Thus, for example: crutvāi 'va cā 'bruvan and hearing (or having heard) they spoke; tebhyaḥ pratijñāyā 'thāi 'tān paripa-praccha having given them his promise, he then questioned them.

- 990. The gerund is made in the later language by one of the two suffixes at tvā and u ya, the former being used with a simple root, the latter with one that is compounded with a prepositional prefix—or, rarely, with an element of another kind, as adverb or noun.
- a. To this distribution of uses between the two suffixes there are occasional exceptions. Thus, gerunds in ya from simple roots are not very rare in the epic language (e. g. gṛḥya, uṣya [/vas dwell], arcya, ikṣya, cintya, tyajya, lakṣya; also from causatives and denominatives, as vācya, yojya, plāvya), and are not unknown elsewhere (e. g. arcya and īkṣya M., prothya AGS., sthāpya (vu.). And gerunds in tvā from compounded roots are met with in considerable numbers from AV. (only pratyarpayitvā) down: e. g. samīrayitvā MS., virocayitvā TA., utkṣiptvā U., pratyuktvā S., pratyasitvā S., prahasitvā MBh., samdarçayitvā MBh., vimuktvā R., nivedayitvā R., proktvā Pañe., anupītvā VRS.: the great majority of them are made from the causative stem.

- b. The prefixion of the negative particle, a or an, does not cause the gerund to take the form in ya: thus, akrtvā, amīrayitvā (but R has acintya). Of compounds with other than verbal prefixes, RV hapunardāya, karnagfhya, pādagfhya, hastagfhya, aramkṛtya, akkhalīkṛtya, mithespṛdhya; AV has further namaskṛtya.
- 991. The suffix all tva has the accent. It is usually added directly to the root, but often also with interesion of the auxiliary vowel ₹ i with regard to which, as to the form of the root before it, the formation neagrees with that of the participle in ₹ ta (952 ff.).
- a. Examples of the general accordance of passive participle, infinitive, and gerund in regard to the use of i were given above, 968 a; further specifications are called for, as follows:
- b. The quotable roots in variable r (242) change it to īr: thus, tīrtvā, stīrtvā (al o stṛtvā); and car makes also cīrtvā (like cīrṇa); roots in ā show in general the same weakening as in the participle; but from dhā put is quotable only dhitvā (hitvā), from mā measure mitvā and mītvā, from dā give only dattvā, from chā chāyitvā; of roots in am, kram and bhram and yam make forms both with and without i (as in the infinitive), but ram has ratvā and ramtvā, and dam and vam make damitvā and vamitvā.
- c. The auxiliary vowel is taken by roots gras, mus, çap, and çās (çāsitvā) (whose participles have both forms); also by cāy, nṛt (nartitvā), lag, and svaj (against analogy of pple); and que makes çocitvā. On the other hand, from ruj (rugṇa) and vraçe (vṛkṇa) come ruktvā and vṛṣṭvā. And both forms are made (as also in infinitive or participle) from car, vas dwell (uṣṭvā, uṣitvā), nī (nītvā, nayitvā), and mṛj (mṛṣṭvā, mārjitvā).
- d. While the formation is in general one requiring, like the passive participle (e. g. uptvā, like uptā; uditvā, like uditā), a weak or weakened root, there are some cases in which it is made from a strong or strengthened root-form. Thus (besides the instances already given: chāyitvā, ramtvā, çāsitvā, cāyitvā, çocitvā, nayitvā, mārjitvā), we faid charditvā (Āpast.), danāṣṭvā, and spharitvā, and, from a number of roots, a second strong form beside the more regular weak one: namely, anktvā, bhanktvā, bhunktvā, syanttvā (beside aktvā etc.); cayitvā, smayitvā, smaritvā (beside citvā etc.); roditvā (beside ruditvā), and sincitvā (beside siktvā). The last shows the influence of the present-stem; as do also mārjitvā (above) and jighritvā (yghrā). The form ṣṭhutvā (Āpast.) is doubtless a false reading, for ṣṭhyūtvā.
- 992. The suffix I ya is added directly to the room which is accented, but has its weak form. A root ending

in a short vowel takes त्य tya instead of य ya: thus, जित्य -jitya, न्त्य -stutya, कृत्य -kṛtya.

a. Roots in variable r (242) change that vowel to īr or ūr: thus, kīrya, gīrya, tīrya (and tūrya), dīrya, pūrya, çīrya, stīrya (also stṛtya); — roots in ā have for the most part -āya; but dhā suck makes dhīya, and double forms are found from gā sing (gāya, gīya), pā drink (pāya, pīya), dā give (dāya, dādya), dā divide (dāya, ditya), mā measure, exchange (māya, mītya), sā bind (sāya, sya); lī cling has lāya or līya, as if an ā-verb; and khan and dham make khāya and dhmāya, from their ā-forms; — the roots in an and am making their participle in ata (954 d) make the gerund in atya, but also later in anya, amya (e. g. gātya, gamya; hātya, hanya; but tan makes as second form tāya, and from ram only ramya is quotable); — the roots in īv add ya to their īv-form: thus, ṣṭhīvya, sīvya; — a few roots in i and u add ya to the lengthened vowel besides adding tya: thus, i go (īya, ítya; also ayya), ci gather (cīya, cītya), and plu, yu unite, su, stu (plūya, plutya, etc.); while kṣi destroy has only kṣīya.

b. This gerund, though accented on the root-syllable, is generally a weakening formation: thus are made, without a strengthening nasal found in some other forms, ácya, ájya, idhya, údya, ubhya, grathya, tácya, daçya, bádhya, bhajya, lípya, lúpya, vlágya, crabhya, sajya, skábhya, stábhya, syadya, svajya; with weakening of other kinds, gfhya and gfbhya, prochya, úcya, udya, úpya, úsya (vas dwell), úhya, vidhya, víya, vrçcya, spfdhya, húya; — but from a number of roots are made both a stronger and a weaker form: thus, manthya and máthya, mārjya and mfjya, rundhya and rúdhya, çańsya and cásya, çāsya and ciaya, skándya and skádya, sráńsya and srasya; — and only strong forms are found from roots arc, av, cāy, çī (çayya), as well as from certain roots with a constant nasal: e. g. uñch, kamp, nand, lamb, çaňk; isolated cases are ogya (/uṣ burn), prothya (also prúthya).

o. Other special cases are úhya and ūhya (yūh remove), gurya and gurya, guhya and gunya, rúhya and rūhya, bhramya and bhramya, ayya (beside itya, īya), ghraya and jighrya; and ūrņutya (beside vitya).

993. The older language has the same two gerund formations, having the same distinction, and used in the same way.

a. In RV., however, the final of ya is in the great majority of instances (fully two thirds) long (as if the instrumental ending of a derivative noun in i or ti). In AV., long ā appears only once in a RV.

b. Instead of tvā alone, the Veda has three forms of the suffix, namely tvā, tvāya, and tvī. Of these three, tvī is decidedly the commonest in RV. (thirty-five occurrences, against twenty-one of tvā); but it is unknown

in AV., and very rare elsewhere in the older language; tväya is found nine times in RV. (only once outside the tenth Book), twice in AV., and but half-adozen times elsewhere (in QB., once from a causative stem: spāçayitvāya). The historical relation of the three forms is obscure.

- c. Two other gerund suffixes, tvānam and tvīnam, are mentioned by the grammarians as of Vedic use, but they have nowhere been found to occur.
- 994. The use of this gerund, though not changing in its character, becomes much more frequent, and even excessive, in the later language.
- a. Thus, in the Nala and Bhagavad-Gītā, which have only one tenth as many verb-forms as RV., there are more than three times as many examples of the gerund as in the latter.
- b. In general, the gerund is an adjunct to the subject of a sentence, and expresses an act or condition belonging to the subject: thus, vájrena hatvá nír apáh sasarja (RV.) smiting with his thunderbolt, he poured forth the waters; pītví sómasya vävrdhe (RV.) having drunk of the soma, he waxed strong; té yajňásya rásam dhītvá vidúhya yajňám yūpéna yopayitvá tirð 'bhavan (ÇB.) having sucked out the sap of the offering, having milked the offering dry, having blocked it with the sacrificial post, they disappeared; crutvái 'va cā 'bruvan (MBh.) and having heard, they said; tam ca dūre drṣṭvā gardabhī 'yam iti matvā dhāvitaḥ (H.) and having seen him in the distance, thinking 'it is a she-ass', he ran.
- c. But if the logical subject, the real agent, is put by the construction of the sentence in a dependent case, it is still qualified by the gerund: thus, stríyam drstváya kitavám tatāpa (RV.) it distresses the gambler (i. e. the gambler is distressed) at seeing his wife; tam hai 'nam drstva bhír viveda (CB.) fear came upon him (i. e. he was afraid) when he saw him; vidhaya prosite vrttim (M.) when he stays away after providing for her support; kim nu me syād idam krtvā (MBh.) what, I wonder, would happen to me if I did this; - and especially, when a passive form is given to the sentence, the gerund qualifies the agent in the instrumental case (282 a): thus, tatah çabdād abhijñāya sa vyāghreņa hatah (H.) thereupon he was slain by the tiger, who recognized him by his voice; tvayā sa rājā çakuntalām puraskrtya vaktavyah (('.) presenting Cakuntala, thou must say to the king; hansanām vacanam crutvā yathā me (gen. for instr.) nāiṣadho vṛtaḥ (MBh.) as the Nishadhan was chosen by me on hearing the words of the swans: this construction is extremely common in much of the later Sanskrit.
- d. Occasionally, the gerund qualifies an agent, especially an indefinite one, that is unexpressed: thus, tada 'trāi 'va paktvā khāditavyaḥ (H.) then he shall be eaten [by us] cooking him on the spot; yad anyasya pratijūāya punar anyasya dīyate (M.) that, after being promised (lit. when one has promised her) to one, she is given again to another; sucintya co 'ktam suvicārya yat kṛtam (H.) what one says after mature thought,

and does after full deliberation. Hence, still more elliptically, after alam: thus, alam vicarya (C.) enough of hesitation; tad alam te vanam gatva (R.) so have done with going to the forest.

- e. Other less regular constructions are met with, especially in the older language: thus, in the manner of a participle with man and the like (268 a), as tâm hinsitvè 'va mene (ÇB.) he thought he had hurt him; tā adbhir abhisicya nijāsyāi 'vā 'manyata (AB.) having sprinkled them with water, he believed himself to have exhausted them;—in the manner of a participle forming a continuous tense with \$\sigma\$1 (1075 a), as indram evāi 'tāir ārabhya yanti (AB.) by means of them they keep taking hold of Indra;—as qualifying a subordinate member of the sentence, as purodāçam evā kūrmām bhūtvā sarpantam (ÇB.) to the sacrificial cake creeping about, having become a tortoise; ayodhyām ... saphenām sasvanām bhūtva jalormim iva (R.) into Ayodhyā, like a surge that had been foamy and roaring;—even absolutely, as ātithyéna vāl devā iṣtvā tānt samād avindat (CB.) when the gods had sacrificed with the guest-offering, strife befel them.
- f. As in the two examples before the last, a predicate word with bhūtvā is put in the same case with the subject: thus, further, tád iyám evāi 'tád bhūtvā yajati ('B.) so having thus become this earth he makes offering; yena vāmanenā 'pi bhūtvā (Vct.) by whom, even when he had become a dwarf. The construction is a rare one.
- g. A number of gerunds have their meaning attenuated sometimes to the semblance of a preposition or adverb: such are adhikrtya making a subject of, i. e. respecting, of; ādāya, upāgrhya taking, i. e. with; uddiçya pointing toward, i. e. at; āsādya, arriving at, i. e. along, by; ārabhya beginning, i. e. from; sambhūya being with, i. e. with; samhatya striking together, i. e. in unison; prasahya using force, i. e. violently; tyaktvā, parityajya, muktvā, vihāya, uddhrtya, varjayitvā leaving out etc., i. e. excepting, without; and others. Examples are: çakuntalām adhikrtya bravīmi (Ç.) I am speaking of Çakuntalā; tam uddiçya kṣiptalaguḍaḥ (H.) having thrown the cudgel at hun; nimittam kimoid āsādya (H.) for some reason or other.
- h. The gerund is in the later language sometimes found in composition, as if a noun-stem: e. g. prasahyaharana taking with violence; pretyabhāva existence after death; vibhajyapātha separate enunciation; sambhūyagamana going together. It is also often repeated (1260), in a distributive sense: e. g. sá vāí sammrjya-sammrjya pratapya-pratapya prá yacchati (CB.) in each case, after wiping and warming them, he hands them over; grhītvā-grhītvā (KCS.) at each taking; unnamyonamya (Pasic.) every time that they arise.

Adverbial Gerund in am.

995. The accusative of a derivative nomen action is in a, used adverbially, assumes sometimes a value and construction so accord-

ant with that of the usual gerund that it cannot well be called by a different name.

- a. No example of a peculiar gerundial construction with such a form occurs either in RV. or AV., although a dozen adverbial accusatives are to be classed as representing the formation: thus, abhyākrāmam, pratánkam, pranódam, nilāyam, abhiskandam, etc. This gerund is found especially in the Brāhmanas and Sūtras, where it is not rare; in the epics it is extremely infrequent; later, also, it occurs very sparingly.
- b. A final vowel has vyddhi-strengthening before the suffix: thus, nāvam, çrāvam, kāram; final ā adds y: thus, khyāyam, yāyam; a medial vowel has guṇa (if capable of it: 240): thus, kṣepam, kroçam, vartam (but īkṣam, pūram); a medial a before a single consonant is lengthened: thus, krāmam, cāram, grāham, svādam (but grantham, lambham). The accent is on the radical syllable. No uncompounded examples are found in the older languago, and extremely few in the later.
- c. Examples are: kāmam vā imāny āngāni vyatyāsam çete (ÇB.) he lies changing the position of these limbs at pleasure; úttarāmuttarām çākhām samālāmbham róhet (ÇB.) be would climb, taking hold of a higher and ever a higher limb; aparīşu mahānāgām ivā bhisamsāram didpķṣitāraḥ (ÇB.) hereafter, running together as it were about a great snake, they will wish to see him; nāmāny āsām etāni nāmagrāham (ÇB.) with separate naming of these their names; yō viparyāsam avagūhati (ÇB.) whoever buries it upside down; bāhūtkṣepam kranditum pravṛttā (Ç.) she proceeded to cry, throwing up her arms (with arm-tossing); navacūtapallavāni darçam-darçam madhukarāṇām kvaṇitāni çrāvam-çrāvam paribabhrāma (DKC.) he wandered about, constantly seeing the young shoots of the mango, and hearing the humming of the bees. Repeated forms, like those in the last example, are approved in the later language; they do not occur earlier (but instead of them the repeated ordinary gerund: 994 h).

CHAPTER XIV.

DERIVATIVE OR SECONDARY CONJUGATION.

996. Secondary conjugations are those in which a whole system of forms, like that already described as made from the simple root, is made, with greater or less completeness, from a derivative conjugation-stem; and is also

usually connected with a certain definite modification of the original radical sense.

- a. We have seen, indeed, that the tense-systems are also for the most part made from derivative-stems; and even that, in some cases, such stems assume the appearance and value of roots, and are made the basis of a complete conjugational system. Nor is there any distinct division-line to be drawn between tense-systems and derivative conjugations; the latter are present-systems which have been expanded into conjugations by the addition of other tenses, and of participles, infinitives, and so on. In the earliest language, their forms outside of the present-system are still quite rare, hardly more than sporadic; and even later they are with the exception of one or two formations which attain a comparative frequency much less common than the corresponding forms of primary conjugation.
- 997. The secondary conjugations are: I. Passive; II. Intensive; III. Desiderative; IV. Causative; V. Denominative.
- a. The passive is classed here as a secondary conjugation because of its analogy with the others in respect to specific value, and freedom of formation, although it does not, like them, make its forms outside the present system from its present-stem.

I. Passive.

- 998. The passive conjugation has been already in the main described. Thus, we have seen that —
- a. It has a special present-system, the stem of which is present only, and not made the basis of any of the remaining forms: this stem is formed with the accented class-sign U yá, and it takes (with exceptions: 774) the middle endings. This present-system is treated with the others, above, 768 ff.
- b. There is a special passive 3d sing. of the aorist, ending in § 1: it is treated above, 842 ff.
- c. In the remaining tenses, the middle forms are used also in a passive sense.
- d. But the passive use of middle forms is not common; it is oftenest net with in the perfect. The participle to a great extent takes the place of a past passive tense, and the gerundive that of a future. On the other

- hand, in the oldest language (RV.), middle forms of other present-systems are in a considerable number of cases employed with passive meaning.
- e. According to the grammarians, there may be formed from some verbs, for passive use, a special stem for the acrist and the two future systems, coinciding in form with the peculiar 3d sing. acrist.
- f. Thus, from /dā (aor. 3d sing. adāyi), beside ádāsi, dāsyé, dātāhe, also ádāyişi, dāyişyé, dāyitāhe. The permission to make this double formation extends to all roots ending in vowels, and to grah, dṛç, and han. No such passive forms occur in the older language, and not halfadozen are quotable from the later (we find adhāyişi and asthāyişi in DKC., and anāyişata in Kuval.).
- g. As to the alleged passive inflection of the periphrastic perfect, see below, 1072.
- h. Besides the participle from the present tense-stem (771. 5), the passive has a past participle in \overline{n} ta (952), or \overline{n} na (957), and future participles, or gerundives, of various formation (961 ff.), made directly from the root.
- 999. As already pointed out (282 a), the language, especially later has a decided predilection for the passive form of the sentence. This is given in part by the use of finite passive forms, but oftener by that of the passive participle and of the gerundive: the participle being taken in part in a present sense, but more usually in a past (whether indefinite or proximate past), and sometimes with a copula expressed, but much oftener without it; and the gerundive representing either a pure future or one with the sense of necessity or duty added. A further example is: tatrāi 'ko yuvā brāhmaņo dṛṣṭaḥ: tam drstvā kāmena pīditā samjātā: sakhyā agre kathitam: sakhi puruşo 'yam grhîtvā mama mātuh samīpam ānetavyah (Vet.) there she saw a young Brahman; at sight of him she felt the pangs of love; she said to her friend: "friend, you must take and bring this man to my mother". In some styles of later Sanskrit, the prevailing expression of past time is by means of the passive participle (thus, in Vet., an extreme case, more than nine tenths).
- a. As in other languages, a 3d sing. passive is freely made from intransitive as well as transitive verbs: thus, ihā "gamyatām come hither; tvayā tatrāi 'va sthīyatām do you stand just there; sarvāir jālam ādāyo 'ddīyatām (II.) let all fly up with the net.

II. Intensive.

1000. The intensive (sometimes also called frequentative) is that one of the secondary conjugations which is least removed from the analogy of formations already described. It is, like the present-system of the second conjugation-class (642 ff.), the inflection of a reduplicated stem, but of one that is peculiar in having a strengthened reduplication. It is decidedly less extended beyond the limits of a present-system than any other of the derivative conjugations.

- s. The intensive conjugation signifies the repetition or the intensification of the action expressed by the primary conjugation of a root.
- 1001. According to the grammarians, the intensive conjugation may be formed from nearly all the roots in the language the exceptions being roots of more than one syllable, those conjugated only causatively (below, 1056), and in general those beginning with a vowel.
- a. In fact, however, intensives in the later language are very rare, so rare that it is hard to tell precisely what value is to be given to the rules of the native grammar respecting them. Nor are they at all common earlier, except (comparatively) in the RV., which contains about six sevenths of the whole number (rather over a hundred) quotable from Veda and Brāhmana and Sūtra-texts; AV. has less than half as many as RV., and many of them in RV. passages; from the later language are quotable about twenty of these, about forty more, but for the most part only in an occurrence or two.

b. Hence, in the description to be given below, the actual aspect of the formation, as exhibited in the older language, will be had primarily and especially in view; and the examples will be of forms found there in use.

- 1002. The strong intensive reduplication is made in three different ways:
- I. a. The reduplicating syllable is, as elsewhere, composed of a single consonant with following vowel, and, so far as the consonant is concerned, follows the rules for present and perfect reduplication (590); but the vowel is a heavy one, radical a and r (or ar) being reduplicated with a, an i-vowel by e, and an u-vowel by o.

Examples are: vāvad, bābadh, çāçvas, rārandh; dādr, dādhr; cekit, tetij, nenī, vevlī; çoçuc, popruth, coşku, johū.

II. b. The reduplicating syllable has a final consonant, taken from the end of the root. With an exception or two, this consonant is either r (or its substitute 1) or a nasal.

Examples are: carcar, calcal, sarsr, marmṛj, jarhṛṣ; caṇkram, janghan, taṅstan, dandaç (/daṅç or daọ), janjabh (/jambh or jabh), tantas (/taṅs or tas), nannam (/nam), yaṁyam (/yam). The nasal is assimilated to the initial consonant.

- c. Only roots having a or r as vowel make this form of reduplication, but with such roots it is more common than either of the other forms.
- d. Irregular formations of this class are: with a final other than r or n in the reduplication, badbadh; with a final nasal in the reduplication which is not found in the root, jangah (RV.), janjap (GB.; and janguyat PB. is perhaps from Vgu; the later language has further dandah); with an anomalous initial consonant in reduplication, jarbhur from Vbhur (compare the Vedic perfect jabhāra from Vbhr, 789b), galgal from Vgal; with various treatment of an r or ar-element, dardar and dardir, carkar and carkir, tartar and tartur, carcar and carcur, jargur and jalgul.
- e. The roots i and r are the only ones with vowel initial forming an intensive stem: i makes iyāy (? PU., once); r makes the irregular alar or alr. As to the stem iya, see below, 1021 b.
- III. f. The reduplication is dissyllabic, an i-vowel being added after a final consonant of the reduplicating syllable. This i-vowel is in the older language short before a double consonant, and long before a single.

Examples are: ganīgam (but gánigmatam), varīvṛt, vanīvāh, caniṣkad, saniṣvan; navīnu, davidyut (and the participles dávidhvat but távītuat). A single exception as to the quantity of the i is davidhāva.

g. This method of reduplication is followed in the older language by about thirty roots. Thus, of roots having final or penultimate n (once m), and n in the reduplicating syllable, pan, phan, san, svan, han; gam; krand, coand, skand, syand; of roots having final or medial; and r in the reduplicating syllable, kr make, tr, bhr, vr, mrj, mrc, vrj, vrt, srp; also mluc (malimluc);—further, of roots assuming in the reduplication a n not found in the root, only vah (CB.: the grammarians allow also kas, pat, pad; and panīpad is quotable later; and ACS. has canīkhudat, for which TB. reads kanīkhunat); finally, of roots having u or ū as radical vowei, with av before the i-vowei, tu, dhū, nu, dyut.

h. In this class, the general rules as to the form of the reduplicating consonant (590) are violated in the case of ghanighan and bharibhr, and of ganigam, karikr (but the regular carikr also occurs), kanikrand, and kaniskand (but also caniskand occurs); also in kanikhun.

i. The reversion to more original guttural form after the reduplication in cekit, and janghan and ghanighan, is in accordance with what takes place elsewhere (216, 1).

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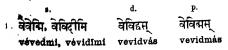
1008. The wante root is allowed to form its intensive stem in more than one way.

Thus, in the older language, dadr and dardr; dadhr and dardhr; cacal and carcar (and carcur); tartar (and tartur) and taritr; jangam and ganigam; janghan and ghanighan; pamphan and paniphan; marmri and marimri; marmre and marimre; varvet and varivet; jarbhr and bharibhr; dodhu and davidhu; nonu and navinu; babadh and badbadh.

- 1004. The model of normal intensive inflection is the present-system of the reduplicating conjugation-class (642 ff.); and this is indeed to a considerable extent followed, in espect to endings, strengthening of stem, and accent. But leviations from the model are not rare; and the forms are n general of too infrequent occurrence to allow of satisfactory classification and explanation.
- a. The most marked irregularity is the frequent insertion of an between the stem and ending. According to the grammarians, this sallowed in all the strong forms before an ending beginning with a consonant; and before the I a final vowel has guna-strengthening, but a medial one remains unchanged.

Present-System.

- 1005. We will take up the parts of the present-system in their order, giving first what is recognized as regular in the later language, and then showing how the formation appears in the earlier texts. As most grammarians do not allow a middle inflection, and middle forms are few even in the Veda, no attempt will be made to set up a paradigm for the middle voice.
- 1006. As example of inflection may be taken the root विद् vid, know, of which the intensive stem is वेविद् vevid, in strong forms, वेविद् véved.
 - a. Neither from this nor from any other root are more than a few scatng forms actually quotable.
 - 1. Present Indicative.



- 2
 वेवेतिस, वेविदीिष
 वेवित्यस्
 वेवित्यः

 vévetsi, vévidīṣi
 vevitthés
 vevitthés

 3
 वेवित्ति, वेविदिति
 वेवित्तम्
 वेविदिति

 vévetti, vévidīti
 vevittés
 vévidati
- b. From vह hū, the singular forms with auxiliary vowel would be जोक्वीमि jóhavīmi, जोक्वीषि jóhavīsi, जोक्वीति jóhavīti.
- 1007. a. The forms found in the older language agree in general with the paradigm. Examples are: 1st sing., carkarmi, veveşmi; 2d sing., alarşi, dárdarşi; 3d sing., álarti, dādharti, veveti, nenekti, janghanti, kánikrantti, ganīgamti; 3d du., jarbhṛtás; 1st pl., nonumas; 2d pl., jāgratha; 3d pl., dādhrati, nānadati, bharibhrati, várvṛtati, dávidyutati, nénijati, and, irregularly, veviṣanti; and, with the auxiliary vowel, jóhavīmi, cākaçīmi; cákaçīti, nonavīti, dardarīti, jarbhurīti. No stem with dissyllabic reduplication takes the auxiliary ī in any of its forms.
- $\mathbf{b.}\ \mathbf{A}$ single dual form with \mathbf{I} and strong stem occurs: namely, tartarīthas.
- c. The middle forms found to occur are: 1st sing., jóguve, nenije; 3d sing., nenikté, sarsṛte; and, with irregular accent, tétikte, dédiṣṭe; with irregular loss of final radical nasal, nánnate; with ending e instead of te, cékite, jángahe, jóguve, yoyuve, bābadhe, and (with irregular accent) badbadhé; 3d du., sarsrāte; 3d pl., dédiçate.

2. Present Subjunctive.

- 1008. a. Subjunctive forms with primary endings are extremely rare: there have been noticed only janghánāni, jāgarāsi (AV.); and, in the middle, tantasāíte (3d du.).
- b. Forms with secondary endings are more frequent: thus, 2d sing, janghanas, jalgulas; 3d sing, jagarat, cékitat, bobhavat, cárkṛṣat, jánghanat, bárbṛhat, mármṛjat, mármṛçat, parpharat, dardirat, caniṣkadat, davidyutat, saniṣvaṇat; 1st du., janghanāva; 1st pl. carkirāma, vevidāma; 3d pl., pāpatan, cócucan, carkiran; and, with double mode-sign, cákaçān (AV.). Of the middle are found only 3d persons plural: thus, jánghananta, jarhṛṣanta, marmṛjanta, nonuvanta, cocucanta.

3. Present Optative.

1009. This mode would show the unstrengthened stem, with the usual endings (568), accented. Thus:

s. d. p. 1 वेविग्वाम् वेविग्वाव वेविग्वाम vevidyām vevidyāva vevidyāma etc. etc. etc.

a. The optative is represented by only an example or two in the older language: thus, active, vevisyāt (AV.), jāgṛyās (KB.), jāgṛyāt (AB.), jāgṛyāma (VS. MS.; but jāgṛiyāma TS.); RV. has only cākanyāt (pft.?); middle, nenijīta (K.).

4. Present Imperative.

1010. The regular forms of the imperative, including the usual subjunctive first persons, would be as follows:

d. s. p. वेविदानि वेविदाव वविदाम vévidāva vévidāma vévidāni 2 वेविद्धि वीवत्तम वावत vevittám vevittá veviddhí वेवित्ताम 3 वेवेत्, वेविदीत् vévettu, vévidītu vevittām vévidatu

1011. a. Older imperative forms are less rare than optative. The first persons have been given above (janghánāni, the only accented example, does not correspond with the model, but is in conformity with the subjunctive of the reduplicating present); the proper imperatives are: 2d sing., dādṛhí, dardṛhi, carkṛdhi, jāgṛthi, nenigdhi, rāranddhí; the ending tāt is found in carkṛtāt and jāgṛtāt, and the latter (as was pointed out above, 571 b) is used in AV. as first person sing.; barbṛhi shows an elsewhere unparalleled loss of h before the ending hi; 3d sing., dādhartu, veveṣṭu, dardartu, marmarttu; 2d du., jāgṛtām; 3d du., jāgṛtām; 2d pl., jāgṛtá; caūkramata (RV., once) has an anomalous union-vowel. In the middle voice is found only nenikṣva (ÇB.).

b. Of imperative forms with auxiliary \(\bar{i}\), RV. has none; AV. has v\(\bar{a}\)vadītu and johavītu, and such are sometimes found in the Br\(\bar{a}\)hmanas; AV. has also, against rule, ta\(\bar{a}\)stan\(\bar{a}\)hi and ja\(\bar{n}\)ghan\(\bar{n}\)hi; VS. has c\(\bar{a}\)ka\(\bar{a}\)r\(\bar{a}\)hi.

5. Present Participle.

1012. The intensive participles, both active and middle, are comparatively common in the older language. They are formed and inflected like those of the reduplicating present, and have the accent on the reduplicating syllable.

Examples are: active, ožkaçat, nánadat, cékitat, mémyat, cócucat, róruvat, dardrat, mármrjat, jáñghanat, nánnamat, pániphanat, kánikradat, dávídyutat; — middle, bábadhāna, mémyāna, cékitāna, yóyuvāna, rórucāna, járbhurāṇa, sársrāṇa, jáñjabhāna, nánnamāna, dándaçāna. No middle participle shows the dissyllable reduplication.

1013. a. On account of their accent, rārahāṇá, rārakṣāṇá, and jāḥṛṣāṇá (beside jārhṛṣāṇa) are probably to be regarded as perfect participles, although no other perfect forms with heavy reduplication from the same roots occur. The inference is, however, rendered uncertain by the unmistakably intensive badbadhāná and marmṛjāná (beside mármṛjāna). As to cúcucāna etc., see 806 a.

b. The RV. has once jánghnatas, gen. sing., with root-vowel cast out; kánikrat appears to be used once for kánikradat; if cākát is to be referred to ykā (Grassmann), it is the only example of an intensive from a root in ā, and its accent is anomalous. Marmṛçantas (AB.) is perhaps a false reading; but forms with the nasal irregularly retained are found repeatedly in the epics and later: thus, lelihan, dedīpyantīm (MBh.), jājvalant (MBh. R.), sarīsṛpantāu (BhP.), rāraṭantī (R.)

6. Imperfect.

1014. The imperfect is regularly inflected as follows:

	8.	d.	p.
1	म्रवे विदम्	म्रवेविद	म्रवेविग
	ávevidam	ávevidva	å vevidma
2	म्रवेवेत्, म्रवेविदीम्	स्रवेवित्तम्	म्रवेवित
	ávevet, ávevidīs	ávevittam ,	ávevitta
3	म्रवेवेत्, म्रवेविदीत्	म्रवेवित्ताम्	म्रवेविद्रम्
	ávevet, ávevidīt	ávevittām	ávevidus

1015. The imperfect forms found in the earlier texts are not numerous. They are, including those from which the augment is omitted, as follo ws: in active, ist sing., acākaçam, dediçam; 2d sing., ajāgar, adar dar, dárdar; 3d sing., adardar, adardhar, avarīvar, dardar, kánit kan, dávidyot, návīnot; 2d du., adardrtam; ist pl., marmṛjmā; 3d pl., anannamus, adardirus, acarkṛṣus, ájohavus, anonavus; and, w tith auxiliary ī, in 3d sing., avāvacīt, ávāvaçīt, ávāvarīt, áyoyav. tt, ároravīt, ájohavīt; and, irregularly, in 3d du., avāvaçītām. The mide Ue forms are extremely few: namely, 3d sing., ádediṣṭa, ánannata (wi th loss of the final radical in a weak form of root); 3d pl. marmṛjat a, and avāvaçanta (which, if it belongs here, shows a transfer to an a-ste. w).

- 1016. Derivative Middle Inflection. From every intensive stem, as above described, may be formed in the present-system a further derivative conjugation which is formally identical with a passive, being made by the accented sign T yá, along with middle endings only. It has not, however, a passive value, but is in meaning and use indistinguishable from the simpler conjugation.
- a. A final vowel before this ya is treated as before the passivesign ya (770).
- b. The inflection is precisely like that of any other stem ending in a in the middle voice: thus, from pari, intensive stem marmri, is made the present indicative marmriyé, marmriyáse, marmriyáte, etc.; optative marmriyéya, marmriyéthās, marmriyéta, etc.; imperative marmriyásva, marmriyátām, etc.; participle marmriyámāna; imperfect ámarmriye, ámarmriyathās, ámarmriyata, etc. subjunctive forms do not occur.
- o. In a very few sporadic cases, these yá-forms are given a passive value: thus, janghanyamāna in MdU.; bambhramyate, dādhmā-yamāna, pepīyamāna in the later language. And active participles (529 a) are not unknown: thus, dedīpyantīm (MBh.), dodhūyant (MBh. BhP.).
- 1017. This kind of intensive inflection is more common than the other in the later language; in the earlier, it is comparatively rare.

Perfect.

1018. The grammarians are at variance as to whether a perfect may be formed directly from the intensive stem, or whether only a periphrastic perfect (below, 1070 ff.) is to be admitted.

a. No example of an intensive periphrastic perfect has anywhere come to light (except from jāgṛ: 1020 a). A few unmistakable perfect forms are made from the intensively reduplicated root in RV.: namely, davidhāva and nónāva, 3d sing., and nonuvus, 3d pl.; and there occur further dodrāva (TS.), yoyāva and leláya (MS.), and leláya (? CB.), all used in the sense of presents. To them may be added jāgara 1st sing. and jāgāra 3d sing.: but as to these, see below, 1020 a.

Aorist, Future, etc.

- 1019. As to the remaining parts of a full verbal conjugation, also, the grammarians are not agreed (occurrences of such forms, apparently, being too rare to afford even them any basis for rules); in general, it is allowed to treat the intensive stem further as a root in filling up the scheme of forms, using always the auxiliary vowel ξ i where it is ever used in the simple conjugation.
- a. Thus, from /vid, intensive stem vevid, would be made the acrist avevidiam with precative vevidyāsam, the futures vevidiayāmi and veviditāsmi, the participles vevidita, veviditavya, etc. the infinitive veviditum, and the gerunds veviditvā and -vevidya. And, where the intensive conjugation is the derivative middle one, the acrist and futures would take the corresponding middle form.
- b. Of all this, in the ancient language, there is hardly a trace. The RV. has carkree, 3d sing. mid., of a formation like hise and stuse (884 d), and the gerundives vitantasayya, and marmrijenya and vavrdhénya; and ÇB. has the participle vanīvāhitá, and the infinitive dédivitavaí. As to jāgarigyánt and jāgaritá, see the next paragraph.
- 1020. There are systems of inflection of certain roots, the intensive character of which is questioned or questionable. Thus:
- a. The root gr (or gar) wake has from the first no present-system save one with intensive reduplication; and its intensive stem, jägr, begins early to assume the value of a root, and form a completer conjugation; while by the grammarians this stem is reckoned as if simple and belonging to the root-class, and is inflected throughout accordingly. Those of its forms which occur in the older language have been given along with

the other intensives above. They are, for the present-system, the same with those acknowledged as regular later. The older perfect is like the other intensive perfects found in RV.: namely, jāgara etc., with the participle jāgaritās; and a future jāgaritṣyā-, a passive participle jāgaritā, and a gerundīve jāgaritavyā, are met with in the Brāhmaṇas. The old aorist (RV.) is the usual reduplicated or so-called causative aorist: thus, ájīgar. The grammarians give it in the later language a perfect with additional reduplication, jajāgāra etc., an iṣ-aorist, ajāgariṣam, with precative jāgaryāṣam, and everything else that is needed to make up a complete conjugation. The perf. jajāgāra is quotable from the epics and later, as also the periphrastic jāgarām āṣa. And MBh. has the mutilated jāgṛmi, and also a-forms, as jāgarati and jāgramāṇa.

1021. a. The stem irajya (active only) regulate, from which a number of forms are made in RV., has been viewed as an intensive from \(\gamma\) raj or \(\bar{r} \)j. It lacks, however, any analogy with the intensive formation. The same is true of iradh \(propitiate \) (only iradhanta and iradh\(y\bar{a}i, \) apparently for iradhadh\(y\bar{a}i).

b. The middle stem \mathbf{iya} , not infrequent in the oldest language, is often called an intensive of $V\mathbf{i}$ go, but without any propriety, as it has no analogy of form whatever with an intensive. The isolated 1st pl. Imahe, common in RV., is of questionable character.

1022. The root lī totter, with constant intensive reduplication, lelī, is quite irregular in inflection and accent: thus, pres., lelāyati and lelāyate, pples lelāyantī and lelāyatas (gen. sing.) and lelāyamāna, impf. alelāyat and alelet and alelīyata, perf. lelāya and lelāya (').

1023. The RV. anomalous form dart (or dard), 2d and 3d sing, from \sqrt{dr} or dar, is doubtfully referred to the intensive, as if abbreviated from dardar. RV. has once avarīvus (or -vur) where the sense requires a form from \sqrt{vrt}, as avarīvrtus. The form rarāṇātā (RV.. once) seems corrupt.

1024. A marked intensive or frequentative meaning is not always easily to be traced in the forms classed as intensive; and in some of them it is quite effaced. Thus, the roots cit, nij, vis use their intensive present-system as if it were an ordinary conjugation-class; nor is it otherwise with gr (jāgr). The grammarians recken the inflection of nij and vis as belonging to the reduplicating present-system, with irregularly strengthened reduplication; and they treat in the same way vie and vij; jāgr, as we have seen, they account a simple root.

a. Also daridrā, intensive of Vdrā run, is made by the grammarians a simple root, and furnished with a complete set of conjugational forms: as dadaridrāu; adaridrāsīt, etc. etc. It does not occur in the older language (unless dáridrat TS., for which VS. MS. read dáridra). The so-called root vevī futter is a pure intensive.

1025. It is allowed by the grammarians to make from the intensive stem also a passive, desiderative, causative, and so on: thus, from vevid, pass. vevidyé; desid. véviddami; caus. vevidáyāmi; desid. of causative, vévidayiāmi. But such formations are excessively rare; quotable are varīvarjáyantī AV., jāgaráyant TB. etc.; dādhārayati JB., dandaçayitvā DKC.

III. Desiderative.

- 1026. By the desiderative conjugation is signified a desire for the action or condition denoted by the simple root: thus, पिवामि pibēmi I drink, desid. पिपामामि pipēsēmi I wish to drink; जीवामि jivēmi I live, desid. जिजीविषामि jijīviṣāmi I desire to live. Such a conjugation is allowed to be formed from any simple root in the language, and also from any causative stem.
- a. The desiderative conjugation, although its forms outside the present-system are extremely rare in the oldest language, is earlier and more fully expanded into a whole verbal system than the intensive. Its forms are also of increasing frequency: much fewer than the intensives in RV., more numerous in the Brahmanas and later, not one third of the whole number of roots (about a hundred) noted as having a desiderative conjugation in Veda and Brahmana have such in RV.
- 1027. The desiderative stem is formed from the simple root by the addition of two characteristics: 1. a reduplication, which always has the accent; 2. an appended H sa which, however (like the tense-signs of acrist and future), sometimes takes before it the auxiliary vowel 3 i, becoming 34 isa.
- a. A few instances in the concluding part of ÇB. in which the ascent is otherwise laid thus, tişthäset, yiyāsantam, vividişanti, īpsantas must probably be regarded as errors.
- 1028. The root in general remains unchanged; but with the following exceptions:
- a. A final i or u is lengthened before sa: thus, cikṣṣa, cikṣṣa, jigṣṣa; cucrūṣa, juhūṣa, cukṣūṣa.
- b. A final r becomes īr or ūr before sa: thus, cikīrṣa, titīrṣa (also irregularly tūtūrṣa RV.), didhīrṣa, sisīrṣa, tistīrṣa (also tustūrṣa), jihīrṣa; bubhūrṣa, mumūrṣa (the only examples quotable).

o. Before işa, a final i- or u- or r-vowel necessarily, and a penultimate i or u or r optionally, have the guna-strengthening; no examples are quotable from the older texts; later occur çiçayişa, çiçarişa; cikartişa, ninartişa, mimardişa, vivarşişa, çuçobhişa; but rurudişa.

More special exceptions are:

- d. A few roots in a weaken this vowel to ī or even i thus, jigīṣa from ν gā go; plpīṣa (beside pipāsa) from ν pā drink, jihīṣa (AV.) from ν hā remove (jihīte: 664); didhiṣa (beside dhitsa) from ν dhā.
- e. A few roots in an or am leugthen the vowel: thus, jigāmsa (beside jigamişa) from /gam; jighāmsa from /han; mīmāmsa from /man; and titāmsa from /tan.
- f. Reversion to guttural form of an initial after the reduplication is seen in cikīṣa from Vci, cikitsa from Vcit, jigīṣa from Vji, jighāṅsa from Vhan; and Vhi is said to make jighīṣa (no occurrence).
- g. The roots van and san \max vivāsa and siṣāsa, from the rootforms vā and sā.
- h. The root jīv forms jujyūṣa (ÇB.: jijīviṣa, VS.); and the other roots in īv (765) are required to make the same change before sa, and to have guṇa before iṣa: thus, susyūṣa or siseviṣa from ysīv. Svap forms suṣupsa. Dhūrv forms dudhūrṣa.
- i. Initial s is usually left unchanged to s after the reduplication when the desiderative sign has s (184 e) thus, sisankṣa (GB.: /sanj), and susyūṣa and sisaniṣa, according to the grammarians; but tuṣṭūṣa is met with.
- j. Further may be mentioned as prescribed by the grammarians: ninankṣa (or ninaqiṣa) from \(\gamma\) naç \(be \) lost; mimankṣa from \(\gamma\) majj (occurs in mimankṣu); mimārjiṣa (or mimrkṣa) from \(\gamma\) mṛj.
- 1029. The consonant of the reduplication follows the general rules (590); the vowel is \(\xi\) i if the root has an avowel, or \(\pi\) r, or an i-vowel; it is \(\frac{1}{3}\) u if the root has an u-vowel. But:
- *a. A few roots have a long vowel in the reduplicating syllable. thus, bībhatsa from /bādh or bādh; mīmānsa from /man; and tūtūrṣa (RV.) from /tur; dadhiṣu (AV.) and dadaūkṣu (C.) are probably false forms.
- b. From yaç is made ((B.) açiçişa, and from yedh (VS.) edidhişa (with a mode of reduplication like that followed sometimes in the reduplicating agrist: 862). In the older language, these are the only roots with initial vowel which form a desiderative stem, except ap and rdh, which have abbreviated stems: see the next paragraph. In the later language occur further eşişişa (yiş seck) and īcikṣiṣa (yīkṣ); and the grammarians add others, as arjihiṣa (yarh), undidiṣa (yund), ardidhiṣa (yrdh).

- o. RV. has the stems inakṣa and iyakṣa, regarded as desideratives from p/p/naç attain and yaj, with mutilated reduplication.
- 1030. A number of roots, including some of very common use, form an abbreviated stem apparently by a contraction of reduplication and root together into one syllable: thus, ईस्स îpsa from भ्याप् āp; दित्स ditsa from भ्रा dā.
- a. Such abbreviated stems are found in the older language as follow. dhitsa (beside didhiṣa) from ydhā; ditsa (beside didāsa) from ydā. dipsa (dhīpsa JB.) from ydabh; çikṣa from yœak; sīkṣa from ysahthese are found in RV.; in AV. are added īpsa from yæp (RV. has apsa once), and īrtsa from yrdh; the other texts furnish lipsa (CB.) or līpsa (TB.) from ylabh, ripsa (GB.) from yrabh, pitsa (CB.) from ypad, and dhīkṣa (CB.) from ydah (not ydih, since no roots with 1 as medial vowel show the contracted form). In the later language are furth r found pitsa from ypat also, jñīpsa from the causative quasi-root jūng (below, 1042 j), and the anomalous mitsa from ymā measure (allowed also from roots mi and mī), and the grammarians give ritsa from yradh Also mokṣa is (very questionably) viewed as a desiderative stem from ymue.
- 1031. The use of the auxiliary vowel ξ i is quite fare in the early language, but more common later; and it is allowed or prescribed by the grammarians in many stems which have not been found in actual use.
- a. It is declared to follow in general, though not without exceptions, necessary or optional, the analogy of the futures 934, 943 a).
- b. No example of the use of i is found in RV., and only one each in AV. (pipatiṣa), VS. (jijīviṣa), and TS. (jigamiṣa). The other examples noted in the early texts are açiçiṣa, cikramiṣa, jigrahīṣa (with ī tot i as elsewhere in this root), cicariṣa, edidhiṣa, jijaniṣa, didikṣiṣa, bibādhiṣa, ruruciṣa, vivadiṣa, vividiṣa, çiçāsiṣa, tiṣṭighiṣa, jihińsiṣa: most of them are found only in (B. Stems also without the auxiliary vowel are made from roots gam, grah, car, jīv, pat, bādh, vid.
- 1032. Inflection: Present-System. The desiderative stem is conjugated in the present-system with perfect regularity, like other a-stems (733 a), in both voices, in all the modes (including, in the older language, the subjunctive), and with participles and imperfect. It will be sufficient to give here the first persons only. We may take

as active model ईट्स ipsa seek to obtain, from vआप ap obtain; as middle, तितिन titiksa endure, from vतित् tij be sharp (see below, 1940).

1. Present Indicative.

active. middle. d. p. 8. इंप्सावम् इंप्सामम् तितिन तितित्तावके तितिनामके ípsāmi ípsāvas īpsāmas títikse titiksāvahe titiksāmahe etc., etc. etc.

2. Present Subjunctive.

ईटमानि ईटमाव ईटमाम तितिने तितिनावने तितिनामिने fpsāni ipsāva fpsāma títikṣāi títikṣāvahāi títikṣāmahāi etc. etc. etc. etc. etc.

3. Present Optative.

1 ईप्सेयम् ईप्सेय ईप्सेम तितित्तेय तितित्तेविक् तितित्तेगिक् नृष्ठseyam ípseva ípsema títikṣeya títikṣevahi títikṣemahi etc. etc. etc. etc. etc.

4. Present Imperative.

2 ईटम ईटमतम् ईटमत तितिनस्य तितिनेग्राम् तितिनधम् ipsa ipsatam ipsata titikşasva titikşetham titikşadhvam etc. etc. etc. etc. etc. etc.

5. Present Participle.

ईट्सल् ipsant (f. ईट्मली ipsantī) तितितमाण titikṣamāṇa

6. Imperfect.

र्टुट्सम् हेट्साव हेटमाम श्रतितित्ते श्रतितित्ताविक् श्रीतित्तामिक् ăipsam āipsāva āipsāma átitikṣe átitikṣāvahi átitikṣāmahi etc. etc. etc. etc. etc.

a. There are almost no irregularities of inflection to be reported from the older language. No 1st pl. in masi, or 2d pl. in thana or tana, is met with; of the impv. in tāt, only īpsatāt. The quotable subjunctive forms are those in sāni, sāt and sat, sān, and santa. KBU. has jijñāsīta (cf. 738 b). But the fem. pple síṣāsatī (instead of siṣāsantī) occurs once or twice in the older texts; and RV. has dídhiṣāṇa.

b. In the epics and later are found sporadic forms of the non-a-

conjugation: thus, sisṛkṣmas (BbP.), titikṣmahe and bubhūṣate 3d pl. (MBh.); and the fem. participles lipsatī and cikīrṣatī (MBh.: against 449 b). The anomalous jighāṅsīyāt occurs also in MBh. and Vas.

- 1033. a. Desiderative forms outside the present-system are extremely rare in the oldest language. The RV. has only perfect forms from a stem mimiks,—thus, mimiksáthus, mimiksátus, mimiksátus, mimiksátus, mimiksát, mimikse, mimiksire—along with the present forms mimiksati, mimiksa etc., mimiksant (pple): they show that mimiks or miks has taken on the character of an independent root. In AV. are found two aorist forms, īrtsīs and acikitsīs, and a participle or two from mīmāńsa (see below, 1037 a, 1039 a)—all of them from stems which have lost their distinct desiderative meaning, and come to bear an independent value. The forms noted from the other earlier texts will be given in full below.
- b. In the later language, a complete system of verbal forms is allowed to be made in the desiderative conjugation, the desiderative stem, less its final vowel, being treated as a root. Thus:
- 1034. Perfect. The desiderative perfect is the periphrastic (1070 ff.).
- a. Thus, īpsām cakāra etc.; titikṣām cakre etc. Such forms are made in ÇB. from p/pkram, dhūrv, bādh, ruh; and in ChU from man.
- b. Apparent perfect forms of the ordinary kind made from mimiks in RV, have been noticed in the preceding paragraph. And AB. (viii. 21, 10) has once didāsitha thou hast desired to give.
- 1035. Aorist. The aorist is of the iş-form: thus ऐप्तियम् बांक्रडांड्रक, श्रतितितिषि átitikṣiṣi.
- a. The AV. has acikitsīs, and īrtsīs (augmentless, with mā publitive: 579). TB. has āipsīt; ÇB. āirtsīt, acikīrṣīs and ajighānsīs, and amīmānsiṣṭhās; KB. jijnāsiṣi; JUB. āipsiṣma; and AA. adhitsiṣam. No examples have been found in the later language.
- b. A precative is also allowed thus, īpsyāsam, titikṣiṣīya; but at never occurs.
- 1036. Futures. The futures are made with the auxiliary vowel 3 i: thus, ईप्तिष्यामि îpsişyámi and ईप्तितास्मि îpsitásmi; तितिनिच्ये titikşişyé and तितिनित्ते titikşitáhe.
- a. The ÇB. has titikṣiṣyate and didṛkṣitắras. Such forms as jijñāsyāmas (MBh.), didhakṣyāmi (R.), and mīmānsyant (GGS.) are doubtless presents, with -sya- blunderingly for -sa-.

- 1037. Verbal Nouns and Adjectives. These too are made with the auxiliary vowel & i, in all cases where that vowel is ever taken.
- a. In the older language have been noted: participle in ta, mīmānsitá (AV., GB.), jijyūṣita (AB.), çuçrūṣitá and dhīkṣitá (ÇB.);—gerundive in tavya, līpsitavya (AB.), didhyāsitavyà (ÇB.), in ya, jijñāsyà (ÇB.);—gerund in tva, mīmānsitvā (h.).
- 1038. Of other declinable stems derived from the desiderative stem, by far the most common are the adjective in u-e. g. titiksu, dipsu. bībhatsú, siṣāsú (RV. once didrksu) - and the abstract noun in ae. g. īpsā, bībhatsā, mīmānsā, çuçrūsā — both of which are made with increasing freedom from an early epoch of the language: especially the former, which has the value and construction (271 a) of a present participle. A few adjectives in enya (having a gerundive character: 966 b) occur in the earlier language: thus, didrksénya (RV), cucrūsénya (TS.), ninīsenya (PB.), jijñāsenya (AB.). and, with irregular reduplication (apparently) paprksénya (RV.), dadhisenya (JB.); and didrkséya (RV.) is a similar formation. RV. has also siṣāsani and rurukṣaṇi, and siṣāsatu(P). In the later language, besides some of the formations already instanced (those in u and a. and in sya and sitavya), are found a few derivatīves in aka, as cikitsaka, bubhūṣaka; in ana, as jijñāsana, didhyāsana; and, very rarely, in anīya (cikitsanīya) and tr (çuçrūşıtr); further, secondary derivatives (doubtless) in in from the noun in a, as ipsin, jigişin (one or two of these occur in the older language). And of an adjective in a we have an example in bībhatsá (B.S., and later), and perhaps in avalipsa (AVP.); such words as ajugupsa, duçcikitsa, are rather to be understood as possessive compounds with the noun in a. As to noun-stems in is, see 392 d.
- 1039. Derivative or Tertiary Conjugations. A passive is allowed to be made, by adding the passive-sign य yá to the desiderative root (or stem without final a): thus, ईप्यते îpsyáte it is desired to be obtained; and a causautive, by adding in like manner the causative-sign श्रय áya (1041): thus, ईप्स्थामि îpsáyāmi I cause to desire obtainment.
- a. Of these formations in the older language are found mīmānsyá-māna (doubtless to be read for -sámāna, AV.), lipsyámāna (ÇB.), and rurutsyamāna (K.). Half-a-dozen such passives are quotable later, and one or two causatives: e.g. cikitsyate, vivaksyate, jijñāsyate; cikīr-sayant, cikitsayişyati.
- b. For the desiderative conjugation formed on causative stems, which is found as early as the Brahmanas, see below, 1052 b.

- 1040. Some stems which are desiderative in form have lost the peculiarity of desiderative meaning, and assumed the value of independent roots: examples are cikits cure, jugups despise, titiks endure, bībhats abhor, mīmāns ponder, quqrūs obey. Doubtless some of the apparent roots in the language with sibilant final are akin with the desideratives in origin: e. g. çikş, desiderative of çak.
- a. On account of the near relation of desiderative and future (cf. 948 b), the former is occasionally found where the latter was rather to be expected: thus, rājānam prayiyāsantam (CB.) a king about to depart prāņa uccikramişan (ChU.) the breath on the point of expiring; mumūrṣur ivā 'bhavat (H.) he was fain to dic.

IV. Causative.

- 1041. a. In the later language is allowed to be made from most roots a complete causative conjugation. The basis of this is a causative stem, formed by appending the causative-sign भ्रम áya to the, usually strengthened, root.
- b. But by no means all conjugation-stems formed by the sign Au aya are of causative value; and the grammarians regard a part of them as constituting a conjugation-class, the tenth or cur-class, according to which roots may be inflected as according to the other classes, and either alone or along with others (775).
- c. In RV., the proportion without causative value is fully one third. The formation is a more obviously denominative one than any of the other conjugation-classes, an intermediate between them and the proper denominatives. A causative meaning has established itself in connection with the formation, and become predominant, though not exclusive. A number of roots of late appearance and probably derivative character are included in the class, and some palpable denominatives, which lack only the usual denominative accent (below, 1056).
- d. The causative formation is of much more frequent use, and more decidedly expanded into a full conjugation, than either the intensive or the defiderative. It is made from more than three hundred roots in the early lauguage (in RV., from about one hundred and fifty); but in the oldest, its forms outside the present-system are (apart from the attached reduplicated aorist: 1046) exceedingly few.
- 1042. The treatment of the root before the causative-sign Au aya is as follows:

- a. Medial or initial i, u, r, l have the guna-strengthening (if capable of it: 240); thus, vedaya from /vid, codaya from /cud, tarpaya from /trp; and kalpaya from /klp (only example): but cintaya, gulphaya, drhhaya.
- b. But a few roots lack the strengthening: these are, in the older language, cit (citaya and cetaya), is, il, ris (risaya and resaya), vip (vipaya and vepaya), tuj, tur, tus (tusaya and tosaya), dyut (dyutaya and dyotaya), ruc (rucaya and rocaya), que (queaya and cocaya), qubh (qubhaya and cobhaya), krp, mrd, sprh; and grabh makes in RV. grbhaya. Dus and guh lengthen the vowel instead. Mrj sometimes has vrddhi, as in other forms: thus mārjaya (beside marjaya). On the other hand, guṇa appears irregularly (240 b) in srevaya (beside qrīvaya), hedaya, mekṣaya. Similar trregularities in the later language are giraya, tulaya (also tolaya), churaya (also choraya), muṣaya, sphuraya. No forms made without strengthening have a causative value in the older language.
- c. A final vowel has the vrddhi-strengthening: thus, cayaya, çayaya, cyavaya, bhavaya, dharaya, saraya.
- d. But no root in i or ī has vṛddhi in the Veda (unless pāyaya [k, below] comes from pī rather than pā)—as, indeed, regular causatives from such roots are hardly quotable; only RV. has kṣayaya (boside kṣēpaya) from /kṣi possess; for a few alternatively permitted forms, see below, 1. In B. and S., however, occur çāyaya and sāyaya (/si or sā); and later -āyaya, cāyaya, smāyaya, dāyaya, nāyaya.
- e. A few roots have a form also with guna-strengthening: thus, cyu, dru, plu, yu separate, çru, pū, stu, sru; jr waste away, dr pierce, sr, smr, hr; vr choose makes varaya later (it is not found in V.; epic also vāraya).
- f. A medial or initial a in a light syllable is sometimes lengthened, and sometimes remains unchanged: thus, bhājaya, svāpaya, ādaya; janaya, çrathaya, anaya (but mandaya, valgaya, bhaksaya).
- g. The roots in the older language which keep their short a are jan, pan, svan, dhan, ran, stan, gam (gāmaya once in RV.), tam, dam, raj (usually rañjaya), prath, crath, cnath, vyath, svad, chad please (also chandaya), nad, dhvas (also dhvansaya), rah, mah (also manhaya), nabh (also nambhaya), tvar, svar, hval. In the later language, further, kvan, jvar, trap, day, pan, rac, ran ring, vadh, val, vac, clath, skhal, sthag. Both forms are made (either in the earlier or in the later language, or in both taken together) by ad, kal, kram, kṣam, khan, ghat, cam, cal, jval, tvar, dal, dhvan, nad, nam, pat, bhram, math, mad, yam, ram, lag, lal, vam, vyadh, cam be quiet, cram, cvas, svap. The roots which lengthen the vowel are decidedly the more numerous.
- h. If a nasal is taken in any of the strong forms of a root, it usually appears in the causative stem: e. g. dambhaya, dançaya, indhaya,

limpaya, rundhaya, qundhaya, kṛṇṭaya, dṛṅhaya. From a number of roots, stems both with and without the nasal are made: thus (besides those mentioned above, g), kuñcaya and kocaya, gṛanthaya and gṛathaya, bṛṇhaya and barhaya, bhraṅçaya and bhrāçaya, cundhaya and codhaya, sañiaya and sajiaya, siñcaya and secaya. In a few of these is seen the influence of present-stems.

- i. Most roots in final ā, and the root r, add p before the conjugation-sign: thus, dāpaya, dhāpaya, sthāpaya; arpaya.
- j. Such stems are made in the older language from the roots kṣā, khyā, gā sing (also gāyaya), glā, ghrā, jñā, dā give, dā divide, drā run, dhā put and dhā suck, mā measure, mlā, yā, vā blow, sthā, snā, hā remove; the later language adds kṣmā, dhmā, and hā leave. From jñā and snā are found in AV. and later the shortened forms jñapaya and snapaya, and from çrā only çrapaya (not in RV.). Also, in the later language, glā forms glapaya, and mlā forms mlapaya.

k. Stems from ā-roots showing no p are, earlier, gāyaya (also gapa-ya) from /gā sing, chāyaya, pāyaya from /pā drink (or pī), pyāyaya from /pyā or pyāy; sāyaya from /sā (or si); also, later, hvāyaya from /hvā (or hū), — and further, from roots vā weave, vyā, and çā (or çi), according to the grammarians.

- 1. The same p is taken also by a few i- and ī-roots, with other accompanying irregularities: thus, in the older language, kṣepaya (tl.v., beside kṣayaya) from vkṣi possess; jāpaya (VS. and later) from vji; lāpaya (TB. and later; later also lāyaya) from vlī cling; çrāpaya (VS. once) from vcri; adhyāpaya (S. and later) from adhi + vi; in the later, kṣapaya (beside kṣayaya) from vkṣi destroy; māpaya from vmī; smāpaya (beside smāyaya) from vsmi; hrepaya from vhrī; and the grammarians make further krāpaya from vkrī; cāpaya (beside cāyaya) from vci gather; bhāpaya (beside bhāyaya and bhīṣaya) from vbhī; repaya from vrī, and vlepaya from vvlī. Moreover. vruh makes ropaya (B. and later) beside rohaya (V. and later), and vknu makes knopaya (late).
- m. More anomalous cases in which the so-called causative is palpably the denominative of a derived noun, are: pālaya from \(\nu\)pā \(protect\); prīnaya from \(\nu\)prī; līnaya (according to grammarians) from \(\nu\)lī; dhūnaya (not causative in sense) from \(\nu\)dhū; bhīṣaya from \(\nu\)bhī; ghātaya from \(\nu\)han, sphāvaya from \(\nu\)sphā or sphāy.
- n. In the Prakrit, the causative stem is made from all roots by the addition of (the equivalent of) apaya; and a number (about a dozen) of like formations are quotable from Sanskrit texts, mostly of the latest periodbut three, krīdapaya, jīvāpaya, and dīkṣāpaya, occur in the epics, and two, açāpaya and kṣālāpaya, even in the Sūtras.
- 1043. Inflection: Present-System. The causative stem is inflected in the present-system precisely like other

stems in A a (738 a): it will be sufficient to give here in general the first persons of the different formations, taking as model the stem धार्य dhāráya, from v dhr. Thus:

1. Present Indicative.

		active.	
	8.	d,	р.
1	धार्यामि	धारयावस्	धार्यामस्
	dhāráyāmi etc.	dhāráyāvas etc.	dhāráyāmas
	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	middle.	ete.
	8.	d.	p.
1	धार्य	धार्यावक्	धारयामक्
	dhāráye	dhāráyāvahe	dhāráyāmahe
	etc.	cte.	etc.

a. The 1st pl. act. in mass greatly outnumbers (as ten to one) that in mass in both RV. and AV. No example occurs of 2d pl. act. in thana, nor of 3d sing. mid. in e for ate.

2. Present Subjunctive.

*For the subjunctive may be instanced all the forms noted as occurring in the older language:

active.

- 1 dhārayāņi dhārayāva dhārayāma
- 2 dhāráyāsi dhāráyāthas dhāráyātha
- dhāráyāti dhāráyātas dhāráyān
- middle.
- 1 dhāráyāi dhāráyāvahāi
- 2 dhāráyāse {dhāráyādhve dhāráyādhvāi
- 3 {dhāráyāte dhāráyātāi dhāráyāite

b. Only one dual mid. form in āite occurs: mādáyāite (RV.). The only RV. mid. form in āi, except in 1st du., is mādayādhvāi. The primary endings in 2d and 3d sing. act. are more common than the secondary.

3. Present Optative.

active.

धारयेयम् धारयेव धारयेम dhāráyeyam dhāráyeva dhāráyema etc. etc. etc.

middle.

ा धारयेय धारयेमिक dhāráyeya dhāráyevahi dhāráyemahi etc.

etc.

c. Optative forms are very rare in the oldest language (four in RV. two in AV.); they become more common in the Brahmanas. A 3d sing. mid. in īta instead of eta (cf. 738 b) occurs once in B. (kāmayīta AB.). is not very rare in S. (a score or two of examples are quotable), and is also found in MBh. and later. Of a corresponding 3d pl. in Tran only one or two instances can be pointed out (kāmayīran ACS., kalpayīran AGS.).

4. Present Imperative.

active.

2 धारय धारयतम धारयत dhāráyatam dhāráya dhāráyata etc etc. etc.

middle.

धारयेथाम 2 धारयस्य धारयधम् dhāráyasva dhāráyethām dhāráyadhvam etc. etc.

d. Imperative persons with the ending tat occur: dharayatat (AV) and cyāvayatāt (CB.) are 2d sing.; pātayatāt (CB.) is 3d sing.; gamayatāt and cyāvayatāt (K. etc.), and vārayatāt (TB,) are used as 2d pl Vārayadhvāt (K. etc.) is 2d pl., and the only known example of such an ending (see above, 549 b).

5. Present Participle.

धार्यत् dhāráyant धारियमाणा dhārayamāņa.

- e. The feminine of the active participle is regularly and usually made in anti (449 c). But a very few examples in ati are met with (one in the older language: namayatī Āpast.).
- f. The middle participle in mana is made through the whole history of the language, from RV. (only yatayamana) down, and is the only one met with in the earlier language (for irayanas [sic!], MS. ii. 7. 12. is evidently a false reading, perhaps for fraya nas). But decidedly more common in the epics and later is one formed with ana: e. g. kamayana, cintayana, palayana, vedayana. It is quotable from a larger number of roots than is the more regular participle in mana. As it occurs in no accentuated text, its accent cannot be given.

6. Imperfect.

active.

1 मधारयम् अधारयाव ग्रधारयाम ádhārayam ádhārayāva ádhārayāma etc. etc. etc.

middle.

ı म्रधार्ये म्रधार्यावर्कि म्रधार्यामिक् ádhāraye ádhārayāvahi ádhārayāmahi etc. etc. etc

1044. As was above pointed out, the formations from the causative stem aya outside the present-system are in the oldest language very limited. In RV. are found two forms of the future in syāmi, one passive participle (coditá), and ten infinitives in dhyāi; also one or two derivative nouns in tr (bodhayitf, codayitrí), sive in iṣṇu, seven in itnu, and a few in a (atipārayā, nidhārayā, vācamīnkhayā, viçvamejaya), and in u (dhārayú, bhāvayú, mandayú). In AV., also two s-future forms and four gerunds in tvā; and a few derivative noun-stems, from one of which is made a periphrastic perfect (gamayām cakāra). In the Brābmaņas, verbal derivative forms become more numerous and various, as will be noted in detail below.

1045. Perfect. The accepted causative perfect is the periphrastic (1071 a); a derivative noun in å is made from the causative stem, and to its accusative, in åm, is added the auxiliary: thus,

धार्यां चकार dhārayām cakāra (or āsa: 1070 b) धार्यां चक्र dhārayām cakre

- a. Of this perfect no example occurs in RV. or SV. or VS., only one—gamayām cakāra—in AV., and but half-a-dozen in all the various texts of the Black Yajur-Veda, and these not in the mantra-parts of the text. They are also by no means frequent in the Brāhmanas, except in QB. (where they abound: chiefly, perhaps, for the reason that this work uses in considerable part the perfect instead of the imperfect as its narrative tonse).
- 1046. Aorist. The aorist of the causative conjugation is the reduplicated, which in general has nothing to do with the causative stem, but is made directly from the root.
 - a. It has been already fully described (above, 856 ff.)
- b. Its association with the causative is probably founded on an original intensive character belonging to it as a reduplicated form, and is a matter of gradual growth; in the Veda, it is made from a

considerable number of roots (in RV., more than a third of its instances; in AV., about a fifth) which have no causative stem in aya,

c. The causative agrist of vy dhr, then, is as follows:

1 स्रदीधरम् घरोधराव 🕆 **ऋदीधराम** ádīdharam ádīdharāva ádīdharāma etc. etc. atc. 1 म्रदीधरे **म्रदीधरावांक** म्रदीधरामिक ádidhare ádīdharāvahi ádīdharāmahi etc. etc. etc.

An example was inflected in full at 864.

1047. In a few cases, where the root has assumed a peculiar form before the causative sign—as by the addition of a p or stabove, 1042 iff.)—the reduplicated against is made from this form instead of from the simple root: thus, atisthipam from sthap (stem sthapaya) for ystha. Agrist-stems of this character from quasi-roots in ap are arpipa (yr, jijapa or jijiapa, jijapa or jijiipa, çiçrapa, tişthipa, jihipa; the only other example from the older language is bībhişa from bhīş for ybhī.

1048. But a few sporadic forms of an ig-acrist from causative, conjugation-stems are met with: thus, dhvanayīt (RV.; TS. has instead the wholly anomalous dhvanayīt), vyathayīs and āilayīt (AV.), pyāyayig-thās and avādayiṣṭhās (KBU.), in the older language (RV. has also ūnayīs from a denominative stem); in the later, ahlādayiṣata (DKC), and probably aghātayithās (MBh.; for -iṣṭhās: cf. 904 d). The passive 3d sing. aropi, from the causative ropaya, has a late occurrence (Çatr.).

1049. A precative is of course allowed by the grammarians to be made for the causative conjugation: in the middle, from the causative stem with the auxiliary i substituted for its final a; in the active, from the form of the root as strengthened in the causative stem, but without the causative sign: thus,

धार्यामम् dharyasam etc. धार्यिषीय dharayişīya etc.

This formation is to be regarded as purely fictitious.

1050. Futures. Both futures, with the conditional, are made from the causative stem, with the auxiliary ξ^{i_k} which takes the place of its final π s. Thus:

S-Futuré.

धार्यिष्यामि dhārayişyāmi etc. धार्यिष्ये dhārayişyé etc. धार्यिष्यस् dhārayişyánt धार्यिष्यमाण dhārayişyámāṇa

Conditional.

अधारियच्यम् adharayişyam etc. अधारियच्ये adharayişye etc.

Periphrastic Future.

धार्गितास्मि dhārayitāsmi etc.

- a. It has been mentioned above that RV. and AV. contain only two examples each of the s-future, and none of the periphrastic. The former begin to appear in the Brāhmaṇas more numerously, but still sparingly, with participles, and conditional (only adhārayisyat ÇB.; alāpayisyathās ChU.); of the latter, ÇB. affords two instances (pārayitāsmi and janayitāsi). Examples of both formations are quotable from the latter language (including the middle form darçayitāhe: 947 c).
- 1051. Verbal Nouns and Adjectives. These are made in two different ways: either 1. from the full causative stem (in the same manner as the futures, just described); or 2. from the causatively strengthened root-form (with loss of the causative-sign).
- a. To the latter class belong the passive participle, as dhārita; the gerundive and gerund in ya, as dhārya, -dhārya; and the gerund n am, as dhāram; also, in the older language, the root-infinitive, is -dhāram etc. (970 a). To the former class belong the infinitive and the gerund in tvā, as dhārayitum, dhārayitvā, and the gerundive n tavya, as dhārayitavya (also, in the older language, the infinitives n tavāi and dhyāi, as jánayitavāí, īrayádhyāi, etc.). The auxiliary is taken in every formation which ever admits that vowel.
- b. Examples of the passive participle are: īritá, vāsita, çrāvitá. Int from the quasi-root jñap (1042j) is made jñapta, without union-owel.
- c. Examples of the infinitive and gerund in tvā are: jóṣayitum, lhārayitum; kalpayitvā, arpayitvā. But in the epics, and even later, nfinitēves are occasionally made with loss of the causative-sign: e. g. esitum, bhāvitum, dhāritum, mocitum.
- d. Examples of the gerunds in ya and am are: -bhájya, -ghārya, pādya, -vāsya, nāyya, -sthāpya; -bhájam, sthāpam. But stems howing in the root-syllable no difference from the root retain ay of the ansative-sign in the gerund, to distinguish it from that belonging to the rimary conjugation: e. g. -kramáyya, -gamáyya, -janáyya, -jvaláyya, kalayya, -çamayya, -racayya, -āpayya.
- e. Examples of the gerundive in tavya are: tarpayitavya, gamyitavya, hvāyayitavya; of that in ya, sthāpya, hārya, yājya; of lat in anīya, sthāpanīya, bhāvanīya.

- f. Examples of other formations ocurring in the older language are as follows: root-infinitive, -sthāpam, -vāsas; infinitive in tu, other cases than accusative, -janayitave; jánayitavāí, pāyayitavāí, -çootayitavāí; çámayitos; infinitive in dhyāi, iṣayádhyāi, īrayádhyāi, taṅsayádhyāi, nāçayádhyāi, mandayádhyāi, mādayádhyāi, riṣayádhyāi, vartayadhyāi, vājayádhyāi, syandayádhyāi (all RV.); gerundive in āyya, panayáyya, spṛhayáyya, trayayáyya (? ½trā)
- g. Other noun-derivatives from the causative stem are not infrequent, being decidedly more numerous and various than from any other of the secondary conjugation-stems. Examples (of other kinds than those instanced in 1044) are: arpaņa, dāpana, prīnana, bhiṣaṇa; jñāpaka, ropaka; patayālu, spṛhayālu; jánayati, jñapti.
- h. All the classes of derivatives, it will be noticed, follow in regard to accent the analogy of similar formations from the simple root, and show no influence of the special accent of the causative-stem.
- 1052. Derivative or Tertiary Conjugations. From the causative stem are made a passive and a desiderative conjugation. Thus:
- a. The passive-stem is formed by adding the usual passive-sign য yá to the causatively strengthened root, sthe causative-sign being dropped: thus, ধার্মন dhāryáte.
- b. Such passives are hardly found in the Veda (only bhājyá- AV.), but some thirty instances are met with in the Brāhmaņas and Sūtras·examples are jňapyá- (TS.), sādya- (K.), pādya- (AB.), vādya- (TB.), sthāpya- (GB.); and they become quite common later.
- o. The desiderative stem is made by reduplication and addition of the sign इय isa, of which the initial vowel replaces the final of the causative stem: thus, दिधारियति didhārayişati.
- d. These, too, are found here and there in the Brahmanas and later (about forty stems are quotable). examples are pipāyayişa (K.), bibhāvayişa and cikalpayişa and lulobhayişa (AB.), didrāpayiṣa and rirādhayiṣa ((B.), and so on.
- e. As to causatives made from the intensive and desiderative stems, see above, 1025, 1039.

V. Denominative.

- 1053. A denominative conjugation is one that has for its basis a noun-stem.
- a. It is a view now prevailingly held that most of the presentsystems of the Sanskrit verb, along with other formations analogous with a

present-system, are in their ultimate origin denominative; and that many apparent roots are of the same character. The denominatives which are so called differ from these only in that their origin is recent and undisguised.

- 1054. The grammarians teach that any noun-stem in the language may be converted, without other addition than that of an A a (as union-vowel enabling it to be inflected according to the second general conjugation) into a present-stem, and conjugated as such.
- a. But such formations are rare in actual use. The RV has a few isolated and doubtful examples, the clearest of which is bhisakti he heals, from bhisaj physician; it is made like a form of the root-class; abhisnak seems to be its imperfect according to the nasal class; and patyate he rules appears to be a denominative of pati master; other possible cases are isanas etc., krpananta, tarusema etc., vanusanta, bhurajanta, vananvati. From the other older texts are quotable kavyant (TS.), açlonat (TB.), unmulati (SB.), svadhāmahe (ÇCS.). And a considerable number of instances, mostly isolated, are found in the later language e.g. kalahant (MBh.), arghanti (Paūc.), abjati (Catr.), gardabhati (SD.), utkanthate (SD.), jagannetrati (Pras.), keliçvetasahasrapattrati (Pras.),
- 1055. In general, the base of denominative conjugation is made from the noun-stem by means of the conjugation-sign U yá, which has the accent.
- a. The identity of this ya with the ya of the so-called causative conjugation, as making with the final a of a noun-stem the causative-sign aya, is hardly to be questioned. What relation it sustains to the ya of the ya-class (759), of the passive (768), and of the derivative intensive stem (1018), is much more doubtful.
- 1056. Intermediate between the denominative and causative conjugations stands a class of verbs, plainly denominative in origin, but having the causative accent. Examples, beginning to appear at the earliest period of the language, are mantrayate speaks, takes counsel, (from mantra, /man + tra). kirtayati commemorates (from kirti, /kr praise), arthayati or -te makes an object of, seeks (from artha goal, object), varnayati depicts (from varna color), kathayati or -te gives the how of anything, relates (from katham how?), and so on. These, along with like forms from roots which have no other present-system (though they may make scattering forms outside that system from the root directly), or which have this beside other present-systems without causative meaning, are reckoned by the grammarians as a separate conjugation-class, the cur-class (above, 607, 775).

- 1057. Denominatives are formed at every period in the history of the language, from the earliest down.
- a. They are frequent in RV., which contains over a hundred, of all varieties; AV. has only half as many (and personal forms from hardly a third as many: from the rest, present participles, or derivative nouns); AB., less than twenty; QB., hardly more than a dozen; and so on. In the later language they are quotable by hundreds, but from the vast majority of stems occur only an example or two; the only ones that have won any currency are those that have assumed the character of "cur-class" verbs.
- 1058. The denominative meaning is, as in other languages, of the greatest variety; some of the most frequent forms of it are: be like, act as, play the part of; regard or treat as; cause to be, make into; use, make application of; desire, wish for, crave—that which is signified by the noun-stem.
- a. The modes of treatment of the stem-final are also various, and the grammarians make a certain more or less definite assignment of the varieties of meaning to the varieties of form; but this allotment finds only a dubious support in the usages of the words as met with even in the later language, and still less in the earlier. Hence the formal classification, according to the final of the noun-stem and the way in which this is treated before the denominative sign yá, will be the best one to follow.
- 1059. From stems in a. a. The final a of a noun-stem oftenest remains unchanged: thus, amitrayati plays the enemy, is hostile; devayati cultivates the gods, is pious.
- b. But final a is also often lengthened: thus, aghāyāti plans mischief; priyāyāte holds dear; açvāyāti seeks for horses; açanāyāti desires food.
- c. While in the Veda the various modes of denominative formation are well distributed, no one showing a marked preponderance, in the later language the vast majority of denominatives (fully seven eighths) are of the two kinds just noticed: namely, made from a-stems, and of the formaya or aya, the former predominating. And there is seen a decided tendency to give the denominatives in aya an active form and transitive meaning, and those in aya a middle form and intransitive or reflexive meaning. In not a few cases, parallel formations from the same stem illustrate this distinction: e. g. kaluşayati makes turbid, kaluşayate is or becomes turbid; tarunayati rejuvenates, tarunayate is rejuvenated; cithilayati loosens, cithilayate grows loose. No distinct traces of this distincton are

- recognizable in the Veda, although there also corresponding forms with short a and with long a sometimes stand side by side.
- d. Final a is sometimes changed to ī (very rarely i) thus, adhvarīyāti performs the sacrifice; taviṣīyāti is mighty; putrīyāti or putriyāti desires a son; mānsīyāti craves flesh; sajjīyate is ready; candrakāntīyati is moonstonelike. Not fifty stems of this form are quotable.
- e. It is occasionally dropped (after n or r): thus, turanyati is rapid; adhvaryati performs the sacrifice.
- f. Other modes of treatment are sporadic: thus, the addition of s, as in stanasyati seeks the breast; the change of a to e, as in vareyati plays the woose.
- 1060. From stems in ā. Final ā usually remains, as in gopāyāti plays the herdsman, protects; pṛtanāyati fights; but it is sometimes treated in the other methods of an a-stem; thus, pṛtanyati fights; tilottamīyati acts Tilottamā.
- 1061. From stems in i, ī, and u, ū. Such stems are (especially those in u, ū) very rare. They show regularly ī and ū before ya: thus, arātīyáti (also -tiy-) plots injury; janīyáti (also -niy-) seeks a wife; sakhīyáti desires friendship; nārīyate turns woman; çatrūyáti acts the foe; rjūyáti is straight; vasūyáti desires wealth; asūyáti grumbles, is discontented: with short u, gātuyáti sets in motion.
- a. More rarely, i or u is treated as a (or else is gunated, with loss of a y or v): thus, dhunayáti comes snorting; laghayati makes easier. Sometimes, as to a (above, 1059 f), a sibilant is added: thus, avisyáti is vehement; urusyáti saves. From dhī, RV. makes dhiyāyáte.
- 1062. From other vowel-stems. a. Final r is changed to rī. thus, mātrīyāti treats as a mother (only quotable example).
- b. The diphthongs, in the few cases that occur, have their final element changed to a semivowel: thus, gavyati seeks cattle, goes a-raiding.
- 1063. From consonant-stems. A final consonant usually remains before ya: thus, bhisalyati plays the physician, cures; uksanyati acts like a bull; apasyati is active; namasyati pays reverence; sumanasyate is favorably disposed; tarusyati fights.
- a. But a final n is sometimes dropped, and the preceding vowel treated as a final: thus, rājāyāte or rājīyāti is kingly, from rājan; -karma-yati from -karman; svāmīyati treats as master, from svāmin: vṛṣā-yāte from vṛṣan is the only example quotable from the older language. Sporadic cases occur of other final consonants similarly treated. thus, ojā-yāte from ojas, -manāyate from -manas; while, on the other hand, an a-vowel is occasionally added to such a consonant before ya: thus, iṣa-yāti from iṣ, satvanāyati from satvan.
- 1064. The largest class of consonantal stems are those showing a s before the ya; and, as has been seen above, a sibilant is sometimes, by analogy, added to a final vowel, making the denomitive-sign virtually sya

— or even, with a also added after an i- or u-vowel, asya; and this comes to be recognized by the grammarians as an independent sign; forming denominatives that express desire: thus, sumakhasyate is merry; jivanasyatin-sya love of life); vṛṣasyati desires the male (the only quotable examples); madhuṣyati or madhvasyati longs for honey; kṣīrasyati craces milk.

1065. The grammarians reckon as a special class of denominatives in kāmya what are really only ordinary ones made from a compound nounstem having kāma as its final member: thus, rathakāmyati longs for the chariot (K.: only example found in the older language); arthakāmyati desires wealth; putrakāmyati wishes a son (the only quotable examples); coming from the possessive compounds rathakāma etc. And arthāpāyati treats as property is a (sole quotable) example of a stem having the Prakritic causative form (1042 n),

a. Stems of anomalous formation are draghaya from dirgha, dradhaya from drdha, and perhaps mradaya from mrdu.

1066. a. A number of denominative stems occur in the Veda for which no corresponding noun-stems are found, although for all or nearly all of them related words appear: thus, ankūyá, stabhūyá, işudhya; dhişanyá, riṣanyá, ruvanya, huvanya, iṣanyá; ratharyá, cratharyá, saparya; iyasya (CB.), irasyá, daçasyá, makhasyá, panasyá, sacasyá. Those in anya, especially, look like the beginnings of a new conjugation-class.

b. Having still more that aspect, however, are a Vedic group of stems in āya, which in general have allied themselves to present-systems of the nā-class (732), and are found alongside the forms of that class; thus, grbhāyáti beside grbhņāti. Of such, RV. has grbhāyá, mathāyá, pruṣāyá, muṣāyá, crathāya, skabhāyá, stabhāyá. A few others have no nā-class companions: thus, damāyá, camāyá, tudāyá (AV.); and panāya, naçāya, vṛṣāya (/vṛṣ rain), vasāyá (/vas clothe), and perhaps açāya (/ac attain).

c. Here may be mentioned also quasi-denominatives made from one-matopoetic combinations of sounds, generally with repetition: e. g. kiṭakı-ṭāya, thatathatarāya, miṣamiṣāya, çaraçarāya.

1067. The denominative stems in RV. and AV. with causative accentuation are: RV. añkháya, artháya, işáya (also işayá), ūrjáya, rtáya, kṛpáya, mantráya, mṛgáya, vavráya, vājáya (also vājayá), vīláya, suṣváya (also suṣvayá); AV. adds kīrtáya, dhūpáya, pāláya, vīráya, sabhāgáya.

a. The accent of anniya and hastaya (RV.) is wholly anomalous.

1068. Inflection. The denominative stems are inflected with regularity like the other stems ending in Na (733a) throughout the present-system. Forms outside of

that system — except from the stems which are reckoned to the causative or cur-class, and which follow in all respects the rules for that class — are of the utmost rarity.

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a. In RV. occurs no form not belonging to the present-system, except unayīs (with mā prohibitive), an iṣ-aorist 2d sing. (cf. 1048). Further examples of this aorist are āsūyīt (yB.), pāpayiṣṭa (TS.: pl., with mā prohibitive), and avṛṣāyiṣṭata (VS. etc.). The form ásaparyāit (AV-viv. 2. 20), with āi for ī (555c), might be aorist; but, as the metre shows, is probably a corrupt reading, amanasyāit, certainly imperfect, appears to occur in TB. (ii. 3. 83). Other forms begin to appear in the Brāhmaṇas: e. g. the futures gopāyiṣyati (yB.), meghāyiṣyānt, kaṇ-dūyiṣyānt, çīkāyiṣyānt (TS.), the participles bhiṣajyitā (? JB. -jita) and iyasitā (ÇB.), kaṇdūyitā, çīkitā, and meghitā (TS.), the gerund saṃclākṣṇyā (yB.), and so on. In the later language, also, forms outside the present-system (except the participle in ta) are only sporadic; and of tertiary conjugation forms there are hardly any: examples are the causatives dhūmāyaya and asūyaya (MBh.), and the desiderative abhiṣiṣeṇa-yiṣa (Çiç.).

b. Noun-derivatives from denominative stems follow the analogy of those from causative stems (1051g). In the older language, those in u and ā (especially the former) are much the most numerous; later, that in ana prevails over all others.

CHAPTER XV.

PERIPHRASTIC AND COMPOUND CONJUGATION. .

1069. One periphrastic formation, the periphrastic future, has been already described (942 ff.), since it has become in the later language a recognized part of every verbal conjugation, and since, though still remaining essentially periphrastic, it has been so fused in its parts and altered in construction as to assume in considerable measure the semblance of an integral tense-formation.

By far the most important other formation of the class is —

The Periphrastic Perfect.

- 1070. This (though almost unknown in the Veda, and coming only gradually into use in the Brāhmaṇas) is a tense widely made and frequently used in the classical Sanskrit.
- a. It is made by prefixing the acusative of a derivative noun-stem in \(\overline{a} \) accented) to the perfect tense of an auxiliary verb: namely, of \(\sigma_{\overline{a}} \) kr \(make, \) more often of \(\sigma_{\overline{a}} \) be, and very rarely of \(\sigma_{\overline{a}} \) bhū \(be. \)
- b. In the older language (see below, 1078 d), kr is almost the only auxiliary used in making this tense, as occurring very few times, and bhu never. Later, also, bhu is quite rare (it is found nine times in MBh six times in Rgh., and a few times elsewhere), but as gains very greatly in currency, having become the usual auxiliary, while kr is only exceptional.
- c. Somewhat similar formations with yet other auxiliaries are not absolutely unknown in the later language: thus varayām pracakramus (MBh.), pūrayām (etc.) vyadhus (Vīracaritra), mṛgayām avātsīt (1b.).
 - 1071. The periphrastic perfect occurs as follows:
- a. It is the accepted perfect of the derivative conjugations: intensive, desiderative, causative, and denominative; the noun in आ ई being made from the present-stem which is the general basis of each conjugation: thus, from भ्रञ्जा budh, intensive बोब्धाम् bobudhám, desiderative बुभुत्साम् bubhutsám, causative बोधयाम् bodhayám; denominative मन्नयाम् mantray-ám..
- b. The formation from causative stems (including those denominatives which have assumed the aspect of causatives: 1056) is by far the most frequent. Only a few desideratives are quotable (1034a), and of intensives only jägaräm äsa (1020a; beside jajägära).
- c. Most roots beginning with a vowel in a heavy syllable (long by nature or long by position) make this perfect only, and not the simple one: thus, झासाम डंड्रें from । प्राप्त डंड्रें इंज्ञाम् प्राप्तिक from । प्राप्त प्राप्तिक किंड sit; इंज्ञाम् प्राप्तिक from । प्राप्तिक प्राप्तिक प्राप्तिक from । प्राप्तिक thrive (the only examples quotable).

- d. Excepted are the roots ap and anch, and those beginning with a before two consonants (and taking an as reduplication: 788).
- e. The roots (that is, stems reckoned by the grammarians as roots) of more than one syllable have their perfect of this formation: thus, cakāsām. But ūrņu (713) is said to form ūrņonāva only; while jāgr (1020) makes a perfect of either formation, and daridrā (1024a) is said to do the same.
- f. A few other roots make the periphrastic in addition to the usual reduplicated perfect. Thus, in the older language only are found the stems cāyām, tāyām, nilayām, vāsām (/vas dwell), vidām (/vid know), vyayām, and the reduplicated stems bibhayām and juhavām; the later lauguage adds ayām, jayām, dayām, nayām, smayām, hyayām, and the reduplicated bibharām; and the grammarians teach like formations from uṣ, kās, and the reduplicating hrī. The stem is made in every case from the present-stem with guṇa of a final vowel.
- 1072. The periphrastic perfect of the middle voice is made with the middle inflection of vक् kr. For passive use, the auxiliaries झन् as and भू bhū are said to be allowed to take a middle inflection.
- 6. One or two late examples of bhū with middle inflection have been pointed out, but none of as.
- b. It is unnecessary to give a paradigm of this formation, as the inflection of the auxiliaries is the same as in their independent use: for that of ykr, see 800k; of ybhū, see 800d; of yas, see 800m.
- c. The connection of the noun and auxiliary is not so close that other words are not occasionally allowed to come between them. thus, mīmāh-sām evā cakre (CB.) he merely speculated; vidām vā idam ayam cakāra (JB.) he verily knew this; prabhrançayām yo naghuşam cakāra who made Naghusha fall headlong (Rgh.).
- 1073. The above is an account of the periphrastic formation with a derivative noun in am as it appears especially in the later language; earlier, its aspect is rather that of a more general, but quite infrequent, combination of such a noun with various forms of the root kg. Thus:
- a. Of the periphrastic perfect occurs only a single example in the whole body of Vedic texts (metrical): namely, gamayām cakāra (AV.). In the Brāhmaṇas examples from causative stems begin to appear more freely, but are everywhere few in number except in QB. (which has them from twenty-four roots, and a few of these in several occurrences). From desiderative stems they are yet rarer (only seven occurrences, five of them in QB.: see 1034a); and from intensives they are unknown. The periphrastic perfects of primary conjugation were noted above (1071 f: in QB.,

eight stems and about eighty occurrences, chiefly from Ike, bhī, and vid; that from vid is found in the greatest number of texts).

- b. Forms with the aerist of the auxiliary are in the oldest $\rm Br\bar{a}hmanas$ as numerous as those with the perfect. Thus, with akar occur ramayām (K.), janayām and sādayām and svadayām and sthāpayām (MS), and with akran, vidām (TS. TB. MS.). With the aerist optative or precative has been found only pāvayām kriyāt (MS.).
- c. Like combinations with other tenses are not entirely unknown; thus, juhavām karoti ($\zeta'(\zeta'S)$.) So also in the later language, where $h_{\rm RA}$ been found quotable half-a-dozen such cases as vidām karoti ($P_{\sigma liv}$), vidām karotu and kurvantu ($P_{\rm alic}$).
- d. Only two or three cases of the use of as instead of kr as auxiliary are met with in the older language: they are mantrayām āsa (AB, GB.), janayām āsa (YvU.), and īkṣām āsa (YVS.).
- e. A single example of an accented auxiliary is met with in the accentuated texts: namely, atiracayāń cakrús ('B.). As was to be expected, from the nature of the combination, the noun also retains its accent (compare 945).

Participial Periphrastic Phrases.

- 1074. The frequent use, especially in the later language, of a past or a future passive participle with the copula (or also without it) to make participial phrases having a value analogous to that of verb-tenses, has been already noticed (999). But other similar combinations are not unknown in any period of the language, as made with other auxiliaries, or with other participles.
- a. They occur even in the Veda, but are far more common and conspicuous in the Brahmanas, and become again of minor account in the later language.
 - 1075. Examples of the various formations are as follows:
- a. A (usually present) participle with the tenses of the verb i go. This is the combination, on the whole, of widest and most frequent occurrence. Thus: áyajvano vibhájann éti védah (RV.) he ever gires au ay the wealth of the non-offerer; yathā sūcyā vāsah samhdadhad iyād evam evāi 'tābhir yajūasya chidram samhdadhad eti (AB.) just as one would mend [habitually] a garment with a needle, so with these one mends any defect of the sacrifice; agnir vā idam vāiçvānaro dahann āit (PB.) Agni Vāiçvānara kept burning this creation; té 'surāh párājitā yánto dyávāpṛthiví úpāçrayan (TB.) those Asuras, getting beaten, took refuge with heaven and earth; tè 'syagṛhāḥ paçāva upamūryāmāṇā īyuḥ (ÇB.) the animals, his family, would be continually destroyed.

- b. The same with the verb car go (continually or habitually) signifying still more distinctly than the proceding a continued or habitual action. Thus: agrav agnic carati pravistah (AV.) Agni is constantly present in the fire; adandyam dandena ghnantac caranti (PB.) they make a practice of beating with a rod what is undeserving of punishment.
- c. The same with the verbs ās sit and sthā stand, with a like meaning. Thus, juhvata āsate (K.) they continue sacrificing; te 'pakramya prativāvadato 'tiṣṭhan (AB.) they, having gone off, kept vehemently refusing. In the later language, sthā is the verb oftenest used, with predicates of various kind, to make a verbal phrase of continuance.
- d. A present or future or perfect participle with as and bhū be. The participle is oftenest a future one; as only is used in the optative, bhū usually in other forms. Thus: yah pūrvam anījānah syāt (AB.) whoever may not have made sacrifice before; samāvad eva yajne kurvāṇā āsan (GB.) they did the same thing at the sacrifice; parikrīḍanta āsan (MS.) they were playing about; yātra suptvā pūnar nā 'vadrāsyan bhāvati (CB.) when, after sleeping, he is not going to fall asleep again; havyam hi vakṣyan bhavati (AB.) for he is intending to carry the sacrifice; dāsyant syāt (K.) may be going to give; yèna vāhanena syantsyánt syāt (ÇB.) with what vehicle he may be about to drive. True expressions for perfect and pluperfect and future perfect time are capable of being made by such means, and now and then are made, but in no regular and continued fashion.

Composition with Prepositional Prefixes.

- 1076. All the forms, personal and other, of verbal conjugation of both primary and secondary conjugation, and even to some extent of denominative (so far as the denominative stems have become assimilated in value to simple roots) occur very frequently in combination with certain words of direction, elements of an adverbial character (see the next chapter), the so-called prepositions (according to the original use of that term), or the verbal prefixes.
- a. Practically, in the later language, it is as if a compounded root were formed, out of root and prefix, from which then the whole conjugation (with derivatives: below, chap. XVII.) is made, just as from the simple root. Yet, even there (and still more in the older language: 1081 a-c), the combination is so loose, and the members retain so much of their independent value, that in most dictionaries (that of Sir Monier Williams is an exception) the conjugation of each root with prefixes is treated under the simple root, and not in the alphabetic order of the prefix. Derivative words, however.

are by universal agreement given in their independent alphabetic place, like simple words.

1077. Those verbal prefixes which have value as such throughout the whole history of the language are given below in alphabetic order with their fundamental meanings:

म्रति áti across, beyond, past, over, to excess; श्रीध ádhi above, over, on, on to; न्नन् ánu after, along, toward; न्ना antar between, among, within; ञ्चप apa away, forth, off; श्रपि ápi unto, close upon or on; म्रि abhi to, unto, against (often with implied violence); म्रव áva down, off; मा & to, unto, at; उद úd up, up forth or out; 39 upa to, unto, toward; নি ní down; in, into; निम् nis out, forth; पा para to a distance, away, forth; परि pári round about, around; प्र prá forward, onward, forth, fore; प्रति práti in reversed direction, back to or against.

in return; चि vi apart, asunder, away, out; सम् sám along, with, together.

a. Some of these, of course, are used much more widely and frequently than others. In order of frequency in the older language (as estimated by the number of roots with which they are found used in RV. and AV.), they stand as follows: pra, ā, vi, sam, abhi, ni, ud, pari, anu, upa, prati, ava, nis, ati, apa, parā, adhi, api, antar. Api is of very limited use as prefix in the later language, having become a conjunction, too, also.

b. The meanings given above are only the leading ones. In combinations of root and prefix they undergo much modification, both literal and figurative—yet seldom in such a way that the steps of transition from the fundamental sense are not easy to trace. Sometimes, indeed, the value of A

root is hardly perceptibly modified by the addition of the prefix. An intensive force is not infrequently given by pari, vi, and sam.

1078. Prefixes essentially akin with the above, but more distinctly adverbial, and of more restricted use, are these:

ácha (or áchā) to, unto: tolerably frequent in RV. (used with over twenty roots), but already unusual in AV. (only two roots), quite restricted in B., and entirely lost in the later language;

āvis forth to sight, in view: used only with the roots bhū, as, and kṛ;

tiras through, crossways; out of sight: hardly used except with kr, dha, bhu (in RV., with three or four others);

purás in front, forward: used with only half-a-dozen roots, especially kr., dhā, i;

prādus forth to view: only with bhu, as, kr.

a. A few others, as bahis outside, vinā without, alam (with bhū and kṛ) sufficiently, properly, sākṣāt in view, are still less removed from ordinary adverbs.

1079. Of yet more limited use, and of noun-rather than advertisely are:

çrad (or crath P), only with dhā (in RV., once also with kr):
craddhā believe, credit;

hin, only with kr (and absolete in the classical language): hinkr make the sound hing, low, murmur.

- a. And beside these stand yet more fortuitous combinations: see below, 1091.
- 1080. More than one prefix may be set before the same root. Combinations of two are quite usual; of three, much less common; of more than three, rare. Their order is in general determined only by the requirements of the meaning, each added prefix bringing a further modification to the combination before which it is set. But য় ā is almost never allowed, either earlier or later, to be put in front of any of the others.
- a. The very rare cases of apparent prefixion of ā to another prefix (as āvihanti MBh., āvitanvānāḥ BhP.) are perhaps best explained as having the a used independently, as an adverb.
- 1081. In classical Sanskrit, the prefix stands immediately before the verbal form.
- a. In the earlier language, however (especially in the Veda; in the Brāhmaṇa less often and more restrictedly), its position is quite

free: it may be separated from the verb by another word or words, and may even come after the form to which it belongs; it may also stand alone, qualifying a verb that is understood, or conjointly with another prefix one that is expressed.

- b. Thus, sá deváň é 'há vakayati (RV.) he shall bring the gods hither; prá na áyūnai tāriat (AV.) may se lengthen out our lives; táv á yātam úpa dravát (RV.) do ye two come hither quickly; gámad väjebhir á sá nah (RV.) may he come with gifts hither to us; pári máin pári me prajám pári nah pāhi yád dhánam (AV.) protect me, my progeny, and what wealth we own; yátah sadyá á ca párā ca yánti (AV.) from whence every day they advance and retire; vy ahám sárvena pāpmánā [avṛtam] ví yákamena sám áyuaa (AV.) I have separated from all evil. from disease, [I have joined myself] with life, vi hy enena pagyati (AB) for by it he sees; ví vá esá prajáyā paqúbhir rdhyate (TB.) he is deprived of progeny and cattle.
- c. Three or four instances have been cited from the later language of a prefix separated from, or following, a verb; perhaps the prefix in every such case admits of being regarded as an adverb.
- 1082. As regards the accent of verb-forms compounded with prefixes, only the case needs to be considered in which the prefix stands (as always in the later language) immediately before the verb; otherwise, verb and prefix are treated as two independent words
- 1083. a. A personal verbal form, as has been seen above [592], is ordinarily unaccented; before such a form, the prefix has its own accent; or, if two or more precede the same form, the one nearest the latter is so accented, and the others lose their accent.
- b. If, however, the verb-form is accented, the prefix or prefixes lose their accent.
- c. That is, in every case, the verb along with its normally situated prefix or prefixes so far constitutes a unity that the whole combination is allowed to take but a single accent.
- d. Examples are: páre 'hi nāri púnar é 'hi kṣiprám (AV.) gō away, woman; come again quickly; áthā 'stam vipáretana (RV.) then scatter ye away to your home; samācinuṣvā 'nusampráyāhi (AV.) yather together, go forth together after; yád grhán upodāíti (AV.) when he goes up to the house; evá ca tvám sarama ājagántha (RV) now that you, Saramā, have thus come hither, yéná "viṣṭitaḥ pravivéçithā 'páḥ (RV.) enveloped in which thou didst enter the waters.
- 1084. A prefix, however, not seldom has a more independent value, as a general adverb of direction, or as a preposition (in the usual modern sense of that term), belonging to and governing a nound in such case, it is not drawn in to form part of a verbal compound but has its own accent. The two kinds of use shade into one another, and are not divisible by any distinct and fixed line.

- a. There is in RV. a considerable number of cases (some thirty) in which the pada-text gives unnecessarily, and probably wrongly, an independent accent to a prefix before an accented verb (or other prefix): resolving, for example, aruhat into a aruhat, vyacet into ví acet, abhyavaraīt into abhí avaraīt, vyasarat into ví a asarat (instead of a-aruhat etc.).
- 1085. In combination with the non-personal parts of the verbsystem with participles, infinitives, and gerunds the general rule
 is that the prefix loses its accent, in favor of the other member of the
 compound. But the prefix instead has sometimes the accent: namely,
 when combined —
- a. with the passive participle in ta or na: thus, pareta gone forth; antarhita concealed; avapanna fallen; sampurna complete (cf. 1284).
- b. But some exceptions to this rule are met with: e. g., in RV., nicitá, niskrtá, praçastá, nisattá, etc.; in AV., apakrītá.
- c. with the infinitive in tu (972), in all its cases thus, samhartum to collect; apidhātave to cover up; avagantos of descending. The doubly accented dative in tavaí retains its final accent, but throws the other back upon the prefix: thus, anvetavaí for following; apabhartavaí for carrying off.
- 1086. The closeness of combination between the root and the prefix is indicated not only by their unity of accent, but also by the euphonic rules (e. g. 185, 192), which allow the mutual adaptations of the two to be made to some extent as if they were parts of a unitary word.
 - 1087. A few special irregularities call for notice:
- a. In the later language, api, adhi, and ava, in connection with certain roots and their derivatives, sometimes lose the initial vowel: namely, api with nah and dhā, adhi with sthā, ava with gāh etc.: c. g. pinaddha, pihita, dhiṣṭhita, vagāhya, vatansa, vadānya, vaṣṭabhya, vamajjana, vekṣaṇa, valepana. In the Veda, on the other hand, iṣ ir in a few cases found instead (apparently) of nis with /kr.
- b. The final vowel of a prefix, especially an i, is (oftenest in the older language) sometimes lengthened, especially in derivative words: e. g. pratīkāra, nīvṛt, parīhāra, vīrudh, adhīvāsā, apīvṛta, abhīvarta; anūrudh; avāyatī, prāvṛṣ, upāvasu. In the Veda, the initial of anu is sometimes lengthened after negative an: e. g. anānudā, anānukṛtyā.
- c. In combination with \sqrt{i} go, the prefixes parā, pari, and pra sometimes change their r to l. In this way is formed a kind of derivative stem palāy flee, inflected according to the a-class, in middle voice, which is not uncommon from the Brāhmaṇas down, and has so lost the consciousness of its origin that it sometimes takes the augment prefixed: thus, apalāyiṣṭhās (CCS.), apalāyata (R.), apalāyanta (MBh.); it makes

the periphrastic perfect paläyäm cakre. The stem palyay, similarly inflected, occurs only in one or two texts (CB. JB. JUB.); and plāy has been found nowhere except in MS. Also the imperfect niläyata (Ts. TB. not separated in the pada-text) and perfect niläyäm cakre (CB) are doubtless a corresponding formation from 1/1 with nis, though nearly akin in form and meaning with forms from 1/1 + ni. So also pari becomes pali in the combination palyang (CB. CCS.), whether viewed as a denominative formation or as 1/2 pari. And MS. has once plākṣārayan (iii. 10. 2; in an etymology).

- d. The root kr make sometimes assumes (or retains from a more original condition) an initial s after the prefixes sam, pari, nis, and upathus, samskurute, samaskurvan, samskrta, etc.; pariskrnvanti, pariskrta, etc.; nir askrta; upaskrta. And ykr scatter is said by the grammarians to add s in the same manner, under certain circumstances, after apa and prati (only apaskiramāna, praticaskare, both late, are quotable).
- e. The passive participle of the roots da give and da cut has often the abbreviated form tta after a prefix of which the final vowel, if 1, 18 lengthened (compare 955f, and the derivative in ti, below, 1157c).
- f. In a few sporadic cases, the augment is taken before a prefix, instead of between it and the root: thus, avasatkārsīt (GB.); udaprapatat (AB.); anvasamcarat, pratyasamharat, pratyavyūhat, ånvavīkṣetām, aprāiṣīt, asambhramat (MBh.); abhyanimantrayat (Har.); vyāvasthāpi (SDS.); compare also the forms from palāy, above, c. And AB. has once niniyoja (for niyuyoja, as read in the corresponding passage of CCS.). Some of the apparent roots of the language have been suspected of being results of a similar unification of root and prefix. e. g. āp from ā + ap, vyac from vi + ac, tyaj from ati + aj.
- g. The loss of the initial s of stha and stambh after the prefix ud has been noticed above (233c). Also (137a, c), certain peculianties of combination of a prefix with the initial vowel of a root.
- 1088. As to the more general adverbial uses of the prefixes, and their prepositional uses, see the next chapter.
- 1089. As to the combination of the particles a or an privative, dus ill, and su well, with verb-forms, see 1121b, g, i. As to the addition of the comparative and superlative suffixes tarām and tamām to verbs, see above, 473c.

Other Verbal Compounds.

1090. It has been seen above that some of the prepositional prefixes are employed in combination with only very small classes of roots, namely those whose meaning makes them best fitted for auxiliary and periphrastic uses—such as kr make, but and as be, that put, i go—and that the first of these are widely used in com-

bination with a derivative in ām to make a periphrastic conjugation Such roots have also been, from the earliest period of the language, but with increasing frequency, used in somewhat analogous combinations with other elements, substantive and adjective as well as adverbial; and this has become, in part, developed finally into a regular and indefinitely extensible method of increasing the resources of verbal expression.

- 1091. a. The older language has a number of (mostly) reduplicative onematopoetic compounds with roots kr and bhū, the prefixed element ending in ā or ī (generally the former): thus, in RV., akkhalīkṛtya croaking, jañjanābhávant flimmering, alalābhávant making merry, kikirā kṛṇu tear; in AV., maṣmaṣā 'karam I have crushed; in VS., maṣmasā (also TS.; MS. mṛṣmṛṣā) kuru; in TS., malmalābhávant; in h., manmalābhavant, kikkitākāra; in MS., bibibābhávant, bharbharā 'bhavat; in AB., bababākurvant. The accentuation, where shown, is like that of a verb-form with accompanying prefix.
- b. Further, combinations with \(\forall k \rangle r \) of utterances used at the sacrifice, and mostly ending in \(\bar{a} \): thus, \(\sum \sum \text{h\bar{a}} \), \(\sum \sum \text{h\bar{a}} \), \(\sum \sum \text{h\bar{a}} \) is vaga; also váṣaṭ. In these, too, the accentuation is generally that of a verb with prefix \(\end{a} \) g. svagākarôti ((B.; but svadhā karôti | \(\frac{1}{3} \) TA.), vaṣaṭkuryāt (MS.); and, with another prefix, anuváṣaṭkaroti ((B.).
- e. An instance or two also occur of ordinary words in such combinations, put in corresponding form: thus, cūlā kuryāt (CB) may roast on a pit (cūla); anṛṇākartos (AB.) of getting clear of debt, āikyābhāvayant (AA.) uniting
- 1092. a. The noun names obeisance, homage, in a still more purely noun-value, becomes combined with pkr: in the Veda, only with the ground, in nameskitya (beside hastaginya and karnaginya above, 990 b)
- b. A solitary combination with \sqrt{i} go is shown by the accusative astam home; which, appearing only in ordinary phrases in RV., is in AV. compounded with the participles—in astamyant, astamesyant, astamita (with accent like that of ordinary compounds with a prefix)—and in the Brahmanas and the later language is treated quite like a prefix thus, astaméti (CB.).
- c. Other ordinary accusative forms of adjectives in combination with verbal derivatives of kr and bhu are found here and there in the older language: thus, crtamkitya and nagnamkitya (TS); nagnambhāvuka, pāmanambhāvuka etc. (TS. et al.), ánaruṣkaroti (ζB).
- 1093. In the early but not in the earliest language, a nounstem thus compounded with kr or bhū and very rarely with as, in verbal nouns and ordinary derivatives, and then also in verbal forms, begins to assume a constant ending i (of doubtful origin).
- a. There is no instance of this in RV., unless the ī of akkhalīkṛṭya (above, 1091 a) is to be so explained. In AV., besides the obscure

våtikrta and vätikärå, is found only phalikarana. In the Brāhmana language, examples begin to occur more often: thus, in TS., cyeti, mithuni, muşti; in TB., further, phali, krūri, udvāsī; in CB., besines some of these, also eki, kālvāli, tīvrī, daridrī, brāhmaņī, mithuni, sví; and acvabhidhaní, of which (as of mustī) the ī might be that of an ordinary grammatical form; in K., dvī; in GB., pravaņī; in SB., vajrī; in AB., matī (from matya). From Upanishad and Sutra are to be added dvāitī (MU.), samī (KCS.), navī and kuçalī (AGS.). The accent is in general like that of the similar combinations treated above (1091). e. g. krūrīkurvánti, svīkŕtya, brāhmaņībhúya, mithunībhávantyau. phalikartavaí, krūnikrta; but sometimes a mere collocation takes place thus, mithuní bhávantīs (TS.), phalí kriyámāņānām (TB.), vajī i bhūtvā (TA.). The ī is variously treated: now as an uncombinable final as in cyeti akuruta and mithuni abhavan (TS.); now as liable to the ordinary conversions, as in mithuny enaya syam, mithuny abhih syam, and svyakurvata (CB.).

b. Out of such beginnings has grown in the later language the $\mathrm{following}$ rule:

- 1094. Any noun or adjective stem is liable to be compounded with verbal forms or derivatives of the roots a kr and a bhū (and of ब्रम् as also; but such cases are extremely rare), in the manner of a verbal prefix. If the final of the stem be an a- or i-vowel, it is changed to ξ i; if an u-vowel, it is changed to Ξ ū.
- a. Examples are: stambhībhavati becomes a post; ekacittībhūya becoming of one mind; upahārīkaroşi thou makest an offering; nakhaprahārajarjarīkrta torn to pieces with blows of the claws; cithilībhavanti become loose; kundalīkrta ring-shaped; surabhīkrta made fragrant, ādhīkaraņa pawning; rjūkrtya straightening; hetūkaraņa taking as cause. As in the case of the denominatives (1059 c), the combinations with a-stems are the immense majority, and occur abundantly (hardly less than a thousand are quotable) in the later language, but for the most part only once or twice each; those made with i- and u-stems are a very small number. In a few instances, stems in an and as, with those finals changed to ī, are met with: e. g. ātmī-kr, yuvī-bhū; unmanikr, amanī-bhū; final ya after a consonant is contracted to ī: e. g. kānsī-kṛ. and anomalous cases like kāmdiçī-bhū occur. Final r is said to become ri, but no examples are quotable. The combinations with kr are about twice as frequent as those with bhū, and examples with as do not appear to have been brought to light.
- b. Similar combinations are occasionally made with elements of questionable or altogether obscure character: e. g. urarI-kr, uri-kr.
 - c. Examples are not altogether wanting in the later language of a as

final of the compounded noun-stem (cf. 1091) thus, duhkhā-kṛ, niṣkulā-kṛ, çambā-kṛ, and one or two others.

1095. Of all the forms which constitute or are attached to the verbal system, the passive participle is the one most closely assimilated in its treatment as a combinable element to an ordinary adjective. Next to it come the gerund and the gerundives. Combinations of the kind above treated of are quite common with passive participles and gerunds.

CHAPTER XVI.

INDECLINABLES.

1096. The indeclinable words are less distinctly divided into separate parts of speech in Sanskrit than is usual elsewhere in Indo-European language — especially owing to the fact that the class of prepositions hardly has a real existence, but is represented by certain adverbial words which are to a greater or less extent used prepositionally. They will, however, be briefly described here under the usual heads.

Adverbs.

- 1097. Adverbs by suffix. Classes of adverbs, sometimes of considerable extent, are formed by the addition of adverb-making suffixes especially to pronominal roots or stems, but also to noun and adjective stems.
- a. There is no ultimate difference between such suffixes and the case-endings in decleusion; and the adverbs of this division sometimes are used in the manner of cases.
- . 1008. With the suffix tas are made adverbs having an ablative sense, and not rarely also an ablative construction. Such are made:
- a. From pronominal roots, in átas, itás, tátas, yátas, kútas, amútas, syatas (not found earlier); from the pronominal stems in t or

- d (494) of the personal pronouns: thus, mattas (only example in V.), tvattas, asmattas, yuşmattas; and from pronominal derivatives: thus, itarátas, katarátas.
- b. From noun and adjective stems of every class, since the carliest period, but more freely later: e. g. mukhatás, agratás, rbhutás, rktás, hrttás, çīrṣatás, janmatas, nastás, yajuṣṭas, pārátas, anyátas, anyatarátas, sarvátas, dakṣiṇatás, abhīpatás (once, in RV., from a case-form: patsutás).
 - c. From a few prepositions: thus, abhitas, paritas, antitas.
- d. Examples of ablative construction are: ato bhūyah (RV.) more than that; tatah ṣaṣṭhāt (AV.) from that sixth; ato 'nyéna (CB.) with any other than this; sarvato bhayāt (AGS.) from all fear; kutaç cid deçād āgatya (H.) arriving from some region or other; purād itah (R) from this city; tasmāt pretakāyatah (KSS.) from that dead body.
- e. But the distinctive ablative meaning is not infrequently effaced, and the adverb has a more general, especially a locative, value: thus, agratas in front; asmatsamīpatas in our presence; dharmatas in accordance with duty; chāgatas (II.) with reference to the goat; guṇato 'dhikaḥ (M.) superior in virtue.
- 1099. With the suffix tra (in the older language often trā) are made adverbs having a locative sense, and occasionally also a locative construction.
- a. These adverbs are very few, compared with those in tas. These are formed chiefly from pronominal stems, and from other stems having quast-pronominal character: namely, in tra, átra, tátra, yátra, kútra, amútra, anyátra, viçvátra, sarvátra, ubhayátra, aparatra, uttaratra, itarátra, anyataratra, pūrvatra, paratra, samānátra, ekatra, anekatra, ekāikatra; m trā, asmatrā, satrā, purutrā, bahutrā, dakṣiṇatrā. But a few in trā come from ordinary nouns: thus, devatrā, martyatrā, puruṣatrā, manuṣyatrā, pākatrā, çayutrā, kurupancālatrā. Those in trā are distinguished from the others by their accent.
- b. Examples of locative construction are: hasta a dakṣiṇatra.(RV) in the right hand; yatra 'dhi (RV.) in which; ekatra puruṣe (MBh.) in a single man; atra maratmake (II.) in this murderous creature. prabhutvam tatra yujyate (II.) sovereignty hefits him. And, as the locative case is used also to express the goal of motion (304), so the adverbs in tra have sometimes an accusative as well as a locative value thus, tatra gaccha go there or thither; pathó devatra yanan (RV.) roads that go to the gods.
 - 1100. One or two other suffixes of locality are:
- a. ha, in ihá here, kúha where? and the Vedic viçváha (also viçváhā, viçváhā) always (compare below, 1104 b); and ihá (like átra etc.

- 1099 b) is sometimes used with locative-case value: c. g. iha samaye (II.) at this conjuncture.
- b. tāt, which is added to words having already a local or directive value: thus, to adverbial accusatives, prāktāt, údaktāt, tāvattāt; to adverbial ablatives, ārāttāt, uttarāttāt, parākāttāt; and to prepositional adverbs, paçcātāt, adhástāt, avástāt, parástāt, purástāt, bahístāt. Apparently by analogy with these last, the suffix has the form stāt in upáristāt (and BhP. has udastāt).
 - c. hi, in uttarāhi (ÇB.) and daksiņāhi (not quotable)
- 1101. By the suffix that are made adverbs of manner, especially from pronominal roots or stems.
- a. Thus, táthā, yáthā; kathā and itthā (by the side of which stand kathám and itthám; and ÇB. has itthāt); and the rare imáthā and amúthā. And átha (V. often áthā) so then doubtless belongs with them. Further, from a few adjective and noun stems, mostly of quasi-pronominal haracter: thus, viçváthā, sarváthā, anyáthā, ubhayáthā, aparathā, itaráthā, yataráthā, yatamáthā, katarathā, katamathā, pūrváthā, pratnáthā, ūrdhváthā, tiraçcáthā, ekathā (JB.), rtuthá, nāmáthā (once, AV.); and eváthā.
- b. Yáthā becomes usually toneless in V., when used in the sense of iva after a noun forming the subject of comparison: thus, tāyávo yathā [RV.] like thieves.
 - 1102. One or two other suffixes of manner are:
- a. ti, in iti thus, very commonly used, from the earliest period, especially as particle of quotation, following the words quoted.
- b. Examples are: brahmajāyė 'yám íti céd ávocan (RV.) if they have said "this is a Brahman's wife": tám devá abruvan vrátya kím nú tişthasí 'ti (AV.) the gods said to him "Vrātya, why do you stand!" Often, the iti is used more pregnantly: thus, yáh craddádhāti sánti devá íti (AV) whoever has fauth that the gods exist; tam vyāghram munir mūṣiko 'yam iti paçyati (II.) the sage looks upon that tiger as being really a mouse; yūyam kim iti sīdatha (II.) why (lit. alleging what reason) do you sit?
- c. But iti is sometimes used in a less specialized way, to mark an onomatopula, or to indicate a gesture: e. g. bahís te astu bál iti (AV.) let it come out of you with a splash; ity ágre kṛṣáty áthé 'ti (ÇB.) he ploughs first this way, then this way; or it points forward to something to be said: e. g. yan nv ity āhur anyāni chandānsi varṣīyānsi kasmād bṛhaty ucyata iti (PB) when now they say thus. "the other metres are greater: why is the bṛhatī spoken?" It also makes a number of derivatives and compounds: e. g. ititha the so-many-eth; itivat in this fashion; ityartham for this purpose; itihāsa a story or legend (lit. thus forsooth it was). As to the use of a nominative with iti as predicate to an accusative, see 268 b.

- d. With the suffix of it is to be compared that of tati etc. (519). The word is abbreviated to ti two or three times in \$\cap{B}\$.
- e. va in iva (toneless) like, as, and evá (in V. often evá), carlier thus, later a particle emphasizing the preceding word; for thus is used later the related evám, which hardly occurs in RV., and in AV. only with yvid as, evám vidván knowing thus.
- f. In later Vedic (AV. etc., and the later parts of RV.) iva more often counts for only a single syllable, 'va.
- 1103. a. By the suffix dā are made adverbs of time, but $\mathrm{alm}_{\mathrm{ost}}$ only from pronominal roots.
- b. Thus, tadā, yadā, kadā (in RV. also kadā), idā (only in V.), and sadā, beside which is found earlier sadam. Besides these, in the older language, only sarvadā; later a few others, anyadā, ekadā, nityadā. A quasi-locative case use is seen occasionally in such phrases as kadācid divase (R.) on a certain day.
- c. By the perhaps related dānīm are made idānīm, tadanīm, viçvadānīm, tvadānīm (toneless). Viçvadāni occurs as adjective in TB
- d. With rhi are made, from pronominal roots, tárhi, etárhi, yárhi, kárhi, amúrhi.
- e. The suffix di, found only in yadi if, is perhaps related with da, in form as in meaning. Sadadi (MS.) is of doubtful character
- 1104. By the suffix dha are formed adverbs especially from numerals, signifying -fold, times, ways, etc.
- a. Thus, ekadhá, dvidhá (also dvídhā and dvedhá), trídhā (in the the older language usually tredhá), ṣaḍḍhá (also ṣoḍhá and ṣaḍdhā), dvādaçadhá, ekānnavinçatidhá, sahasradhá, and so on Also naturally, from words having a quasi-numeral character: thus, anekadhā, katidhá tatidhá, bahudhá, purudhá, viçvádhā, çaçvadhá, aparimitadhā, yāvaddhá, etāvaddhá, māsadhā. In a very tew cases also from general noun and adjective stems: thus, mitradhá (AV) priyadhá (TS.; predhá, MS.), ṭjudhá (TB.), urudhā and citradha (BhP.); and from one adverb, bahirdhā.
- b. The particle ádha or ádha, a Vedic equivalent of átha, probably belongs here (purudhá and viçvádha, with shortened final, occur a few times in RV.), also addhá in truth; and perhaps sahá with, which has an equivalent sadha- in several Vedic compounds. And the other advertin ha (1100 a) may be of like origin.
- 1105. From a few numerals are made multiplicative adverbs with s namely, dvis, tris, and catur (probably, for caturs). 489 a
- a. The corresponding word for once, sakṛt, is a compound rather than a derivative; and the same character belongs still more evidently to pañcakṛtvas, navakṛtvas, aparimitakṛtvas, etc., though kṛt and kṛtvas are regarded by the native grammarians as suffixes; the earlier

- texts (AV. ÇB. MS.) have saptá krtvas, dáça krtvas, dvádaça krtvas, astáv evá krtvas, etc. AB. has the redundant combination triş krtvah.
- b. The quasi-suffix dyus, from a case-form of div day, is in a similar manner added to various determining words, generally made to end in e: e. g. anyedyús another day, ubhayedyus (AV. -yadyús) on either day, pūrvedyús the day before.
- 1106. By the suffix çás are made, especially from numeral or quantitative stems, many adverbs of quantity or measure or manner. generally used distributively.
- a. Examples are: ekaçás one by one, cataçás by hundreds, rtuçás season by season, pacchas foot by foot, aksaraçás syllable by syllable, ganaçás in crowds, stambaçás by bunches, paruççás limb by limb, tāvacchás in such and such number or quantity and, in a more general way, sarvaçás wholly, mukhyaças principally, krchraças stingily, manmaçás as minded.
- 1107. By the suffix vát are made with great freedom, in every period of the language, adverbs signifying after the manner of, like, etc.
- a. Thus, angirasvát like Angiras, manuşvát (RV.) as Manu did, jamadagnivát after the manner of Jamadagni, pürvavát or pratnavát or purāṇavát as of old, kākatālīyavat after the fashion of the crow and the palm-fruit.
- b. This is really the adverbially used accusative (with adverbial shift of accent: below, 1111 g) of the suffix vant (1233 f), which in the Veda makes certain adjective compounds of a similar meaning: thus, tvávant like thee, mavant of my sort, etc.
- 1108. By the suffix sat are made from nouns quasi-adverbs signifying in or into the condition or the posse sion of what is indicated by the noun; they are used only with verbs of being, of becoming, and of making: namely, oftenest kr and bhū, but also as, gam, yā, and nī (and, according to the grammarians, sam-pad). Some twenty-five examples are quotable from the later literature; but none from the earlier, which also appears to contain nothing that casts light upon the origin of this formation. The s of sat is not liable to conversion into s. The connection with the verb is not so close as to require the use of the gerund in ya instead of that in tvā (890); and other words are sometimes interposed between the adverb and verb.
- a. Examples are: sarvakarmāṇi bhasmasāt kurute (MBh.) reduces all deeds to ashes; loko 'yam .dasyusād bhaved (MBh.) this world would become a prey to barbarians; yasya brāhmaṇasāt sarvam vittam āsīt (MBh.) whose whole property was given to Brahmans; niyatam bhasmasād yāti (Har.) it is inevitably reduced to ashes; agnīn ātmasāt kṛtvā (Y.) having taken the fires to one's self.
- 1109. a. Suffixes, not of noun-derivation or of inflection, may be traced with more or less plausibility in a few other adverbs. Thus, for

example, in prātár early, and sanutár away; in dakṣinít with right hand, and cikitvít with consideration; in nūnám now, and nānānám variously. But the cases are in the main too rare and doubtful to be word notice here.

- b. In the opics begin to be found a small class (about a dozen are quotable) of adverbs having the form of a repeated noun-stem with its $n_{\rm ret}$ occurrence ending in $\bar{\bf a}$ and its second in i: e. g. hastāhasti hand to hand, rathārathi chariot against chariot, karņākarņi ear to ear.
- c. The adverbs thus far described are almost never used prepositionally. Those of the next division, however, are in many instances so used.
- 1110. Case-forms used as Adverbs. A large number of adverbs are more or less evidently cases in form, made from stems which are not otherwise in use. Also many cases of known stems, pronominal or noun or adjective, are used with an adverbial value, being distinguished from proper cases by some difference of application, which is sometimes accompanied by an irregularity of form.
- 1111. The accusative is the case most frequently and widely used adverbially. Thus:
- a. Of pronominal stems: as, yád if, when, that, etc., tád then, etc., kím why, whether, etc.; idám now, here; adás yonder; and so on. Of like value, apparently, are the (mostly Vedic) particles kád, kám and kam(?), íd, cid (common at every period), smád and sumád, im and sīm (by some regarded as still possessing pronoun-value), -kīm. Compounds with íd are céd if, néd lest, éd, svid, kuvíd; with cid, kúcid; with -kīm, nákīm and mákīm, and åkīm.
- b. Of noun-stems: as, nāma by name; súkham happily; kāmam at will, if you please; náktam by night; ráhas secretly; oṣām quekly (V.); and so on.
- c. Of adjective stems, in unlimited numbers: as, satyám truly. cirám long; púrvam formerly; nítyam constantly; bhúyas more, again; viçrabdham confidently; prakāçam openly; and so on.
- d. The neuter singular is the case commonly employed in this way, and it is so used especially as made from great numbers of compound adjective stems, often from such as hardly occur, or are not at all found, in adjective use. Certain of these adverbial compounds, having an indeclinable as prior member, are made by the Hindu grammarians a special class of compounds, called avyayibhāva (1313).
- e. But the feminine singular also is sometimes used, especially in the so-called adverbial endings of comparison, tarām and tamām, which are attached to particles (cf. 1119), and even (473 c) to verb-forms:

- e. g. natarám, kathamtarām, uccāistarám, çanāistarām, jyoktamām. In the oldest languago (RV. and AV.), the neuter instead of the teminine form of these suffixes is almost alone in use. se 1119.
- f. Many adverbs of obscure form or connection are to be explained with probability as accusatives of obsolete noun or adjective stems: examples are tūṣṇim in silence; sāyām at evening, sākām thogether, with (prep.); aram or ālam sufficient (in the later language used with ykr in the manner of a prefix: 1078 a); prāyas usually, īṣāt somewhat; amnās unexpectedly; bahis outside; mithu and mithās, miun and muhus, jātu, and so on. Madrik etc., and ninik (in RV.), are perhaps contracted forms of adjectives having yac or añc as their final (407 fl.). The presence of other roots as final members is also probable for uçādhak, ānuṣāk and āyuṣāk, anuṣṭhū and suṣṭhū, yugapāt, etc. Compare also the forms in am beside those in ā, above, 1101 a, 1102 e, 1103 b.
- g. In (Vedic) dravát quickly is to be seen a change of accent for the adverbial use (pple drávant running); and drahyát stoutly (RV., once) may be another example. The comparative and superlative suffixes (above, e) show a like change; and it is also to be recognized in the derivatives with vát (1107).
- 1112. The instrumental is also often used with adverbial value: generally in the singular, but sometimes also in the plural. Thus:
 - a. Of pronominal stems: as, enā and ayā, kayā, anā, amā, amuyā.
- b. Of noun-stems: as, kṣaṇena instantly: aceseṇa completely; viceseṇa especially; đivā by day; distya fortunately, sanasā suddenly, aktubhis by night; and so ou.
- c. Of adjectives, both neuter (not distinguishable from masculine) and teminine: as, akhilena wholly; prāyeṇa mostly; dákṣiṇena to the south, úttareṇa to the north; ántareṇa within, ciréṇa long,— cánāis and cánakāis slowly; uccāis on high; nīcāis below; parācāis afar, távisībhis mightily; and so on.
- d. More doubtful cases, mostly from the older language, may be instanced as follows: tiraçcátā, devátā, bāhútā, and sasvártā (all RV.), homonymous instrumentals from nouns in tā; dvitā, tādítnā, īrmā, mṛṣā, vṛthā, sácā, asthā(?), mudhā (not V.), adhunā (B. and later).
- e. Adverbially used instrumentals are (in the older language), oftener than any other case, distinguished from normal instrumentals by differences of form: thus, especially, by an irregular accent: as, amá and dívā (given above); perhaps gúhā; apākā, āsayā, kuhayā(?); naktayā, svapnayā, samanā; adatrayā, rtayā, ubhayā, sumnayā(?); dak-ṣiṇā, madhyā; nīcā, prācā, uccā, paçoā, tiraçcā; vasantā;—in a few u-stems, by a y inserted before the ending, which is accented: thus. amuyā (given above), āçuyā, sādhuyā, raghuyā, dhṛṣṇuyā, anuṣ-

thuyā, mithuyā; — and urviyā (for urvyā) and víçvyā (property víçvayā) are more slightly irregular.

- 1113. The dative has only very seldom an adverbial use.
- a. Examples are aparaya for the future (RV.: with changed accent) ciraya long; arthaya for the sake of; ahnaya presently.
- 1114. The ablative is not infrequently used adverbially Thus:
- a. Of pronominal stems: as, kásmāt why? akasmāt casually, unexpectedly; āt, tāt, yāt (V.: normal forms, instead of the pronominal asmāt etc.).
- b. Of noun-stems: as, āsāt near; ārāt afar; balāt forcibly; kutū-halāt emulously; sakāçāt on the part of.
- c. Oftenest, of adjective stems: as, dūrāt afar; nīcāt below; paçeāt behind: sākṣāt plainly, actually; samantāt completely; acirāt not long pratyakṣatamāt (AB) most obviously; pratyantāt (S.) to the end
- d. In a few instances, adverbially used ablatives likewise show a changed accent in the early language: thus, apākāt from afar; amāt from near by; sanāt from of old (but instr. sánā); uttarāt from the north adharāt below.
 - 1115. The genitive is almost never used adverbially.
- a. In the older language occur aktós by night, and vástos by day later, cirasya long.
- 1116. The locative is sometimes used with adverbial value Thus:
- a. From noun and adjective stems: ākė near; ārė and dūrė afar abhisvarė behind; astamīkė at home; rtė soithout (prep.); ågre in front, sthāne suitably; sapadi immediately; -arthe and -krte (common in composition) for the sake of; aparişu in after time; ādāu first; rahasi in secret.
- 1117. Even a nominative form appears to be stereotyped into an adverbial value in (Vedic) kís, interrogative particle, and its compounds nákis and mákis, negative particles. And masc, nominatives from anestems (as pārān AB, nyān Āpast.) are sometimes found used by substitution for neuters.
- 1118. Verbal Prefixes and kindred words. The verbal prefixes, described in the preceding chapter (1076 ff.), are properly adverbs, having a special office and mode of use in connection with verbal roots and their more immediate derivatives.
- a. Their occasional looser connection with the verb has been noticed above (1084). In the value of general adverbs, however,

they only rarely occur (except as api has mainly changed its office from prefix to adverb or conjunction in the later language); but their prepositional uses are much more frequent and important see below, 1125 b.

b. In composition with nouns, they (like other adverbial elements) not infrequently have an adjective value: see below, 1281 ft., 1305.

- 1119. Several of the prefixes (as noticed above, 473-4) form comparative and superlative adjectives, by the suffixes tara and tama, or ra and ma: thus, úttara and uttamá, ádhara and adhamá, ápara and apamá, ávara and avamá, úpara and upamá, and prathamá idoubtless of the same character; also, ántara and ántama. And accusatives of such derivative adjectives (for the most part not otherwise found in use) have the value of comparatives, and rarely superlatives, to the prefixes themselves: thus, sámicitam cit samtarám sám cicadhi (AV.) whatever is quickened do thou still further quicken; vitarám ví kramasva (RV.) stride out yet more widely; prá tám naya pratarám vásyo ácha (RV.) lead him forward still further toward advantage; úd enam uttarám naya (AV.) lead him up still higher.
- a. Bosides those instanced, are found also nitarám, apatarám, abhitarám, avatarám, parātarám, parastarám. In the Brāhmaņas and later (above, 1111 e), the feminine accusative is used instead: thus, atitarám and atitamām, abhitarám, anutamám, ātamám, pratitarám, nitarám, uttarám, pratarám and pratamám, vitarám, samtarám (also RV., once)
- 1120. Kindred in origin and character with the verbal prefixes, and used like them except in composition with verbs, are a few other adverbs: thus, avás down; adhás below (and adhastarám); parás far off (and parastarám); purá before; antará (apparently, antár + á) among, between; ánti near; upári above; and sahá (already mentioned, 1104 b) along, with, and sácā together, with, may be noticed with them. Viná without, and vişu- apart, appear to be related with ví.
- 1121. Inseparable Prefixes. A small number of adverbial prefixes are found only in combination with other elements. Thus:
- a. The negative prefix a or an an before vowels, a before consonants.
- b. It is combined especially with innumerable nouns and adjectives; much more rarely, with adverbs, as akútra and ápunar (RV.), áneva (AV.), ánadhas (TB.), akasmāt, asakṛt; in rare cases, also with pronouns (as atad, akiṁcit); and even, in the later language, now and then with verbs, as aspṛhayanti (BhP. Çic.) they do not desire, alokayati (SD.) he does not view. Now and and then it is prefixed to itself: e. g. anakāmamāra, anayiprayukta, anavadya(?).

- c. In a very few cases, the negative a appears to be made long: thus, asat non-existent, adeva godless, arati enemy, açauca impurity, atura ill(?).
- d. The independent negative adverbs, ná and má, are only in exceptional instances used in composition: see below, 1122 e.
- e. The comitative prefix sa, used instead of the preposition sam, and interchangeably with sahá, before nouns and adjectives.
- f. The prefix of dispraise dus ill, badly (identical with ν dus 225 a).
- g. It is combined in the same manner as a or an. Of combinations with a verbal form, at least a single example appears to be quotable, duçcaranti (R.) behave ill.
- h. The corresponding laudatory prefix su well is in general so closely accordant in its use with the preceding that it is best mentioned here, though it occurs not rarely as an independent particle in the oldest language (in RV., more than two hundred times; in the peculiar parts of AV., only fourteen times), and even occasionally later.
- i. The particle su sometimes appears in B. and later before a verbform, and considering its rapid loss of independent use in V., and the
 analogy of a and dus (above, b, g) it is probably at least in part to be
 regarded as in composition with the verb. The pada-text of AV. XIX. 49
 10 reads su-apayati, but its testimony is of little or no value. It has
 na su vijñāyete and na vāi su viduḥ, and KeU. has su veda; The
 has susambodhayati(?); MBh. and BhP. have sūpatasthe; R. has sucakyante.
- j. The exclamatory and usually depreciative prefixed forms of the interrogative pronoun (506) are most analogous with the inseparable prefixes.
- 1122. Miscellaneous Adverbs. Other words of adverbial character and office, not clearly referable to any of the classes hitherto treated, may be mentioned as follows:
- a. Asseverative particles (in part, only in the older language); thus, angá, hánta, kíla, khálu, tú (rare in older language), vaí, vává (in Brahmana language only), hi, hìná, u, áha, ha, gha, samaha, sma, bhala.
- b. Of these, hanta is a word of assent and incitement; hi has won also an illative meaning, and accents the verb with which it stands in connection (595 e); sma sometimes appears to give a past meaning to a present tenso (778 b); u is often combined with the final a of other particles: thus, atho, no, mo, uto, upo, pro; but also with that of verbforms, as datto, vidmo. The final o thus produced is pragrhya or uncombinable (138 c). Particles of kindred value, already mentioned above,

- are id, kam or kam, eid, jatu, eva. Some of the asseverative particles are much used in the later artificial poetry with a purely explctive value, as devices to help make out the metre (pādapūraņa verse-fillers); so especially ha, hi, tu, sma.
- c. Negative particles are: ná, signifying simple negation; mấ, signifying prohibition.
- d. As to the construction of the verb with mā, see above, 579. In the Veda, nú (or nú: 248 a) has also sometimes a negative meaning. For the Vedic ná of comparison, see below, g, h.
- e. In nahí, ná is combined with hí, both elements retaining their full meaning; also with íd in néd lest. It is perhaps present in nanú and caná, but not in hiná (RV, once) In general, neither ná nor má is used in composition to make negative compounds, but, instead, the inseparable negative prefix a or an (1122 a) exceptions are the Vedic particles nákis and mákis, nákīm and mákīm; also naciram and māciram, napumsaka, and, in the later language, a number of others.
- f. Interrogative particles are only those already given kad, kim, kuvíd, svid, nanú, of which the last introduces an objection or expostulation.
- _eg. Of particles of comparison have been mentioned the toneless iva, and yathā (also toneless when used in the same way). Of frequent occurrence in the oldest language is also nå, having (without loss of accent) the same position and value as the preceding.
- h. Examples of the ná of comparison are raidvía á sum ná srjata dvíam (RV.) let loose your enmity like an arrow at the enemy of the singer; váyo ná vrkam (AV.) as birds to the tree; gauro ná traitán piba (RV.) drink like a thirsty buffalo. This use is generally explained as being a modification or adaptation of the negative one: thus [although, to be sure] not [precisely] a thirsty buffalo; and so on.
- i. Of particles of place, besides those already mentioned, may be noticed kvà where? (in V., always to be read kúa).
- i. Particles of time are: nú now (also nú: nūnám was mentioned above, 1109 a), adyá and sadyás and sadívas (RV., once) today, at once (all held to contain the element div or dyu), hyás yesterday, çvás tomorrow, jyók (also related with dyu) long; púnar ayain.
- k. Of particles of manner, besides those already mentioned, may be noticed nana variously (for nananam, its derivative, see 1109 a); sasvar (RV.) secretly.
- 1. In the above classifications are included all the Veduc adverbial words, and most of those of the later language: for the rest, see the dictionaries.

.Prepositions.

- 1123. There is, as already stated, no proper class of prepositions (in the modern sense of that term), no body of words having for their prevailing office the "government" of nouns. But many of the adverbial words indicated above are used with nouns in a way which approximates them to the more fully developed prepositions of other languages
- a. If one and another of such words—as vinā, rte—occurs ${\it almost}$ solely in prepositional use, this is merely fortuitous and unessential.
- 1124. Words are thus used prepositionally along with all the noun-cases excepting the dative. But in general their office is directive only, determining more definitely, or strengthening, the proper case-use of the noun. Sometimes, however, the case-use is not easy to trace, and the noun then seems to be more immediately "governed" by the preposition—that is, to have its case-form more arbitrarily determined by its association with the latter. This is oftenest true of the accusative; and also of the genitive, which has, here as eisewhere (294 b), suffered an extension of its normal sphere of use a
- 1125. a. The adverbs by derivative form (1097 ff.) have least of a prepositional value (exceptions are especially a few made with the suffix tas: 1098).
- b. Most of the verbal prefixes (exceptions are ud, ni, parā, pra; and ava and vi are almost such) have their prepositional or quasi-prepositional uses with cases; but much more widely in the older time than in the later: in the classical language the usage is mainly restricted to prati, anu and ā.
- c. Most of the directive words akin with the more proper prefixes are used prepositionally: some of them—as saha, vinā, upan, antarā, purā—freely, earlier and later.
- d. The case-forms used adverbially are in many instances used prepositionally also: oftenest, as was to be expected, with the "genitive; but frequently, and from an early time, with the accusative, more rarely with other cases.
- e. We will take up now the cases for a brief exposition, beginning with those that are least freely used.
- 1126. The Locative. This case is least of all used with words that can claim the name of preposition. Of directives, antar and its later derivative antara, meaning within, in, are oftenest added to it, and in the classical language as well as earlier. Of frequent Vedic use with it are a and adhi: thus, martyesv a among mortals; prthivyam adhy osadhih the plants upon the earth; tojo mayi dharaya 'dhi (AV.) establish glory

in me; — ápi and úpa are much rarer: thus, yá apám ápi vraté [sánti] (RV.) who are in the domain of the waters; amúr yá úpa súrye [sánti] (RV.) who are up yonder in the sun; — sácā along with is not rare in RV., but almost entirely unknown later: thus, pitrón sácā satí staying with her parents.

1127. The Instrumental. The directives used with this case are almost only those which contain the associative pionominal root sa. as sahá (most fiequent), sākám, sārdhám, samám, samáyā, sarátham; and, in the Veda, the prefix sám: as, te sumatíbhih sám pátnībhir ná výsano nasīmahi (RV.) may we be united with thy favors as men with their spouses. By substitution of the instrumental for the ablative of separation (288 a), vinā without (not Vedic) takes sometimes the instrumental; and so, in the Veda, avás down and parás beyond, with which the ablative is also, and much more normally, construed. And ádhi, in RV, is used with the instrumentals snúnā and snúbhis, where the locative would be expected.

1128. The Ablative. In the prepositional constructions of the ablative (as was pointed out and partly illustrated above, 293), the ablative value of the case, and the merely directive value of the added particle, are for the most part clearly to be traced. Many of the verbal prefixes are more or less frequently joined in the older language with this case: oftenest, adhi and part; more sporadically, anu, apa, ava, prati, and the separatives nis and vi. The change of meaning of the ablative with a hither, by which it comes to fill the office of its opposite, the accusative, was sufficiently explained above (293 c). Of directive words akin with the prefixes, many—as bahis, puras, avas, adhas, paras, pura, vina, and tras out of knowledge of—a company this case by a perfectly regular construction. Also the case-forms arvak, prak, paçcat, urdhvam, purvam, param, and rte without, of which the natural construction with an ablative is predominant earlier.

1129. The Accusative. Many of the verbal prefixes and related words take an accompanying accusative. Most naturally (since the accusative is essentially the to-case), those that express a motion or action toward anything: as abhí, práti, ánu, úpa, á, áti and ádhí in the sense of over on to, or across, beyond, tirás through, antar and antará when meaning between, pári around. Examples are yáh pradíco abhí súryo vicaște (AV.) what quarters the sun looks abroad unto; abodhy agnih práty āyatīm uṣāsam (RV.) Agni has been awakened to meet the advancing dawn; gacchet kadācit svajanam prati (Mbh.) she might go somewhither to her own people; imam praksymi nṛpatim prati (MBh.) him I will ask with reference to the king, måma cittåm ånu cittébhir é 'ta (AV) follow after my mind with your minds; é 'hy á nah (AV) · come hither to us; úpa na é'hy arván (RV.) come hither unto us; yó devo martyan ati (AV.) the god who is beyond mortals; adhisthaya várcasá 'dhy anyán (AV.) excelling above others in glory. Also abhítas and paritas, which have a like value with the simple abhi and pari.

and upári above (oftener with genitive). Less accordant with ordinary accusative constructions is the use of this case with adhas, paras, puras, vinā, beside other cases which seem more suited to the meaning of those particles. And the same may be said of most of the adverbial case-forms with which the accusative is used. Thus, a number of instrumentals of situation or direction: as yé 'vareṇā "dityám, yé páreṇā "dityám (TB) those who are below the sun, those who are beyond the sun; ántareṇa yónim (CB.) within the womb; te hī 'dam antareṇa sarvam (AB.) for all this universe is between them; úttareṇa gárhapatyam (CB.) to the north of the householder's fire; dákṣiṇena védim (CB.) to the south of the sacrificial hearth; dakṣiṇena vṛkṣavāṭikām (C.) to the right of the orchard; nikaṣā yamunām (Har.) near the Yamunā. Similarly, ūrdhvam and pūrvam have an accusative object as well as an ablative; and the same is true later of ṛte. Abhimukham toward has a more natural right to construction with this case.

1130. The Genitive. The words which are accompanied by the genitive are mostly case-forms of nouns, or of adjectives used substantively. retaining enough of the noun-character to take this case as their natural adjunct. Such are the locatives agre in front of, abhyaçe near, arthe and krte for the sake of, nimitte and hetau by reason of, madhye w the midst of; and other cases, as arthaya, karanat, sakaçat, hetos. And really, although less directly and obviously, of the same character are other adjective cases (some of them showing other constructions, already noticed) as adharena, uttarena and uttarāt, daksinena and daksināt, paccāt, ürdhvam, anantaram, samakşam, sākṣāt. More questionable, and illustrations rather of the general looseness of the use of the genitive, are itconstructions (almost wholly unknown in the oldest language) with more proper words of direction: thus, with the derivative paritas, paratas, and antitas, and parastat and parastat (these found in the Brahmana language: as, samvatsarasya parastat after a year; suktasya purastat before the hymn [AB.]); with anti, adhas, avas, puras; with upan above (common later); and with antar.

Conjunctions.

- 1131. The conjunctions, also, as a distinct class of words are almost wanting.
- a. The combination of clauses is in Sanskrit in general of a very simple character; much of what in other Indo-European languages is effected by subordinating conjunctions is here managed by means (composition of words, by the use of the gerunds (994), of iti (1102) of abstract nouns in case-forms, and so on.
 - 1132. The relative derivative adverbs, already given

(1098 ff.), may properly be regarded as conjunctions; and a few other particles of kindred value, as ced and ned (1111a).

- 1133. Purely of conjunctive value are ন ca and, and না vā or (both toneless, and never having the first place in a sentence or clause).
- a. Of copulative value along with ca, is in the older language especially utá (later it becomes a particle of more indefinite use); and api, tátas, táthā, kím ca, with other particles and combinations of particles, are used often as connectives of clauses.
- b. Adversative is tú but (rare in the older language); also, less strongly, u (toneless'.
- c. Of illative value is hf for (originally, and in great part at every period, asseverative only): compare above, 1122b.
- d. To ca (as well as to its compound ced) belongs occasionally the meaning if.
- e. It is needloss to enter into further detail with regard to those uses which may be not less properly, or more properly, called conjunctive than-adverbial, of the particles already given, under the head of Adverbs.

Interjections.

- 1134. The utterances which may be classed as interjections are, as in other languages, in part voice-gestures, in part onomatopæias, and in part mutilations and corruptions of other parts of speech.
- 1135. a. Of the class of voice-gestures are, for example: \bar{a} , $h\bar{a}$, $h\bar{a}h\bar{a}$, ahaha, he, $h\bar{a}i$ (AV.), ayi, aye, hayé (RV.), aho, $b\acute{a}t$ (RV.), bata RV.) or vata, and (probably) $h\acute{r}uk$ and $hur\acute{u}k$ (RV.).
- b. Onomatopoetic or imitative utterances are, for example (in the older language): ciçcă whiz of an arrow: RV.): kikiră (palpitation: RV.); bál and phát 'pháṣ?, or phál splash (AV.); bhúk bowwoo (AV.); çál pat (AV.); āṣ, hīṣ, as, and has (PB.); and see the words already quoted in composition with the roots kṛ and bhū, above, 1091.
- c. Nouns and adjectives which have assumed an interjectional character are, for example: bhos (for the vocative bhavas, 456); are or re (voc. of ari enemy); dhik alas! may be mere voice-gesture, but perhaps related with y'dih); kaṣṭam woe is me! diṣṭyā thank heaven! svasti hail! suṣṭhu, sādhu good, excellent! None of these are Vedic in interjectional use.

CHAPTER XVII.

DERIVATION OF DECLINABLE STEMS.

- 1136. The formation from roots of conjugable stems namely, tense-stems, mode-stems, and stems of secondary conjugation (not essentially different from one another, nor, it is believed, ultimately from the formation of declined stems) was most conveniently treated above, in the chapters devoted to the verb. Likewise the formation of adverbs by derivation not essentially different from case-formation, in the chapter devoted to particles. And the formation of those declinable stems namely, of comparison, and of infinitives and participles which attach themselves most closely to the systems of inflection, has also been more or less fully exhibited. But the extensive and intricate subject of the formation of the great body of declinable stems was reserved for a special chapter.
- a. Of course, only a brief and compendious exhibition of the subject can be attempted within the here necessary limits: no exhaustive thacing out of the formative elements of every period; still less, a complete statement of the varied uses of each element, least of all, a discussion of origins; but enough to help the student in that analysis of words which must form a part of his labor from the outset, giving a general outline of the field, and preparing for more penetrating investigation.
- b. The material from accented texts, and especially the Vedic material, will be had especially in view (nothing that is Vedic being intentionally left unconsidered), and the examples given will be, so far as is possible, words found in such texts with their accent marked. No word not thus vouched for will be accented unless the fact is specifically pointed out.
- 1137. The roots themselves, both verbal and pronominal, are used in their bare form, or without any added suffix, as declinable stems.
 - a. As to this use of verbal roots, see below, 1147.
- b. The pronominal roots, so-called, are essentially declinable; and hence, in their further treatment in derivation, they are throughout in accordance with other declinable stems, and not with verbal roots.
- 1138. Apart from this, every such stem is made by a suffix. And these suffixes fall into two general classes:

- A. Primary suffixes, or those which are added directly to roots;
- B. Secondary suffixes, or those which are added to derivative stems (also to pronominal roots, as just pointed out, and sometimes to particles).
- a. The division of primary suffixes nearly corresponds to the krt (more regular) and unadi (less regular) suffixes of the Hindu grammarians; the secondary, to their taddhita-suffixes.
- 1139. But this distinction, though one of high value, theoretically and practically, is not absolute. Thus:
- a. Suffixes come to have the aspect and the use of primary which really contain a secondary element—that is to say, the earliest words exhibiting them were made by addition of secondary suffixes to words already derivative.
- b. Sundry examples of this will be pointed out below thus, the gerundival suffixes, tavya, anīya, etc., the suffixes uka and aka, tra, and others. This origin is probable for more cases than admit of demonstration; and it is assumble for others which show no distinct signs of composition.
- c. Less often. a suffix of primary use passes over in part into secondary, through the medium of use with denominative "roots" or otherwise: examples are yu, iman, iyas and iṣṭha, ta.
- 1140. Moreover, primary suffixes are added not only to more original roots, but, generally with equal freedom, to elements which have come to wear in the language the aspect of such, by being made the basis of primary conjugation—and even, to a certain extent, to the bases of secondary conjugation, the conjugation-stems, and the bases of tense-inflection, the tense-stems.
- a. The most conspicuous examples of this are the participles, present, and future and perfect, which are made alike from tense and conjugation-stems of every form. The infinitives (968 ft.) attach themselves only in sporadic instances to tense-stems, and even from conjugation-stems are made but sparingly garlier; and the same is true of the gerundives.
- b. General adjectives and nouns are somewhat widely made from conjugation-stems, especially from the base of causaive conjugation: see below the suffixes a (1148j, k), ā (1149c, d), ana (1150m), as (1151f), ani (1159b), u (1178g-i), ti (1157g), tr (1182e), tnu (1196b), snu (1194b), uka (1180d), āku (1181d), ālu (1192b), tu (1161d).

- c. From tense-stems the examples are far fewer, but not unknown thus, from present-stems, occasional derivatives in a (1148j), \bar{a} (1149d, e), ana (1150n), i (1155d), u (1178f), ta (1176e), tu (1161d), uka (1180d), tra (1185e), ti (1157g), vin (or in: 1232b, 1183a); tron stems in a B apparently of a oristic character (besides infinitives and gerund-ives), occasional derivatives in a (1148j), ana (1150j), ani (1159b), an (1160a), \bar{a} na (1175), as (1151e), \bar{i} (1156b), $i\bar{i}$ tha (1184a), u (1178f), us (1154a), tr (1182e), in (1183a).
- 1141. The primary suffixes are added also to roots as compounded with the verbal prefixes.
- a. Whatever, namely, may have been originally and strictly the mode of production of the derivatives with prefixes, it is throughout the recorded life of the language as if the root and its prefix or prefixes constituted a unity, from which a derivative is formed in the same manner as from the simple root, with that modification of the radical meaning which appears also in the proper verbal forms as compounded with the same prefixes.
- b. Not derivatives of every kind are thus made; but, in the main, those classes which have most of the verbal force, or which are most akin in value with infinitives and participles.
- c. The occurrence of such derivatives with prefixes, and their abcent will be noted under each suffix below. They are chiefly (in nearly the order of their comparative frequency), besides root-stems, those in a, m ana, in ti, in tar and tra, and in in, ya, van and man, i and u, as, and a few others.
- 1142. The suffixes of both classes are sometimes joined to their primitives by a preceding union-vowel—that is to say, by one which wears that aspect, and, in our ignorance or uncertainty as to its real origin, may most conveniently and safely be called by that name. The line between these vowels and those deserving to be ranked as of organic suffixal character cannot be sharply drawn.

Each of the two great classes will now be taken up by itself. for more particular consideration.

A. Primary Derivatives.

- 1143. Form of root. The form of root to which a primary suffix is added is liable to more or less variation. Thus:
- a. By far the most frequent is a strengthening change, by gunaor vrddhi-increment. The former may occur under all circumstances (except, of course, where guna-change is in general forbidden: 235, 240): thus, véda from yvid, móda from ymud, várdha from yvid.

áyana from Vi, sávana from Vsu, sárana from Vsr; and so on. But the latter is only allowed under such circumstances as leave long a as the resulting vowel: that is to say, with non-final a, and with a final i- or u-vowel and r before a vowel (of the ending): thus, nādá trom Vnad, grābhá from Vgrbh or grabh, vāhá from Vvah, nāyá from Vnī, bhāvá from Vbhū, kārá from Vkr; such strengthening as would make vāida and māuda does not accompany primary derivation.

b. Strengthening in derivation does not stand in any such evident connection with accent as strengthening in conjugation; nor can any general rules be laid down as to its occurrence; it has to be pointed out in detail for each suffix. So also with other vowel-changes, which are in general accordance with those found in inflection and in the formation of tense- and mode-stems.

- c. The reversion of a final palatal or h to a guttural has been already noticed (216). A final n or m is occasionally lost, as in formations already considered.
- d. After a short final vowel is sometimes added a t: namely, where a root is used as stem without suffix (1147d), and before a following y of v of van (1169), vara and varī (1171), yu once (1165a), and ya (1213a). The presence of t before these suffixes appears to indicate an original secondary derivation from derivatives in ti and tu.
- e. The root is sometimes reduplicated: rarely in the use without suffix (1147c, b); oftenest before a (1148k), i (1155e), u (1178d); but also before other suffixes, as ā (1149e), ana (1150m), vana (1170a), van and varī (1169d, 1171a, b), vani (1170b), vi (1193), vit (1193b), ani (1159b), in (1183a), tnu (1196a), ta (1176a), ti (1157d), tha (1163a), tr (1182b), tra (1185f), ūka (1180f), aka (1181a), īka (1186c), ma (1166b).
- 1144. Accent. No general laws governing the place of the eccent are to be recognized, each suffix must in this respect be considered by itself.
- a. In connection with a very few suffixes is to be recognized a certain degree of tendency to accent the root in case of a nomen action is of infinitival derivative, and the ending in the case of a nomen agent is or participial derivative: see the suffixes a, ana, as, an, and man, below, where the examples are considerd. Differences of accent in words made by the same suffix are also occasionally connected with differences of gender-see the suffixes as and man.
- 1145. Meaning. As regards their signification, the primary derivatives fall in general into two great classes, the one indicating the action expressed by the verbal root, the other the person or thing in which the action appears, the agent or actor—the latter, either substantively or adjectively. The one class is more abstract, infinitival; the other is more concrete, participial. Other meanings

may in the main be viewed as modifications or specializations $_{\rm of}$ these two.

- a. Even the words indicating recipience of action, the passive pathiciples, are, as their use also as neuter or reflexive shows, only notably modified words of agency. The gerundives are, as was pointed out above (961 ft.), secondary derivatives, originally indicating only concerned with the action.
- 1146. But these two classes, in the processes of formation, are not held sharply apart. There is hardly a suffix by which actionnouns are formed which does not also make agent-nouns or adjectives; although there are not a few by which are made only the latter In treating them in detail below, we will first take up the suffixes by which derivatives of both classes are made, and then those forming only agent-nouns.
- a. To facilitate the finding of the different suffixes is given the tollowing list of them, in their order as treated, with references to paragraphs

		1:47	j yu	1165	in	1183
a		1148	ma	1166	īyas, istha	1184
ā		1149	mi	1167	tra	1185
an	a	1150	man	1168	ka	1186
as		1151	van	1169	ya	▶ 187
tas	, nas, sas	1152	vana, -ni, -nu	1170	ra	. 1188
is		1153	vara	1171	la	1189
แร		1154	ant	1172	va	1190
i		1155	vāns	1173	ri	1191
ī		1156	māna	1174	ru	1192
ti		1157	ana	1175	vi	1193
ni		1158	ta	1176	snu	1194
an	i	1159	na, ina, una	1177	sna	1195
an		1160	u	1178	tnu	1196
tu		1161	ŭ	1179	88.	1197
nu		1162	uka '	1180	asi	1198
the	ı	1163	aka	1181	abha	1199
thu	1	1164	tr or tar	1182	sundries	1200-l

- 1147. Stems without suffix; Root-words. These words and their uses have been already pretty fully considered above (323, 348 ff., 383 ff., 400, 401).
- a. They are used especially (in the later language, almost solely as finals of compounds, and have both fundamental values, as actionnouns (frequently as infinitives: 971), and as agent-nouns and adjectives (often governing an accusative: 271e. As action-nouns, they are chiefly feminines (384: in many instances, however, they do not occur in situations that determine the gender).

- b. In a small number of words, mostly of rare occurrence, the reduplicated root is used without suffix.
- c. The Vedic cases are. with simple reduplication, sasyád, cikít, dadýh, didyú and didyút, juhú, and perhaps gángā and gíçu; with intensive reduplication, -nenī, malimluc, yavīyúdh, and jógū and vánīvan (with the intensive instead of the usual radical accent). In dáridra is seen a transfer to the a-declension. Asūsū́ is probably to be understood as a compound, asū-sū́.
- d. If the root end in a short vowel, a ${\bf t}$ is regularly and usually added (383f-h).
- e. Examples have been given at the place just quoted. In jagat the tas added to the mutilated form of p/gam reduplicated, and rnayat (TS., once) appears to put it after a long vowel. In a single instance, crutkarna (RV.) of listening cars, a stem of this class occurs as prior member of a compound.
- f. Words of this form in combination with verbal prefixes are very numerous. The accent rests as in combination of the same with other preceding elements; on the root-stem
- g. A few exceptions in point of accent occur, thus, avasā, úpastut; and, with other irregularities of form, párijri, upástha, uparíṣṭha.
- 1148. A a. With the suffix A a is made an immensely large and heterogeneous body of derivatives, of various meaning and showing various treatment of the root: gunastrengthening, vrddhi-strengthening, retention unchanged, and reduplication.

In good part, they are classifiable under the two usual general heads; but in part they have been individualized into more special senses.

- a. With guna-strengthening of the root (where that is possible: 235, 240). These are the great majority, being more than twice as numerous as all others together.
- *b. Many nomina actionis as, cráma weariness, gráha seizure, aya movement, véda knowledge, háva call, kródha wrath, jósa enjoyment. tára crossing, sárga emission.
- c. Many nomina agentis. as, kṣamā patient, svajā constrictor, jīvā līving, meghā cloud, codā inciting. plavā boat, sarā brook. sarpā serpent, bhojā generous, khādā decouring.
- d. Of the examples here given, those under b accent the radical syllable and those under c the ending. And this is in perhaps a majority of cases the fact as regards the two classes of derivatives; so that, taken in connection with kindred facts as to other suffixes, it hints at such a difference of accent as a general tendency of the language. A few sporadic

Instances are met with of the same form having the one or the other value according to its accent: thus, éṣa haste, eṣá hasting; çása order, çāsá orderer (other examples are coḍa, çāka, çoka: compare a similar difference with other derivatives in as, ana, an, man). But exceptions are numerous—thus, for example, jayá, javá, smará, action-nouns: çráva, mógha, stáva, agent-nouns—and the subject calls for a much wider and deeper investigation than it has yet received, before the accentuation referred to can be set up as a law of the language in derivation.

- 2. e. With vrddhi-strengthening of the root—but only where ā is the resulting radical vowel: that is, of medial a, and of final r (most often), u or ū, i or ī (rare).
- f. Examples of action-nouns are: kāma love, bhāgā share. nādā noise. dāvā fire, tārā crossing. Very few forms of clear derivation and meaning are quotable with accent on the root-syllable.
- g. Examples of agent-nouns are: grābhá seizing, vāhá carrying. nāyá leading, jārá lover.
- h. With unstrengthened root, the examples are few: e. g. kṛçá ican, turá rapid, yugá yoke, sruvá spoon, priyá dear, vrá troop. çucá bright.
- i. A number of words of this class, especially as occurring in composition, are doubtless results of the transfer of root-stems to the a-deckension: e.g. -ghuṣa, -sphura, -tuda, -dṛça, -vida, -kira.
- j. A few a-stems are made, especially in the older language, from conjugation-stems, mostly causative: thus, -āmaya, ilaya, -īñkhaya, -ejaya, -dhāraya, -pāraya, -mṛḍaya, -çamaya (compare the ā-stems, 1149 c, d), also desiderative, as bībhatsa (compare 1038). Occasional examples also occur from tense-stems: thus, from nu-stems, or secondary stems made from such, -hinvá, -inva, -jinva, -pinva, -sinva, -sunva, -açnuva, from others, -pṛṇa, -mṛṇa, -stṛṇa, -puna, -jāna, -paçya, -manya, -dasya, -jurya, -kṣudhya, -sya, -tiṣṭha, -jighra, -piba; from futurestems, kariṣya (JB., janiṣya, bhaviṣya, ruciṣya(?); apparently from aorīst-stems, jeṣā, néṣa-, parṣā, pṛkṣā(?), -hoṣa.
- 4. k. Derivatives in a from a reduplicated root-form are a considerable class, mostly occurring in the older language. They are sometimes made with a simple reduplication: thus, cacará, cikita, drdhrá, dadhrsá, babhasa, -babhra, vavrá, çiçayá, çiçnátha (an action-noun), sasrá; but oftener with an intensive reduplication: thus, merely strengthened, cākṣmá, cācala, jāgara, nānada, lālasa, vīvadhá(?), -memiṣa, rerihá and leliha, vevijá, nonuva, momughá, -roruda, lolupa; with consonant added, -cañkaça, -cañkrama, jañgama, cañcala, -jañjapa, dandhvana, -nannama, -jarjalpa, jarjara, -tartura, -dardira, múrmura, gadgada; dissyllabic, -karikra, kanikradá, carācará and calācalá, marīmṛçá, malimlucá, varīvṛtá, sarīsṛpá, paniṣpadá, saniṣyadá, saniṣrasá, patāpata, madāmada, -vadāvada, ghana-

- ghaná. Many of these are to be regarded as from an intensive conjugationstem; but some of them show a form not met with in intensive conjugation.
- 5. 1. Derivatives with this suffix from roots as compounded with the verbal prefixes are quite common, in all the modes of formation in each, in proportion to the frequency of independent words): constituting, in fact, considerably the largest body of derivative stems with prefixes. They are of both classes as to meaning. The accent is, with few exceptions, on the ending—and that, without any reference to the value of the stem as action-noun or agent-noun.
- m. Examples are: samgamá assembly, nimesá wink, abhidrohá enmity, anukará assistance, udāná inspiration, pratyāçrāvá response; paricará wandering, samjayá victorious, vibodhá wakeful, atiyājá over-pious, udārá inciting, elevated, uttudá rousing, samgirá swallowing, ādardirá crushing, adhicañkramá climbing.
- n. The only definite class of exceptions in regard to accent appears to be that of the adverbial gerunds in am (above, 995), which are accented on the root-syllable. A very few other stems have the same tone: for example, utpata 'portent, acresa plague. A few others, mostly agentnouns, have the accent on the prefix: for example, vyòṣa (i. e. vi-oṣa) burning, prativeça neighbor, abhaga sharing; but also samkāça appearance.
- o. For the remaining compounds of these derivatives, with the inseparable prefixes and with other elements, see the next chapter. It may be merely mentioned here that such compounds are numerous, and that the a-derivative has often an active participial value, and is frequently preceded by a case-form, oftenest the accusative.
 - p. Many words in the language appear to end with a suffix a, while yet they are referable to no root which can be otherwise demonstrated as such.
- 1149. 到 ā. The vast majority of stems in 到 ā are feminine adjectives, corresponding to masculines and neuters in 到 a (332, 334). But also many suffixes ending in 到 a have corresponding feminine forms in long 知 ā, making a greater or less number of action-nouns. These will be given under the different suffixes below.
- a. There is further, however, a considerable body of feminine action-nouns made by adding ā to a 100t, and having an independent aspect; though they are doubtless in part transfers from the rootnoun (1147). Usually they show an unstrengthened form of root, and (such as occur in accented texts) an accented suffix.

- b. Examples are içā lordship, krīqā play, dayā pity, nindá reproach, çañkā douht, hiñsā injury, kṣama patience, kṣudhā hunger, bhūṣa speech, sevā service, spṛhā eagerness.
- c. But especially, such nouns in \bar{a} are made in large numbers, and with perfect freedom, from secondary conjugation-stems.
- d. Thus, especially from desiderative stems, as jigiṣā, bhikṣā, vīrtsā, bibhatsā, etc., (see 1038), in the formation of periphresis, perfects, especially from causative stems, but also from desiderative and intensive, and even from primary present-stems (1071 c-f); from denominative stems, in the older language, as açvaya, sukratūyā, apasyā, uruṣyā, asūyā, açanayā, jīvanasyā, etc., and quite rately in the later, as mṛgayā.
- e. The only example from a reduplicated stem is the late paspaça for sūṣā, jāṅghā, and jihvā, which have a reduplicated aspect, are aldoubtful origin. From present-stems come icchā and probably -recha
- 1150.
 An ana. With this suffix (as with A a) are formed innumerable derivatives, of both the principal classes of meaning, and with not infrequent specializations. The toot has oftenest guna-strengthening, but not seldom vyddhinstead: and in a few cases it remains unstrengthened Derivatives of this formation are frequent from roots with prefixes, and also in composition with other elements.
- a. The normal and greatly prevalent accent is upon the root-syllable, without regard to the difference of meaning; but cases occur of accented final, and a few of accented penult. The action-nouns are in general of the neuter gender. The feminine of adjectives is made either in ā or in ī for details, see below. And a few feminine action-nouns in anā and anī occur, which may be ranked as belonging to this suffix.
- 1. b. With strengthened and accented root-syllable. Under this head fall, as above indicated, the great mass of forms.
- c. With guna-strengthening, examples of action-nouns are sadana seat, raksana protection, dana giving, cayana collection, védana property, havana call, bhójana enjoyment, karana deed, várdhana mercase.— of agent-nouns, tápana burning, cétana visible, códana impelling
- d. With vṛddhi-strengthening (only in such circumstances that a remains as vowel of the radical syllable): examples are -cātana, nūçana, mādana, -vācana, -vāsana, -vāhana, -sādana, -spāçana, svādana, -āyana, -yāvana, -srāvaṇa, -pāraṇa.
- e. From roots with prefixes, the derivatives of this formation are vernumerous, being exceeded in frequency only by those made with the suife-

- a (above, 11481, m). A few examples are ākrámana striding on, udyána upgoing, nidhána receptable, pránana expiration, vimócana release and releasing, samgámana assembly and assembler, adhivikártana cutting off, avaprabhránçana falling away doun. For other compounds of these derivatives, showing the same accent (and the same feminine stem), see the next chapter (below, 1271). A few exceptions occur vicakṣaṇá, upariçayaná, and the feminines pramandaní and nirdahanī.
- f. The adjectives of this formation, simple or compound, make their feminine usually in ī: thus, códanī, pēçanī, spáranī, jámbhanī; prajnānī, prókṣanī, samgráhanī, abhiṣávanī, vidháranī (cetanī is of doubtful meaning: below, i), An adjective compound, however, having a noun in ana as final member, makes its feminine in ā: thus, sūpasarpaṇā of easy approach, ṣāḍvidhānā of sextuple order, anapavācanā not to be ordered away.
 - 2. The more irregular formations may be classed as follows
- g. With accent on the final—a number of agent-nouns and adjectives, as karaná active (against kárana act) krpaná miscrable (against kýpána miscry), tvaraná hasting, rocaná shining, kroganá yelling, svapaná sleepy, kaayaná habitable.
- h. These, unlike the preceding class, make their feminie in ā e. e. tvaraņā, spandanā. A few temine action-nouns in the older language have the same form: thus, açanā, asanā, mananā, dyotanā, rodhanā, çvetanā, hasanā (and compare kapanā, raçanā); those of the later language in anā (rather numerous) are doubtful as regards accent.
- i. Beside these may be mentioned a few feminines in ani, of more or less doubtful character. arṣaṇi, cetani (10 cétana), tapani (10 tápana), pṛṇani, vṛjani (with vṛjāna), rajanī, tedani.
- j. With accent on the penult, a small number of adjectives; as turána hasting, dohána milhing, manána considerate, bhandána and mandána rejoicing, saksána orercoming, and perhaps vaksánā carrying (the last two with aoristics); and a still smaller number of neuter actionnouns; dańsána great deed, vrjána enclosure, town, vesána service, krpána misery, (against krpaná miserable), with the masculine kirána dust
- *k. The only noticed example of a feminine is in ā: turáṇā And a few feminine nouns have the same form arháṇā, jaráṇā, barháṇa, bhandánā, maṅhánā, mehánā, vadhánā, vanánā, vakṣáṇā. (And compare the anomalous masc. name uçánā 355a.)
- 1. Without strengthening of the root are made a small number of derivatives: thus (besides those already noted, kṛpāṇa and kṛpaṇa, vṛjāna and vṛjanī, kirāṇa, turāṇa), futher accented examples are uraṇa, dhuvana, pṛçana, bhuvana, vṛjana, vṛṣaṇa, -suvana; and later are found sphuraṇa, sphuṭana, spṛhaṇa, -hnuvana, likhana, rudana, atc. RV. makes denominatives from rṛṣaṇa-, ruvaṇa-, vṛpana-, huvaṇa-.

- m. Stems in ana are made also from secondary conjugation-stems; thus, from desideratives, as cikitsana (see 1038); from causatives, as hāpana, bhīṣaṇa (see 1051g); from denominatives, with great freedom in the later language, as ākarṇana, unmūlana, çlakṣṇana, cihnana; from intensives and other reduplicated stems, only cankramaṇa, jangamaṇa, jāgaraṇa, yoyupana.
- . n. A few isolated cases may be further mentioned: from tense-stems, -jighraṇa, -ūrṇavana, -paçyana, yacchana, -siñcana; from prepositions, antaraṇa and sámana; astamana from the quasi-prefix (1092b) astam. Feminines in anā of doubtful connection are yóṣaṇā u emum (beside yóṣaṇ, yoṣā, etc.) and pṛtanā.
- 1151. यस as. By this suffix are made (usually with guna-strengthening of the root-vowel especially a large class of neuter nouns, mostly abstract (action-flouns), but sometimes assuming a concrete value; and also, in the older language, a few agent-nouns and adjectives, and a considerable number of infinitives.
- a. The accent in words of the first class is on the root, and $_{\rm Pl}$ the second on the ending, and in a few instances words of the $_4$ wo classes having the same form are distinguished by their accent, the infinitives have for the most part the accent on the suffix.
- 1. b. Examples of the first and principal class are: ávas and, favor, tápas warmth, práyas pleasure, téjas splendor, crávas fama, dóhas milking, káras deed, práthas breadth, cétas and mánas mund, cáksas eye. sáras pond, vácas speech.
- c. A few words of this class are of irregular formation: 'thus, without strengthening of the root, júvas quickness (beside jávas). úras breast. mṛdhas contempt; and iras- (irasy-) and vipas-, and the adverbs tirás, mithás, huras-, also círas head. are to be compared; with vṛddhistrengthening, -vācas, vāsas, vāhas, -svādas, and. of doubtful connections, pājas, pāthas, and -hāyas; perhāps with an aoristic s, heṣas missile; pīvas contains a v apparently not radical.
- d. After Inal ā of a root is usually inserted y before the suffix (258): thus, dhāyas, -gāyas. But there are in the oldest language apparent remains of a formation in which as was added directly to radual ā thus, bhās and -dās (often to be pronounced as two syllables), jīnās, mās; and -dhas and -das, from the roots dhā and dā.
- 2. e. The instances in which an agent-noun is differentiated by its accent from an action-noun are: apas work, and apas active; yaças beauty, and yaças beauteous; taras quickness, and taras (VS., once) quick; tavas strength, and tavas strong; duvas worship, and duvas lively(*), mahas greatness, and mahas great; between raksas n. and

rakṣás m., both meaning demon, and between tyájas n. abandonment(") and tyajás m. descendent(?), the antithesis is much less clear.

- f. Adjectives in ás without corresponding abstracts are: togás bestowing, yajás offering, vedhás pious, probably āhanás heady: and a few other words of isolated occurence, as vegás, dhvarás. From a denominative stem is made mṛgayás wild animal (RV., once).
- g. But there are also a very few cases of abstract nouns, not neuter, accented on the ending: thus, jarás old age, bhiyás fear; and doubtless also havás call, and tvesás impulse. The femine usás dawn, and dosás night, might belong either here or under the last preceding head.

h. Apparently containing a suffix as are the noun upás lap. and certain proper names: ángiras, nodhás, bhalanás, arcananás, naci-ketas. The feminine apsarás nymph is of doubtful derivation.

- i. The irregular formation of some of the words of this division will be noticed, without special remark.
- 3. j. The infinitives made by the suffix as have been explained above (973): they show various treatment of the root, and various accent (which last may perhaps mark a difference of gender, like that between sahas and jarás).
- 4. k. The formation of derivatives in as from roots compounded with prefixes is very restricted if, indeed, it is to be admitted at all. No infinitive in as occurs with a prefix; nor any action-noun; and the adjective combifications are in some instances evidently, and in most others apparently, possessive compounds of the noun with the prefix used adjectively: the most probable exceptions are -nyòkas and vispardhas. As in these examples, the accent is always on the prefix.
- 1. Certain Vedic stems in ar may be noticed here, as more or less exchanging with stems in as, and apparently related with such. They were reported above, at 169 a.

In connection with this, the most common and important suffix ending in s. may be best treated the others, kindred in office and possibly also in origin, which end in the same sibilant.

- 1152. तम् tas, नम् nas, सम् sas. With these suffixes are made an extremely small number of action-nouns. Thus:
 - a. With tas are made rétas seed, and srótas stream.
- b. With nas are made apnas acquisition, arnas wave, -bharnas offering, réknas riches; and in dravinas wealth, and parinas fulness is apparently to be seen the same suffix, with prefixed elements having the present value of union-vowels. Probably the same is true of damunas house-friend, and fjunas (RV.) n. pr. uçanas (or -nā) n. pr.
- c. With sas is perhaps made vapsas beauty; and tarusas may be mentioned with it (rather tarus-a?).

- 1153. इस् is. With the suffix is is formed a small number (about a dozen) of nouns.
- a. They are in part nouns of action, but most are used concretely. The radical syllable has the guna-strengthening, and the accent is on the suffix (except in jyotis light, vyathis, and amis raw meat). Example, are areis, rocis, and cocis light, chadis or chardis cover, barhis straw, vartis track, sarpis butter, havis oblation, dyotis light, and kravis raw flesh. Avis-, pathis, bhrājis-, and mahis-are isolated variants of stems in as; and tuvis-, cucis-, and surabhis- appear inorganically for tuvi etc. in a few compounds or derivatives.
- 1154. उत्या us. With this suffix are made a few words, of various meaning, root-form, and accent.
- a. They are words signifying both action and agent. A few have both meanings, without difference of accent: thus, tapus heat and hot, arus wound and sore; caksus brightness and seeing, eye; vapus wonderful and wonder. The nouns are mostly neuter, and accented on the rousyllable: thus, ayus, tarus, purus, muhus (* only adverbial), muthus (do.), yajus, casus; exceptions are in regard to accent, janus birth, in regard to gender, mamus man, and nahus n. pr. Of adjectives, are accented on the ending jayus, vanus, and daksus burning (which appears to attach itself to the agrist-stem).
- 1155. § i. With this suffix are formed a large body of derivatives, of all genders: adjectives and masculine agent-nouns, feminine abstracts, and a few neuters. They show a various form of the root: strong, weak, and reduplicated. Their accent is also various. Many of them have meanings much specialized; and many (including most of the neuters) are hardly to be connected with any root elsewhere demonstrable.
- 1. a. The feminine action-nouns are of very various form: thus, with weak root-form, rúci brightness, tvíşi sheen, kṛṣi ploughing, "nṛti dance; with guṇa-strengthening (where possible), rópi pain, çoci head vaní and saní gain; with vṛddhi-strengthening, grāhi seizure, dhraji course, ājí race; from Vduş comes dūṣi (compare dūṣayati, 1042b) The variety of accent, which seems reducible to no rule, is illustrated by the examples given. The few infinitively used words of this formation (above, 975b) have a weak root-form, with accent on the ending.
- 2. b. The adjectives and masculine agent-nouns exhibit the same variety. Thus:
- c. With unstrengthened root: çúci bright, bhṛmi lively (y bhram), gṛbhf container.

- d. With unstrengthened root (or root incapable of guṇa-change): arí enemy, máhi great, arcí beam, granthí knot, krīdí playing; with vrddhincrement, kārṣi, jāni, -dhāri, çāri, sācí, sādi, sāhi, and a few words of obscure connections: thus, drāpí mantle, rācí heap, pāní hand, etc. The isolated -ānaçi appears to come from the perfect-stem (788) of yaç.
- e. With reduplicated root. This is in the older language a considerable class, of quite various form. Thus: with weak or abbreviated root, cákri, jághri, (/ghar), pápri, sásri, mamri, babhrí, vavrí, jágmi, -jájňi (/jan), -tatni, jághni, sásni, súsvi, -çiçvi; and, with displacement of flual ā (or its weakening to the semblance of the suifly), dadí, papí, yayí (with a case or two from yayī), -jajňi, dádhi; from the ur-form of roots in changeable r, jáguri, táturi, pápuri (púpuri SV.); with simple reduplication, cíkiti, yúyudhi, vívici; with strengtheded reduplication, -cācali, tátrpi, dádhrşi, vávahi, sāsahí, tútuji and tūtují; yúyuvi, yúyudhi; and jarbhári and bámbhári. And karkarí lute and dundubhí drum have the aspect of belonging to the same class, but are probably onomatopoetic. The accent, it will be noticed, is most often on the reduplication, but not seldom elsewhere (only once on the root). It was noticed above (271 f) that these reduplicated deuvatives is i not seldom take an object in the accusative, like a present participle.
- f. Formations in i from the root compounded with prefixes are not at all numerous. They are accented usually on the suffix. Examples are āyají, vyānaçí, rijaghní, parādadí, viṣasahí; but also ājāni, āmúri, vívavri. As compounded with other preceding words, the adjectives or agent-nouns in i are not rare, and are regularly accented on the root; see the next chapter, 1276.
- g. From /dhā comes a derivative -dhi, forming many masculine compounds, with the value both of an abstract and a concrete thus, with prefixes, antardhí, uddhí, nidhí, paridhí, etc. From /da is made in like manner ādi beginning, and from /sthā, pratisthí resistance. Opinions are at variance as to whether such forms are to be regarded as made with the suffix i, displacing the radical ā, or with weakening of ā to i.
- h. Neuter nouns in i are few, and of obscure derivation examples are gkşi eye, asthi bone, dadhi curds, etc.
- 1156. $\frac{\xi}{\xi}$ ī. Stems in $\frac{\xi}{\xi}$ ī (like those in \overline{x} \overline{a} , above, 1149) are for the most part feminine adjectives, corresponding to masculines and neuters of other terminations.
- a. Thus, feminines in ī are made from a-stems (332, 334; and see also the different suffixes), from i-stems (344, 346), from u-stems (344b), from r-stems (378a), and from various consonant-stems (378a).
- b. But there are also a few stems in ī wearing the aspect of independent derivatives. Examples are: dakṣī, dehi, nadī, nāndī, péṣī,

- vakṣi (apparently with aoristic s), veçi, çákī, çácī, çámī, çímī, tarī, vāpī; they are either action-nouns or agent-nouns. In the later language (as noticed at 344a) there is very frequent interchange of i- and ī-stems and the forms from them.
- c. In the oldest language there are even a few masculines in \tilde{i} . They were noticed, and their inflection illustrated, above, at 355 b, 356.
- 1157. $\overleftarrow{\text{rd}}$ ti. This suffix forms a large class of frequently used feminine nouns of action: and also a few agent-nouns (masculine) and adjectives. The root has in general the same form as before the suffix $\overleftarrow{\text{rd}}$ ta of the passive participle (952 ff.) that is to say, a weak, and often a weakened or abbreviated, form.
- a. The accent, ought, it would appear, in analogy with that of the participle, to rest always upon the suffix; but in the recorded condition of the language it does so only in a minority of cases namely, about fifty, against sixty cases of accent on the radical syllable, and a hundred and forty of undetermined accent; a number of words—iti, rti, citti, trpti, pakti, puşți, bhūti, bhṛti, vṛṣṭi, çaktı, qruṣṭi, sṛṣṭi, sthiti—have both accentuations.
- 1 b. Examples of the normal formation are: rati gift. uti and, rīti flow. stuti praise, bhakti division, viṣṭi service, kīrti fame, pūrti bestowal, mati thought, pīti drink (ypā; pple pīta), dhāuti stream (ydhāv; pple dhāuta);— and with accented root. gáti motion, çámti repose, díti division (ydā; pple ditá), dṛṣṭi sight. iṣṭi offering (yaṇ: pple iṣṭá), úkti speech (yvac: pple uktá), vṛddhi increase.
- c. The roots which form their participle in ita (956) do not have the i also before ti: thus, only gupti, drpti. A few roots having their participle in na instead of ta (957) form the abstract noun also in ni (below, 1158). And from the roots tan and ran occur tanti and ranti, beside the more regular tati and rati; also ananti (once, VS.) heads anati. From the two roots da give and da divide, the derivative in composition is sometimes -tti (for dati, with loss of radical vowel: compare the participle-form -tta, above, 955f): thus, niravatti (K.), sampratti (CB), paritti (TB.) vasutti, bhagatti, magnatti (all RV.).
- d. A few derivatives are made from reduplicated roots; their accent is various: thus, carkṛti, didhiti and -diditi, jigarti, and perhaps the proper name yayāti; also jagdhi from /jakṣ (233f).
- e. Derivatives from roots with prefixes are numerous, and have (as in the case of the participles in ta, and the action-nouns in tu) the accent on the prefix: examples are anumati, abbiti, anuti, nirrti, vyapti, saingati. The only exceptions noticed are asakti and asuti, and abhi-

sti (beside abhisti). In other combinations than with prefixes, the accontuation is in general the same: see the next chapter (1274).

- 2. f. The adjectives and agent-nouns which, as masculines, are to be connected with these rather than with the feminine abstracts are very few: thus, puti putrid, vaşti eager, dhuti shaker, jnatí relative, pattí footman, pati master; and a few others, of more or less dubious character. The accent is various, as in the other class.
- 3. g. A few words show the suffix ti preceded by various vowels, union- or stem-vowels. The ordinary indermediate i of the ta-participle etc. is seen in saniti, ujhiti, -grhīti (ī, as usual with this root: 900 b), pathiti, bhaṇiti; and with them may be mentioned the adjective fpīti, the proper names turvīti and dabhīti, and snihitī and snehitī, netwithstanding their long final. With ati are made a few derivatives, variously accented: thus, the action-nouns anhatí, drçatí, pakṣatí, mithatí, vasatí, ramáti, vratáti, amáti and ámati, -dhrajati; and the agent-words aratí, khalatí, vrkáti, rámati, dahati. In some of these is to be seen with probability a stem-vowel, as also in jánayati and rasayati (and RV. has gopayátya). The grammariars' nethid of representing a root by its 3d sing. pres. indic., declining this as a ti-stem, begins in the older language: e. g. étivant (TB.). kṣetivant (AB.), yajati and juhoti and dadāti (S.), nandati (MBh.). The feminine yúvati young, maiden is of isolated character.
- h. In some of the words instanced in the last paragraph, ti is perhaps applied as a secondary suffix. A kindred character belongs to it in the numeral derivatives from pronominal roots, káti, táti, yáti, and from numerals, as daçati, vinçatí, ṣaṣṭi, etc., with psnktí (from pánca); in padāti; and in addhāti, from the particle addhā.
- 1158. An ii. This suffix agrees in general in its uses and in the form of its derivatives with the preceding; but it makes a very much smaller number of words, among which the feminine abstracts are a minority.
- a. As was noticed above (1157 c), a few verbs (ending in vowels) making their passive participle in na instead of ta make their action-noun in ni instead of ti. From the older language are quotable jyāni injury, jūrņi heat, hāni abandonment (and the masculines ghṛṇi and jirṇi); later occur glāni, -mlāni, sanni-.
- b. Words of the other class are: aoni eating, -uṣṇi burning, váhni carrying, jūrṇi singing, tūrṇi hasty, bhūrṇi excited, dharṇi sustaining, preṇi loving, vṛṣṇi and vṛṣṇi ririle; and with them may be mentioned pṛọni speckled.
- c. In prenf, yóni, menf, çréni, çróni is seen a strengthening of the radical syllable, such as does not appear among the derivatives in ti.
 - d. Derivatives in ni from roots with prefixes do not appear to occur Whitney, Grammar. 3. ed. 28

- e. In hrādúni and hlāduni we have a prefixed u. In the words ending in ani, the a has probably the same value with that of ati (above, $1157\,\mathrm{g}$); but ani has gained a more independent status, and may be best treated as a separate suffix.
- 1159. মনি ani. The words made by this suffix have the same double value with those made by the preceding suffixes. Their accent is various. Thus:
- a. Feminine action-nouns, sometimes with concreted meaning: as, isam impulse, çarani injury, dyotani brightness, kşipani blow, açani missile. vartani track; and -arçani, udani-, jarani-.
- b. Adjectives and other agent-words are: aráni fire-stick, caráni movable, cakṣáni enlightener, taráni quick, dhamáni pipe, dhvasáni scattering, vakṣáni strengthener, sarani track. Dharani and one or two other late words are probably variants to stems in anī. From a reduplicated root-form comes -paptani. From desiderative stems are made rurukṣáni, siṣāsáni, and (with prefix) ā-cucukṣáni. And a small number of words appear to attach themselves to an s-aorist stem; thus parsáni, sakṣáni, carṣaní.
- c. It is questionable whether the infinitives in sani (978) are to be put here, as accusatives of a formation in ani, or under the next suffix, as locatives of a formation in an, from roots and stems increased by an acristic s.
- 1160. ্ৰন an. Not many words are made with a suffix of this form, and of these few are plainly to be connected with roots. Certain rare neuters (along with the doubtful infinitives) are nouns of action; the rest are masculine and neuter agent-nouns. The accent is various.
- a. The infinitives which admit of being referred to this suffix, as locative cases, are those in sani, of which the sibilant may be the final of a tense-stem. They are all given above (978).
- b. The other action-nouns in an are mahan greatness, raján authordy (RV., once: compare rájan; the accent-relation is the reverse of the usual one), and gámbhan depth (VS., once); and PB. has kṣepṇā once.
- c. Agent-nouns (in part of doubtful connection) are: ukṣán ox, cákṣan eye, tákṣan carpenter, dhvasán proper name, pūṣán name of a god, majján marrow, rājan king, vṛṣan virile, bull, sághan, snīhán (snūhan Āpast.); also -gman, jmán, -bhvan, -çvan, with çván, yūvan, yōṣan, and the stems áhan, ūdhan, etc. (430-4), filling up the inflection of other defective stems.
- d. With prefixes occur pratidívan and átidīvan, vibhván, níkāman.

- 1161. \overline{g} tu. The great mass of the words of this formation are the infinitives—accusatives in the later language, in the earlier likewise datives and ablative-genitives: see above, 970 b, 972. But a few are also used independently, as action-nouns or with concreted meaning; and an extremely small number, of somewhat questionable character, appear to have the value of agent-words. They are of all genders, but chiefly masculine. The root has the gunastrengthening.
- a. The infinitive words are accented on the radical syllable when simple, and most of the others have the same accent; but a few have the tone on the ending.
- b. Examples are: of the regular formation, mase. dåtu share, jātubirth, dhātu element, tántu thread, mántu counsel, ótu weft, sātu receptacle, sétu tie, sótu pressure; also krátu capacity, and sáktu grits; fem. vástu morning; neut. vastu thing, vástu abode;—with accent on the ending, aktú ray, jantú being, gātú way and song, yātú (?) demon, hetú cause, ketú banner (all mase.);—with unstrengthened root, rtú season, pitú drink, sútu birth, and apparently kýtu (in kýtvas times); with vyddhi-strengthening, vástu (above). Agent-nouns appear to be dhātu drinkable and krostu jackal.
- c. The infinitives in tu have (968) often the union-vowel i before the suffix, and this in a few cases is lengthened to ī. In other use occur also -stárītu and -dhárītu (both with dus), -hávītu (with su), turphárītu seems of the same formation, but is obscure.
- d. In a few instances, the suffix tu appears to be added to a tenseor conjugation-stem in a; thus, edhatú and vahatú; tamyatú and tapyatú; and siṣāsátu. The accent of the last is paralleled only by that of jīvātu life, which is further exceptional in showing a long ā; it is used sometimes in the manner of an infinitive.
- 1162. ng nu. This suffix forms a comparatively small body of words, generally masculine, and having both the abstract and the concrete value.
- a. The accent is usually on the ending, and the root unstrengthened.
- b. Thus: kṣepnú jerk, bhānú light (later sun), vagnú sound, sūnú son, dānu (with irregular accent) m. f. demon, n. drop, dew: dhenú f. cow;—gṛdhnú hasty, tapnú burning, trasnu feurful, dhṛṣṇú bold;—and viṣṇu Vishnu, and perhaps sthāṇú pillar. Compare also suffix tnu, 1196 a.

- c. This also (like tu) appears sometimes with a prefixed a: thus, kṣipaṇu missile, krandanu and nadanu roaring, nabhanu (and -nu, f.) fountain, vibhanjanu (only instance with prefix) breaking to pieces; and perhaps the proper names dāsanu and kṛçanu belong here.
- almost without exception action-nouns (though some have assumed a concrete value). They are of all genders. The root is of a weak (or even weakened) form, and the accent usually on the suffix.
- a. Thus: masc., -itha going, artha goal, -kṛtha making, gātha song, paktha n. pr., bhṛtha offering, -yātha road, -çītha lying down, cotha swelling, siktha sediment; and, of less clear connections, yūtha herd, rātha chariot; neut., uktha saying, tīrtha ford, nītha song, riktha heritage, and apparently pṛṣṭha back; fem. (with ā), gatha song, nīthā way. Radical ā is weakened to ī in gītha song and -pītha drink and -pītha protection; a final nasal is lost in -gatha going and hātha slaying. In vijigītha (ÇB.; but BAU -īta) is apparently seen a formation from a reduplication of Vji, victorious.
- b. A few examples of combination with prefixes occur, with account on the final: thus, nirrthá destruction, samgathá union, etc.
- c. Still more common in the older language is a form of this suffix to which has become prefixed an á, which is probably of thematic origin, though become a union-vowel. Thus: -anátha breathing, ayátha foot. carátha mobility, tvesátha rehemence, and so prothátha, yajátha, ravátha, vaksátha, ucátha, vidátha, çansatha, çapátha, çayátha, çvayátha, çvasátha, sacátha, stanátha, stavátha, sravátha, and with weak root-form. ruvátha, the later language adds karatha, taratha, çamatha, savatha. With a prefix, the accent is thrown forward upon the final: thus, āvasathá abode, pravasathá absence; but prāṇátha breath is treated as if prān were an integral root.
- d. Isolated combinations of the with other preceding vowels occur: thus, várůtha protection, járůtha wasting(?); and matútha (/man?).
- 1164. यु thu. This suffix (like य tha, above) has an म a attached to it, and, in the very few derivatives which it makes, appears only as म्यु athu.
- a. The only Vedic examples are ejáthu quaking, vepáthu trembling, stanáthu roaring. Later cases are nandáthu (TS.), nadathu (U.), kṣavathu (S.), davathu, bhraṅçathu, majjathu, vamathu, çvayathu, sphūrjathu.
 - 1165, дуи. With this suffix are made a very few nouns,

both of agent and of action, with unstrengthened root and various accent. Thus:

- a. Abstracts (masc.) are manyú wrath, mṛtyú death (with t added to the short final of the root).
- b. Adjectives etc. are druhyú n. pr., bhujyú pliuhle, mucyu (GB. i. 1. 7), cundhyú pure, yájyu pious, sáhyu strong, dásyu enemy; and, with vyddhi-strengthening, jāyú victorious.
 - c. For other derivatives ending in yu, see the suffix u, below, 1178 h, i.
- 1166. H ma. The action-nouns made by this suffix are almost all masculine; and they are of various root-form and accent, as are also the agent-nouns and adjectives.
- a. Examples of action-houns are: ajmá course, gharmá heat, éma progress, bháma brightness, sárma flow, stóma song of praise
- b. Examples of agent-nouns etc. are: tigmá sharp, bhīmá terrible, çagmá mighty. idhmá fuel, yudhmá warrior. A single instance from a reduplicated root is tūtumá powerful. Sarámā f, with a before the suffix, is of doubtful connection.
- c. A number of stems in ma have stems in man beside them, and appear, at least in part, to be transfers from the an- to the a-declension Surch are ajma, oma, ema, arma, tókma, darmá, dhárma, narmá, yáma, yugma, vema, çuşma, sóma, sárma, hóma.
- 1167. [7] mi. A very small number of nouns, masculine and feminine, formed with mi, may be conveniently noticed here.

Thus, from r-roots, ūrmí wave, -kūrmi action, sūrmí f. tube; from others, jāmí relation, bhúmi or bhúmī f. carth, lakṣmi siyn; also probably raçmí line, ray; and the adjective krúdhmi ('RV., once).

- 1168. HA man. The numerous derivatives made with this suffix are almost only action-nouns. The great majority of them are neuter, and accented on the root-syllable; a much smaller number are masculine, and accented on the suffix. The few agent-words are, if nouns, masculine, and have the latter accent: in several instances, a neuter and a masculine, of the one and the other value and accent, stand side by side. The root has in general the gunastrengthening.
- a. Examples of regularly formed neuters are karman action, janman birth, naman name, vartman track, vecman dwelling, homan sacrifice, -dyotman splendor.

- b. Examples of masculine abstracts are: oman favor, ojman strength, jeman conquest, svadman sweetness, heman impulse.
- c. Corresponding neuter action-nouns and masculine agent-nouns are; bráhman worship and brahmán priest; dáman gift and dámán giver; dhárman rule and dharmán orderer; sádman seat and sadmán stter. But óman friend stands in the contrary relation to omán m. favor. Very few other agent-nouns occur; and all, except brahmán, are of rare occurrence.
- d. On the other hand, jeman and varşman and svādman (and variman) have the difference of gender and accent without a corresponding difference of meaning.
- e. The noun açman stone, though masculine, is accented on the radical syllable; and two or three other questionable cases of the same kind occur.
- f. The derivatives in man used as infinitives (974) have for the most part the accent of neuters: the only exception is vidmáne.
- g. A few words, of either class, have an irregular root-form: thus údman, ūṣmán or uṣman, bhūman earth, bhūmán abundance, syūman, sīmán, bhujmán, vidmán, çíkman, çuṣman, sidhman; and kārṣman, bhārman, çákman.
- h. Derivatives in man from roots with prefixes are not numerous. They are usually accented on the prefix, whether action-nouns or adjectives: thus, prabharman forthbringing, prayaman departure: anuvartman following after: the exceptions, vijaman, prativartman, visarman, are perhaps of possessive formation.
- 2. i. The same suffix, though only with its abstract-making value, has in a number of cases before it a union-vowel, i or ī, and iman comes to be used as a secondary suffix, forming abstract nouns masculine) from a considerable number of adjectives.
- j. The neuters in iman and īman are primary formations, belonging almost only to the older language: thus, jániman, dhariman (M.). váriman (beside varimán, as noticed above); and dárīman, dhárīman, párīman (and páreman SV., once), bhárīman, várīman, sáriman, stárīman, sávīman, and hávīman. Those in īman are hardly net with outside the Rig-Veda.
- k. The masculines in imán are in the oldest language less frequent than the neuters just described: they are tániman (?), jarimán, prathimán, mahimán, varimán (beside the equivalent váriman and váriman), varşimán (beside the equivalent várşman and varşmán), harimán, and drāghimán (VS.) beside drāghmán (V.B.). Some of these, as well as of the derivatives in simple man, attach themselves in meaning, or in form also, to adjectives, to which they seem the accompanying abstracts: compare the similar treatment of the primary comparatives and superlatives. (above, 468): such are pāpmán (to pāpá, pāpīyas etc.), drāghmán etc. (to dīrghá, drāghīyas, etc.); várīman etc. (to urū,

várīyas, etc.); práthiman (to pṛthú, práthiṣṭha); harimán (to hári or hárita); várṣman etc. (to yárṣīyas etc.); svádman etc. (to svādú, svádīyas, etc.). Then in the Brāhmaṇa language are found further examples: thus, dhūmrimán (TS. K.), draḍhimán (MS. K.: to dṛḍhá, dráḍhīyas, etc.), aṇimán (ÇB.; and áṇiman n. bit), sthemán, stháviman (n. big piece), taruṇiman (K.), paruṣiman (AB.), abaliman (Chu.), lohitiman (KB.); and still later such as laghiman, kṛṣṇiman, pūrṇiman, madhuriman, coṇiman, etc., etc.

- 1169. বন্ van. By this suffix are made almost only agent-words, adjectives and nouns, the latter chiefly masculines. The root is unstrengthened, and to a short final vowel is added a ন্t before the suffix. The accent is almost always on the root, both in the simple words and in their compounds.
- a. The insertion of t is an intimation that the words of this form are originally made by the addition of an to derivatives in u and tu; yet van has the present value of an integral suffix in the language, and must be treated as such.
- b. Examples of the usual formation are: masc. yájvan offering, drúhvan harming, çákvan capable, -ríkvan leaving, -jítvan conquering, sútvan pressing, kŕtvan active, -gátvan (like -gat, -gatya) going, sátvan (vsan) warrior; neut. párvan joint. dhánvan bow. Irregular, with strengthened root, are árvan courser, -yāvan (? AV.) driving off; and, with accent on the suffix, dṛván (? VS.) and vidván (? AV.).
- c. Examples from roots with prefixes (which are not rare) are: atītwan excelling, upahāsvan reviler, sambhṛtvan collecting; and perhaps vivāsvan shining: abhfsatvan is a compound with governing preposition (1310). For the compounds with other elements, which, except in special cases, have the same accent, see below, 1277.
- d. The stems muṣīván robber and sanítvan (each RV., once) are the only ones with a union-vowel, and are perhaps better regarded as secondary derivatives of which a few are made with this suffix. see below, 1234. From a reduplicated root are made rárāvan and cikitván (and possibly vivásvan).
- e. Action-nouns made with the suffix van are only the infinitival words mentioned at 974 unless bhurváni (RV., once) is to be added, as locative of bhurván.
- f. The feminines corresponding to adjectives in van are not made (apparently) directly from this suffix, but from vara, and end in varī; see below, 1171 b.
 - 1170. ਕਰ vana, ਕਰਿ vani, ਕਰ੍ vanu. The very few words

made with these suffixes may best be noticed here, in connection with an van (of which the others are probably secondary extensions).

- a. With vana are made vagvaná talkative, satvaná warrior (beside sátvan, above); and, from a reduplicated root, cucukvaná shining.
- b. With vani are made from simple roots turváni excelling, and bhurváni restless, and, from reduplicated roots, quçukváni shining, dadhrsváni daring, tuturváni striving after, and jugurváni praising, arharisváni is obscure.
 - c. With vanu is made only vagvanú tone, noise.
- 1171. वर् vara. With this suffix are made a few derivatives, of all genders, having for the most part the value of agent-nouns and adjectives. Much more common are the feminine stems in वर्शे varī, which, from the earliest period, serve as corresponding feminines to the masculine stems in वर्ष van.
- a. A few masculine adjectives in vará occur, formally accordant (except in accent) with the feminines: thus, itvará going, -advara eating and so, further, in the older language, īçvará, -jāvara, phárvara, bhārvará, bhāsvará, vyadhvará ('), -sadvara, sthāvará, and doubtless with them belongs vidvalá; later, -kasvara, gatvara, ghasvara (also ghasmara), -jitvara, naçvara, pīvara, madvara, -srtvara; from a reduplicated root, yāyāvará (B. and later). Many of these have feminines in ā.
- b. The feminines in varī accord in treatment of the root and in accent with the masculines in van to which they correspond: thus, yájvarī, -jítvarī, sṛ́tvarī, -çívarī, -yāvarī, and so on (about twenty-five such formations in RV.); from a reduplicated root, -çiçvarī.
- c. A very small number of neuters occur, with accent on the root thus, kárvara deed, gáhvara (later also gabhvara) thicket; and a feminine or two, with accent on the penult: urvárā field, and urvárī tow (both of doubtful etymology).

We take up now the suffixes by which are made only stems having the value of agent-nouns and adjectives; beginning with a brief mention of the participial endings, which in general have been already sufficiently treated.

1172. মন ant (or মন at). The office of this suffix, in making present and future participles active, has been fully explained above, in connection with the various tense-stems and conjugation-stems (chaps. VIII.-XIV.), in combination

with which alone it is employed (not directly with the root, unless this is also used as tense-stem).

- a. A few words of like origin, but used as independent adjectives, were given at 450. With the same or a formally identical suffix are made from pronominal roots fyant and kiyant (451, 517a). And ádvayant not double-tongued (RV., once), appears to contain a similar formation from the numeral dvi unless we are to assume a denominative verb-stem as intermediate.
- 1173. वाम् vāns (or वम् vas). For the (perfect active) participles made with this suffix, see above, 802-6, and 458 ff.
- a. A few words of irregular and questionable formation were noticed at 462, above. Also, apparent transfers to a form us or usa RV. vocalizes the v once, in jujuruán.
- b. The oldest language (RV.) has a very few words in vas, of doubtful relations: †bhvas and çîkvas skilful (beside words in va and van), and perhaps khidvas (ykhād). The neuter abstract várivas breadth, room (belonging to urú broad, in the same manner with várīyas and varimán), is quite isolated. MBh. makes a nominative pīvān, as if from pīvāns instead of pīvan.
- are, as has been seen (584 b), present and future only, and have the middle, or the derived passive, value belonging in general to the stems to which the suffix is attached.
- 1175. মান ana. The participles ending in মান ana are of middle and passive value, like those just noticed, and either present, perfect, or (partly with the form নান sana: above, 897 b) agrist.
- a. A few other words ending in the same manner in the old language may be mentioned here. The RV. has the adjectives takavāna, bhṛgavāṇa, vāsavāna, ūrdhvasāná, apparently made on the model of participial stems. Also the proper names ápnavāna, pṛthavāna, and cyávāna and cyávatāna. Párçāna abyss is doubtful; rujānā (RV., once) is probably a false reading; ápnāna is of doubtful character.
- 1176. Ata. The use of this suffix in forming participles directly from the root, or from a conjugational (not a tense) stem, was explained above, 952-6. The participles thus made are in part intransitive, but in great part passive

in value (like those made by the two preceding suffixes, but in much larger measure, and more decidedly).

- a. A few general adjectives, or nouns with concrete meaning, are adaptations of this participle. Examples are: tṛṣṭá rough, çītá cold, dṛ. dhá (for dṛḍhá: 224 a) firm; dūtá messenger, sūtá charioteer; ṛtá right, ghṛtá ghee, jātá kind, dyūtá gambling, nṛttá dance, jīvitá life, caritá behavior, smita smile. The adjective tigitá (RV.) sharp shows anomalous reversion of palatal to guttural before the i (216 d). Vāvāta dear is a single example from a reduplicated root.
- b. Doubtless after the example and model of participles from denominative stems (of which, however, no instances are quotable from the Verta unless bhāmita RV.), derivatives in ita are in the later language made directly from noun and adjective-stems, having the meaning of endoud with, affected by, made to be, and the like (compare the similar English formation in ed, as horned, barefooted, bluecoated). Examples are rathita furnished with a chariot, dunkhita pained, kusumita flowered, durbalita weakened, ninsameayita indubitable, etc. etc.
- c. A few words ending in ta are accented on the radical syllable and their relation to the participial derivatives is very doubtful; such are asta home, marta mortal, vata mind; and with them may be mentioned garta high seat, nakta night, hasta hand. Vrata is commonly vywel as containing a suffix ta, but it doubtless comes from pvrt (vrata, like trada, vraja) and means originally course.
- d. Several adjectives denoting color end in ita, but are hardly connectible with roots of kindred meaning: thus, palitá gray, ásita black, róhita and lóhita red, hárita green; akin with them are éta variegated, cyetá white. The feminines of these stems are in part irregular, thus énī and cyénī; róhiṇī and lóhinī, and háriṇī (but the corresponding mase, háriṇa also occurs); and ásiknī, páliknī, and háriknī.
- e. A small number of adjectives in the older language ending in ata are not to be separated from the participial words in ta, although their specific meaning is in part gerundive. They are: pacatá cooked, darçatá and paçyata seen, to be seen, worth seeing; and so yajatá, haryatá. bharatá. The y of paçyata and haryatá indicates pretty plainly that the a also is that of a present tense-stem. Rajatá silvery is of more obsente relation to Vraj color; párvata mountain must be secondary.
- 1177. ন na (and ইন ina, ত্ৰন una). The use of the suffix ন na in forming from certain roots participles equivalent to those in ন ta, either alongside the latter or instead of them, was explained above, at 957.
- a. With the same suffix are made a number of general adjectives, and of nouns of various gender (fem. in na). The accent is on the suffix

or on the root. A few examples are: usná hot, cuná fortunate, ácna ravenous, cvítna white; masc., pracná question, yajňá offering, ghrná heat, várna color, svápna sleep; neut., parná wing, rátna jewel (?), na are not readily connectible with roots. An antithesis of accent is seen in kárna car and karná eared.

- b. The few words ending in ina are of doubtful connection, but may be mentioned here: thus, aminá violent, vrjiná crooked, dáksina right, drávina property, druhina, -çreşina, hariná; and kanīna may be added.
- c. The words ending in una are of various meaning and accent, like those in ana: they are árjuna, karúna, -cetúna, táruna, dāruna, dharúna, narúna, píçuna, mithuna, yatúna, vayúna, váruna, çalúna, and the feminine yamúnā; and bhrūna may be added
- d. These are all the proper participial endings of the language. The gerundives, later and earlier, are in the main evident secondary formations, and will be treated under the head of secondary derivation.

We take up now the other suffixes forming agent-nouns and adjectives, beginning with those which have more or less a participial value.

- 1178. 3 u. With this suffix are made a considerable body of derivatives, of very various character adjectives, and agent-nouns of all genders, with different treatment of the root, and with different accent. It is especially used with certain conjugational stems, desiderative (particularly later) and denominative (mainly earlier), making adjectives with the value of present participles; and in such use it wins in part the aspect of a secondary suffix.
- a. The root has oftenest a weak (or weakened) form; but it is sometimes vriddhied; least often (when capable of guṇa), it has the guṇa-strengthening all without any apparent connection with either recent or meaning or gender. After final radical ā is usually added y (258) before the suffix. A few derivatives are made from the reluplicated root. But many words ending in u are not readily, or not it all, connectible with roots; examples will be given especially of lose that have an obvious etymology.
- b. Examples of ordinary adjectives are: urú wide, rjú straight, pṛthú road, mṛdú soft, sādhú good, svādú sucet, tápu hot, vásu good, jāyú onquering, dārú bursting; çayú lying, réku empty; dhāyú thirsty, pāyú rotecting. Final ā appears to be lost before the sufix in -sthu (suṣṭhú, nuṣṭhú), and perhaps in yú, -gu (agregú), and -khu (ākhú).
 - c. Examples of nouns are: masc., ançú ray, ripú deceiver. vāyú

wind, ásu life, mánu man, Manu; fem., íṣu (also masc.) arrow, sínd (also masc.) river, tanti or tanú body; neut., kṣủ food.

- d. Derivatives from reduplicated roots are: cikitú, jágmu, jigy jijñu, siṣṇu, -tatnu (unless this is made with nu or tnu), didyu dadru, yáyu or yayú and yíyu (with final ā lost), pípru (proper nan -dīdhayu; and títaü, babhrú, -raru (aráru), malimlú (") have aspect of being similar formations.
- e. A few derivatives are made from roots with prefixes, with variancentuation: for example, upāyú on-coming, pramayú going to destition, viklíndu a certain disease, abhícu rein (directer), sámvasu dwing together.
- f. From tense-stems, apparently, are made tanyú thundering, bhin splitting, -vindu finding, and (with acristics) dáksu and dháksu (all R)
- g. Participial adjectives in ú from desiderative "roots" (stems w loss of their final a) are sufficiently numerous in the ancient language (I has more than a dozen of them, AV. not quite so many) to show that formation was already a regular one, extensible at will, and later si adjectives may be made from every desiderative. Examples (older) a ditsú, dipsú, cikitsú, titikṣú, pipīṣu, mumukṣú, iyakṣú, çiçhṣú; with prefix. abhidipsú; with anomalous accent, didṛkṣu. These i jectives, both earlier and later, may take an object in the accusative (271)
- h. A few similar adjectives are made in the older language from carives: thus, dhārayú (persistent), bhājayú, bhāvayú, mahhayú, madayú, çramayú; and mṛgayú from the caus.-denom. mṛgáya
- i. Much more numerous, however, are such formations from the me proper denominatives, especially in the oldest language (RV, has toweighty of them; AV. only a quarter as many, including six or eight wh are not found in RV.; and they are still rarer in the Brahmanas, a hardly met with later). In a majority of cases, personal verbal forms to the same denominative stem are in use, thus, for example, to aghas arātīyú, rjūyú, caraņyú, manasyú, sanişyú, uruşyú, saparyú; others, only the present participle in yant, or the abstract noun in (1149 d), or nothing at all. A few are made upon denominative stems fr pronouns: thus, tvāyú (beside wāyánt and tvāyā), yuvayú or yuvaş asmayú, svayú, and the more anomalous ahamyú and kimyú. Es cially where no other denominative forms accompany the adjective, this l often the aspect of being made directly from the noun with the suffix y either with a meaning of seeking or desiring, or with a more general adj tive sense: thus, yavayú seeking grain, varāhayú boar-hunting, stanas; desiring the breast; ūrņāyú woolen, yuvanyú youthful, bhīmayú terril And so the "secondary suffix yu" wins a degree of standing and applicati as one forming derivative adjectives (as in ahamyú and kimyú, abo and doubtless some others, even of the RV. words). In three RV. cas the final as of a noungstem is even changed to o before it: namely, a hoyú, duvoyú (and duvoyā; beside duvasyú), áskṛdhoyu.

- j. The words in yu do not show in the Veda resolution into iu (except dhāsiús AV., once).
- 1179. 35 ū. Stems in 35 ū are very few, even as compared with those in § I (1156). They are for the most part feminines corresponding to masculines in u (344 b), with half-a-dozen more independent feminines (see 355 c).
- a. To those already mentioned above are to be added karşû pit. -calū (in pumccalū), -janū (in prajanū), çumbhū.
 - 1180. उन uka. With this suffix are made derivatives ving the meaning and construction (271 g) of a present atticiple. The root is strengthened, and has the accent.
 - a. The derivatives in uka are hardly known in the Veda; but they come frequent in the Brahmanas, of whose language they are a marked aracteristic (about sixty different stems occur there); and they are found casionally in the later language. In all probability, they are originally and operly obtained by adding the secondary suffix ka (1222) to a derivative u; but they have gained fully the character of primary formations, and a only an instance or two is there found in actual use an u-word from hich they should be made.
 - b. The root is only so far strengthened that the radical syllable is a easy (7θ) one; and it has the accent, whether the derivative is made from simple root or from one with prefix.
 - c. Examples, from the Brāhmaṇa language, are. vāduka, nāçuka, pakrāmuka, prapāduka, upasthāyuka (258), vyāyuka, véduka, hāvuka, kṣodhuka, hāruka, varṣuka, samardhuka, dançuka, llambuka, çikṣuka (GB.: RV. has çikṣú), pramāyuka (SB. has pramāyu).
 - d. Exceptions as regards root-form are nirmärgurka (with vrddhistringthening, as is usual with this root: 627), -kasuka, rdhnuka (from a tense-stem; beside árdhuka). AV. accents sámkasuka (ÇB. has samkāsuka) and víkasuka; RV. has sānuká (which is its only example of the formation, if it be one; AV. has also ghātuka from Vhan, and ápramāyuka); vasuka (TS. et al) is probably of another character. Açanāyuka (PB. et al.) is the only example noticed from a conjugation-stem.
 - e. Of later occurrence are a few words whose relation to the others is more or less doubtful: kārmuka and dhārmuka, tsāruka, tarkuka, nānduka, pādukā, pecuka, bhikṣuka, lāṣuka, seduka, hiṇḍuka, hreṣuka. Of these, only lāṣuka appears like a true continuer of the formation; several are pretty clearly secondary derivatives.
 - f. A formation in ūka (a suffix of like origin, perhaps, with uka)

 May be mentioned here: namely, indhūka, majjūka, and, from redra

plicated roots, jāgarūka wakeful, janjapūka (later) muttering, dandacūka biting, yāyajūka sacrificing much, vāvadūka (later) talkative; salalūka is questionable.

- 1181. হ্ল aka. Here, as in the preceding case, we doubtless have a suffix made by secondary addition of a ka to a derivative in হ a; but it has, for the same reason as the other, a right to be mentioned here. Its free use in the manner of a primary suffix is of still later date than that of uka; it has very few examples in the older language.
- a. In RV. is found (besides pāvaká, which has a different accent, and which, as the metre shows, is really pavāka) only sāyaka misvile; AV. adds píyaka and vádhaka, and VS. abhikróçaka. But in the liter language such derivatives are common, more usually with raising of the roct-syllable by strengthening to heavy quantity: thus, nāyaka, dāyaka (258), pācaka, grāhaka, bodhaka, jāgaraka; but also janaka, khanaka, They are declared by the grammarians to have the accent on the radical syllable. They often occur in copulative composition with gerundives of the same root: thus, bhakṣyabhakṣaka eatable and eater, vācyavācaka designated and designation, and so on.
- b. That the derivatives in aka sometimes take an accusative object was pointed out above (271 c).
- c. The corresponding feminine is made sometimes in akā or un akī, but more usually in ikā: thus, nāyikā (with nāyakā), pācikā, bodhikā; compare secondary aka, below, 1222.
- d. Derivatives in āka are made from a few roots: thus, jalpāka, bhikṣāka; but very few occur in the older language: thus, pavāka (above, a), nabhāka, smayāka, jáhāka(?), -calāka, patākā. With āku is made in RV. mṛḍayāku, from the causative stem: pṛḍāku and the proper name ikṣvāku are of obscure connection.
- e. Derivatives in ika and Ika will be treated below, in connection with those in ka (1186 c).
- 1182. त tr (or तर् tar). The derivatives made by this suffix, as regards both their mode of formation and their uses, have been the subject of remark more than once above (see 369 ff., 942 ff.). Agent-nouns are freely formed with it at every period of the language; these in the oldest language are very frequently used participially, governing an object in the accusative (271 d); later they enter into combination with an auxiliary verb, and, assuming a future

meaning, make a periphrastic future tense (942). Their corresponding feminine is in trī.

- a. The root has regularly the guna-strengthening. A union-vowel i (very rarely, one of another character) is often taken: as regards its presence or absence in the periphrastic future forms, see above (943 a).
- b. Without guṇa-change is only uṣṭṛ plough-ox (no proper agent-noun: apparently ukṣ-tṛ: compare the nouns of relationship further on). The root grah has, as usual, ī—thus, grahītṛ; and the same appears in -tarītṛ, -pavītṛ, -marītṛ, -varītṛ, -savītṛ. An u-vowel is taken instead by tarutṛ and tarutṛ, dhanutṛ, and sanutṛ; long in varūtṛ; strengthened to o in manotṛ and manotṛ. From a reduplicated root comes vāvātṛ.
- c. The accent, in the older language, is sometimes on the suffix and sometimes on the root; or, from roots combined with prefixes, sometimes on the suffix and sometimes on the prefix.
- d. In general, the accent on the root or prefix accompanies the participial use of the word; but there are exceptions to this: in a very few instances (four), a word with accented suffix has an accusative object; very much more often, accent on the root appears along with ordinary noun value. The accent, as well as the form, of manotr is an isolated irregularity. Examples are: jetā dhánāni winning treasures; yūyám martam crótāram ye listen to a mortal; but, on the other hand, yamtā vásūni vidhaté bestowing good things on the pious; and jetā jánānām conquerer of peoples.
- e. The formation of these nouns in tr from conjugation-stems, regular and frequent in the later language, and not very rare in the Brahmanas, is met with but once or twice in the Veda (bodhayitr and codayitr, RV.). In nestr a certain priest (RV. and later), is apparently seen the acristic s.
- f. The words of relationship which, in whatever way, have gained the aspect of derivatives in tr, are pitr, mātr, bhrātr, yātr, duhitr, naptr, jāmātr. Of these, only mātr and yātr are in accordance with the ordinary rules of the formation in tr.
- g. Instead of tr is found tur in one or two RV. examples: yamtur
- h. Apparently formed by a suffix r (or ar) are usr, savyaşthr, nánāndr, devr, the last two being words of relationship. For other words ending in r, see 369.
- 1183. 37 in. This is another suffix which has assumed a primary aspect and use, while yet evidently identical in real character with the frequent secondary suffix of the same form denoting possession (below, 1230).

- a. How far it had gained a primary value in the early language is not easy to determine. Most of the words in in occurring in RV. and AV. are explainable as possessives; in many the other value is possible, and in a few it is distinctly suggested: thus, kevalādín, bhadravādín, nitodín, āçārāigín, ánāmin, vivyādhín; from a tense-stem, -açnuvin, -paçyin (late); with acristic s, -sakṣín; and, with reduplication, niyayín, vadā-vadin. As the examples indicate, composition, both with prefixes and with other elements, is frequent; and, in all cases alike, the accent is on the suffix.
- b. Later, the primary employment is unquestionable, and examples of it, chiefly in composition, are frequent. The radical syllable is usually strengthened, a medial a being sometimes lengthened and sometimes remaining unchanged. Thus, satyavādin truth-speaking, abhibhāṣin addressing manohārin soul-winning. In bhāvin has established itself a prevailingly future meaning, about to be.
- c. The use of an accusative object with words in in was $_{\rm not\;cel}$ above (271 b).
- 1184. ZIH iyas and ZI ietha. These suffixes, which, from forming intensive adjectives corresponding to the adjective of rootform, have come to be used, within somewhat narrow limits, as suffixes of adjective comparison, have been already sufficiently treated above, under the head of comparison '468-470.
- a. It may be further noticed that jyéştha has in the older long are (only two or three times in RV.) the accent also on the final, jyeşthá, and that its correlative also is kanişthá in the oldest language; párşiştha is made from a secondary form of root, with acristic s added.
- b. When the comparative suffix has the abbreviated form yas (470a) its y is never to be read in the Veda as i.
- c. No other suffixes make derivatives having participial value otherwise than in rare and sporadic cases; those that remain, therefore, will be taken up mainly in the order of their frequency and importance.
- jectives, and a considerable number of nouns, mostly neuter, and often having a specialized meaning, as signifying the means or instrument of the action expressed by the root. The latter has usually the guna-strengthening, but sometimes remains unchanged. The accent is various, but more often on the radical syllable.
 - a. Here, as in certain other cases above, we have doubtless a suffix

originally secondary, made by adding a to the primary tr or tar (1182); but its use is in great part that of a primary suffix.

- b. Examples of neuter nouns are: gắtra limb, páttra wing, pắtra cup, yóktra bond, vástra garment, crótra ear; astrá missile, stotrá song of praise, potrá vessel; of more general meaning, dáttra gift, kṣétra field, mūtra urine, hotrá sacrifice. The words accented on the final have often an abstract meaning: thus, kṣatrá authority, rāṣṭrá kingdom, cästrá doctrine, sattrá sacrificial session (also jñátra knowledge).
- c. Masculines are: dánstra tusk, mántra prayer, attrá (or atrá. 232) devourer, ústra buffalo, camel, and a few of questionable etymology, as mitrá friend, putrá son, vrtrá foe. Mitrá and vrtrá are sometimes neuters even in the Veda, and mitra comes later to be regularly of that gender.
- d. Feminines (in trā) sre: áṣṭrā goad, mắtrā measure, hótrā sacrifice (beside hotrá), daṅṣṭrā (later, for dáṅṣṭra), nāṣṭrā destroyer
- e. Not seldom, a "union-vowel" appears before the suffix; but this is not usually the equivalent of the union-vowel used with tr (above, 1182 a). For the words in itra have the accent on i: thus, aritra (áritra AV., once) impelling, oar, khanítra shovel, pavítra sieve, janítra hirth-place, sanítra gift; and so -avitra, açítra, caritra, -taritra, dhamitra, dhavítra, bhavítra, bharítra, vāditra (with causative root-strengthening), vahitra: the combination itra has almost won the character of an independent suffix. The preceding vowel is also in a few cases a (sometimes apparently of the present-stem): thus, yájatra venerable, kṛntátra shred, gāyatrá (f. -trí) song, -damatra, pátatra wing; but also âmatra violent, vádhatra deadly vecapon; and varatrá f. strap. Tárutra overcoming corresponds to tarutr. Nákṣatra asterism is of very doubtful etymology. Samskṛtatrá (RV., once) seems of secondary formation.
- f. The words still used as adjectives in tra are mostly such as have union-vowels before the suffix. A single example from a reduplicated root is johutra crying out.
- g. A word or two in tri and tru may be added here, as perhaps of kindred formation with those in tra: thus, attri devouring, arcatri beaming, ratri or ratri night, catru (catru. 232) enemy.
- *1186. A ka. The suffix A ka is of very common use in secondary derivation (below, 1222); whether it is directly added to roots is almost questionable: at any rate, extremely few primary derivatives are made with it.
- a. The words which have most distinctly the aspect of being made from roots are puşka-, -meka (ymi fix), yaska n. pr., çüşka dry, çlöka (y'çru hear) noise, report, etc., and -sphāka teeming, and stükā flake and stoká drop seem to belong together to a root stu; rākā f., name of a goddess, may be added.

- b. But ka enters, in its value as secondary, into the composition of certain suffixes reckened as primary: see aka and uka (above, 1180, 1181)
- c. A few words in which ika and īka seem added to a root, though they are really of a kindred formation with the preceding, may be most conveniently noticed here: thus, vṛcoika (/vraco) scorpion, anīka (') face, dṛoika aspect, dṛbhīka n. pr., mṛdīka grace, vṛdhīka increasu. ācarīka and vṛcarīka gripes, -ṛjīka beaming, ṛṣīka; ṛkṣīkā; and, from reduplicated root, parpharīka scattering (?). Compare secondary suffix ka (below, 1222).
- 1187. U ya. It is altogether probable that a part of the derivatives made with this suffix are not less entitled to be ranked as primary than some of those which are above so reckoned. Such, however, are with so much doubt and difficulty to be separated from the great mass of secondary derivatives made with the same suffix that it is preferred to treat them all together under the head of secondary formation (below, 1210-13).
- 1188. 7 ra. With this suffix are made a large number of adjectives, almost always with weak root-form, and usually with accent on the suffix. Also, a few words used as nouns, of various gender. In some cases, the suffix is found with a preceding vowel, having the aspect of a union-vowel.
- a. Examples of adjectives in ra are: kṣiprá quick, chidrá splut. turá strong, bhadrá pleasing, çakrá mighty, çukrá bright, hinsrá injurious; with accent on the root, only grahra greedy, túmra stout dhíra wise (secondary?), vípra inspired, túgra n. pr.
- b. From roots with prefixes come only an example or two. thus, nicirá attentive, nimrgra joining on.
- c. Nouns in ra are: mase., ájra field, vīrá man, vájra thunderholt, cúra hero; neut., ágra point, kṣīrá milk, rándhra hollow, riprá defilement; fem., dhárā stream, cípră jaw, súrā intoxicating drink

The forms of this suffix with preceding vowel may best be considered here, although some of them have nearly or quite gained the value of undependent endings. Thus

- d. With are are made a few rare words: the adjectives dravara running, patará flying, (with prefix) nyocará suiting; and the noungambhára depth, tásara and trasara shuttle, sánara gain, -ṛkṣaia thorn: bhārvará and vāsará are doubtless of secondary formation, and the same thing may be plausibly conjectured of others. As made with ara may be mentioned mandāra a tree, mārjāra cat.
- e. With ira are made a few words, some of which are in common use: thus, ajirá quick, khadirá a tree, timira dark, dhvasirá stirring up, madirá pleasing, mudira cloud, badhirá deaf, rucira bright, isirá

lively, ásira missile, sthávira firm; and sthira hard, and sphirá fat, with displacement of final radical ā; also sarirá wave (usually salilá). With Ira are made gabhírá or gambhírá profound and çávira mighty, and perhaps cárira body.

- f. With ura are made a few words, of some of which the secondary character is probable: thus, anhurá (anhu-ra?) narrow, ásura (ásu-ra?) living, chidura tearing, bhangurá breaking, bhasura shining, bhidura splitting, medura fat, yādura uniting, vithura tottering, vidura knowing, vidhura lacking. With ūra, apparently, are made sthūrá stout (compare sthávira), kharjūra a tree, mayūra peacock (or imitative?).
- a. Conspicuous examples of the interchange are cuklá, sthulá, -micla, cithilá, salilá.
- b. Examples of the more independent use arc: pālā protecting, anila (or anila) wind, tṛpala joyous; later capala and tarala (said to be accented on the final), and haraula (the same) Many words ending in la are of obscure etymology.
- 1190. I va. Very few words of clear derivation are made with this suffix too few to be worth classifying. They are of various meaning and accent, and generally show a weak root-form.
- a. Thus: rkvá praising. rsvá lofty, takvá quick, dhruvá fixed, pakvá ripe, padva going, yahvá quick(*), çarvá n. pr. hrasvá short, çikvá artful, raņvá joyful, ūrdhvá lofty, vákva twisting. ūrvá stall; éva quick, course, áçva horse, srákva or srkva corner; and perhaps úlba caul; a feminine is prúsvā (TS. přísvā, AV. prusvā); with uniontowel are made saciva companion. ámīva disease, and vidhávā widow.
- b. The words in va exhibit only in sporadic cases resolution of the ending into ua.
- 1191. It ri. With this suffix are formed, directly or with preceding u, a small number of derivatives.
- a. Thus: ánghri or anhri foot. áçri edge. úsri dawn. tandri or dri weariness, bhúri abundant, vánkri rīb. sūri patron. -takri quick. vádhri eunuch, çubhrí beautiful, sthúri single (team); and, with uri, jásuri exhausted, dáçuri pious, bhāguri n. pr., sáhuri mighty; angúri (or angúli) finger.
- 1192. 7 ru. This suffix makes a few adjectives and neuter nouns, either directly or with a preceding vowel.

- a. Thus: acru tear, caru dear, dhārú sucking, bhīrú timid;—with preceding a-vowel: araru inimical, pataru flying, vandāru praising piyāru scoffing, cararu harming;— with preceding e, tameru relaxed maderú rejoicing, sanéru obtaining, himerú chilly, the evidently secondary mitréru ally, and péru (of doubtful meaning).
- b. The sondary suffix lu (see 1227 b) is apparently added to certain nouns in ā from conjugation-stems, making derivatives that have a primary aspect: thus, patayālu flying, spṛhayālu desiring.

1193. वि vi. By this suffix are made:

- a. Two or three derivatives from reduplicated roots: jägrvi awahe. dädhrvi sustaining, didivi shining; and a very few other words: ghṛṣvi lively, dhruví firm, jirvi worn out (AV.; elsewhere jivri); -pharvī b doubtful.
- b. Here may be mentioned cikitvit (RV., once), apparently made with a suffix wit from a reduplicated root-form.
- 1194. 長 snu. With this suffix, with or without a union-vowel, are made a few adjective derivatives from roots, but also from causative stems.
- a. From simple roots: direct, kşeşņú perishable, -glāsnu sich, jiṣṇú victorious, dankṣṇú biting, bhūṣṇu thriving, ni-ṣatsnú sitting doun, sthāsnu fired; with union-vowel i, kariṣṇu, kāçiṣṇu, kṣayiṣṇu, gamiṣṇú, grasiṣṇu, grahiṣṇu, cariṣṇú, -janiṣṇu, jayiṣṇu, tapiṣṇu, -trapiṣṇu, -patiṣṇu, -bhaviṣṇu, brājiṣṇu, madiṣṇu, -maviṣṇu, yajiṣṇu, yāciṣṇu, -vadiṣṇu, vardhiṣṇu, -sahiṣṇu.
- b. From secondary conjugation-stems: kopayiṣṇu, kṣapayiṣṇu, cyāvayiṣṇu, janayiṣṇu, tāpayiṣṇu, namayiṣṇu, patayiṣṇu, poṣayiṣṇu, pārayiṣṇu, bodhayiṣṇu, mādayiṣṇu, yamayiṣṇu, ropayiṣṇu, -vārayiṣṇu, -çocayiṣṇu; and jāgariṣṇu. An anomalous formation is ulbaṇiṣṇu.
- c. These derivatives are freely compounded with prefixes e.g nişatsnú, prajanisnú, abhiçocayisnú, samvārayisnu.
- d. It is not unlikely that the s of this suffix is originally that of a stem, to which nu was added. Such a character is still apparent in fravisnú craving raw flesh (kravis); and also in vadhasnú, vrdhasnú (%, and prathasnu (%).

1195. ह्न sna. Extremely few words have this ending

a. It is seen in tīkṣṇá sharp, and perhaps in çlakṣṇá, rūkṣṇá, rmārtsna; and in geṣṇa and deṣṇá (usually trisyllabic. daïṣṇa) gift Unless in the last, it is not found preceded by i; but it has (like snu above) a before it in vadhasná deadly weapon, karásna forc-arm, nadiṣṇa skilled seems to be secondary. Feminines are mṛtsnā loam, jyotsnā moonlight.

- 1196. ह्य tnu. This suffix is used in nearly the same way ith ह्य snu (above, 1194).
- a. As used with simple roots, the t is generally capable of being insidered the adscititious t after a short root-final, to which nu is then ided: thus, kṛtnú active, gatnú (? RV.), hatnú deadly, -tatnu (?) tretching; and, from reduplicated roots, jigatnú hasting, and jighatnú arming; but also dartnú bursting. Also, with union-vowel, dravitnú unning, dayitnu (? LÇS.).

b. With causative stems: for example, drāvayitnú hasting, posaytnú nourishing, mādayitnú intoxicating, tanayitnú and stanayitnú hunder, sūdayitnú flowing. -āmayitnú sickening.

- c. With preceding a, in pīyatnú scoffing, mehatnú a river, ā-ruatnú breaking into; and kavatnú miserly (obscure derivation).
- 1197. H sa. The words ending in suffixal H sa, with or ithout preceding union-vowel, are a heterogeneous group, and in onsiderable part of obscure derivation. Thus:
- a. With sa simply: gṛtsa clever, jeṣā winning (rather, aeristic s? 148 j), -dṛkṣa looking, rukṣā shining, rūkṣā rongh; útsa n. fountam; nhīṣā f. fear (or from the secondary root bhīṣ).
- b. With preceding i-vowel: tavişă (f. távişī) strong, mahişă (f. năfişī mighty, bharişă (°) seeking hooty. rjīşā rushing. pūrīşa rubbish, nanīşā f. devotion; and compare rayīşin (° SV.).
- c. With preceding u-vowel: aruṣā (t. aruṣī) red, açúṣa ravenous, aruṣa overcomer, púruṣa and manuṣa (-us-a P) man; pīyúṣa bæstings.
- 1198. ऋसि asi. A few words in the oldest language are made vith a suffix having this form (perhaps produced by the addition of to as).
- a. Thus, atasí vagabond. dharnasí firm, sānasí winning: and dhāsí n. drink, f. station. sarasí (*) pool.
- 1199. EH abna. A few names of animals, for the most part of obscure derivation, show this ending.
- a. Thus, vṛṣabhá and ṛṣabhá bull. çarabhá a certain fabulous numal, cerabha a certain snake, gardabhá and rásabha ass; further, sanabha, karabha and kalabha, laṭabha, çalabha; and, with other anion-vowels, tuṇḍibha, nuṇḍibha, and kukkubha. The femiuine, if occurring, is in ī; and kaṭabhī is found without corresponding masculine. AV. has the adjective sthūlabhá, equivalent to sthūlá.
- 1200. A few words ending in the consonants t, d, j, etc., and for the most part of doubtful root-connections, were given above, at 383 k (3-5, 7); it is unnecessary to repeat them here. Certain of those in at are perhaps related to the participles in ant (1172).
 - 1201. A number of other primary suffixes are either set up by

the grammarians and supported with examples of questionable value, or are doubtfully deducible from isolated words traceable to known roots, or from words of obscure connection.

a. A few such may be mentioned here: and a in karanda and varanda and certain unquotable words (prakritized a-forms from the present participle); era or ora in unquotable words, and elima (above, 966 d perhaps a further derivative with secondary ima from era); mara (ma or man with secondary ra added) in ghasmara, symará, etc.;—sara in matsará, kara in púşkara and other obscure words, pa in púşpa, stupá, stúpa, and a number of other obscure words; and so on.

B. Secondary Derivatives.

- 1202. Words of secondary derivation are made by the addition of further suffixes to stems already ending in evident suffixes.
 - a. But also, as pointed out above (1137 b), to pronominal roots.
- b. Further, in exceptional cases, to indeclinables, to case-form, and to phrases: e. g. antarvant, apitvá, paratastva, sahatva, sārvatrika, āikadhya, māmaka, āmuşmika, āmuşyāyaņá, apsumant, apsavyà, kimcanya, kimkartavyatā, kvācitka, nāstika, akimemaya.
- 1203. Changes of the stem. The stem to which the suffix is added is liable to certain changes of form.
- a. Before a suffix beginning with a vowel or with y which in this respect is treated as if it were i), final a- and i-vowels are regularly lost altogether, while a final u-vowel has the guṇa-strengthening and becomes av; r and o and au (all of rare occurrence) are treated in accordance with usual euphonic rule.
 - b. An u-vowel also sometimes remains unstrengthened: see 1208 e.
- c. A final n is variously treated, being sometimes retained, and sometimes lost, even along with a preceding a; and sometimes an a is lost, while the n remains: thus, vṛṣaṇvant, vṛṣaṇa, vṛṣa, vṛṣava, vṛṣaṇya, from vṛṣan. Of a stem ending in ant, the weak form, in at is regularly taken: thus, vāivasvata (vivasvant).
- d. In general, the masculine form of a primitive stem is that from which a further secondary derivative is made. But there are not very rare cases in which the feminine is taken instead; examples are: satītva, bhāryātva, praņītātvá, bhāratīvant, rakṣāvant, priyāvant. On the other hand, a final long vowel—ī, much more rarely ā—generally of a feminine stem, is sometimes shortened in derivation: thus, yājyàvant, praçākhavant, goṣātama, vaçātamā, sadhanitvá, jaratikā, anna-

dítamā (cf. 471 b), rohiņitvá (TB.; -nītvá (B.), prthivitvá, pratipatnivat, sárasvativant.

- e. As was pointed out above (111 c, d), the combination of a secondary uffix with a stem is sometimes made according to the rules of external combination. Such cases are pointed out under the suffixes \(\overline{1}\)ya (1215 e), ka (1222 m), maya (1225 a), min (1231 b), vin (1232 c), vant (1233 i), van (1234 c), mant (1235 f), tva (1239 c), taya (1245 a), tya (1245 c), tana (1245 i).
- 1204. The most frequent change in secondary derivation is the vrddhi-strengthening of an initial syllable of the stem to which a suffix is added.
- a. The strengthened syllable may be of any character: radical of a prefix, or of the first member of a compound: thus āçviná (açvín), sāumyá (sóma), párthiva (pṛthivī), āmitrá (amítra), sámrājya (samrāj), sāúkṛtya (sukṛtá), māitrāvaruṇá (mitráváruṇā), āuccāiḥçravasá (uccāiḥçravas). As to the accompanying accent, see the next paragraph.
- b. If a stem begins with a consonant followed by y or v, the semi-vowel is sometimes vriddhied, as if it were i or u, and the resulting āi or āu has y or v further added before the succeeding vowel.
- c. This is most frequent where the y or v belongs to a prefix—as ni, vi, su—altered before a following initial vowel: thus, nāiyāyika trom nyāya (as if niyāya), vāiyaçvá from vyàçva (as if viyaçva), sāuvaçvya from sváçva (as if suvaçva); but it occurs also in other cases, as sāuvará from svára, çāuva from çvan, against svāyambhuva (svayambhū), and so on. AV. has irregularly kāveraká from kúvera (as if from kvèra, without the cuphonic v inserted).
- d. This strengthening takes place especially, and very often, before the suffixes a and ya; also regularly before i, āyana, eya (with ineya), and later iya; before the compound aka and ika, and later aki; and, in single sporadic examples, before na, ena, ra, and tva ('): see these various suffixes below.
- 6. Sometimes an unstrengthened word is prefixed to one thus strengthened, as if the composition were made after instead of before the strengthening: e. g.. indradāivatya having Indra as divinity (instead of āindradevatya), caramaçāirṣika with head to the west, jīvalāukika helonging to the world of the living, antarbhāuma within the earth, somārāudra, gurulāghava (cf. tāmasam guṇalakṣaṇam M. xii. 35). But especially when the first word is of numeral value: as çatāçārada of a hundred years, pañcaçāradīya, trisāmvatsara, bahuvārṣika-aṣṭavārṣika, anekavarṣasāhasra, daçasāhasra, trisāhasrī, tripāu ruṣa, caturādhyāyī or -yikā of four chapters, etc. etc.

- f. More often, both members of a compound word have the initial strengthening: e. g. sāumāpāuṣṇá, kāurupāncāla, cāturvāidya, āihalāukika, āikabhāutika, trāisṭubjāgata, yājurvāidika. Such cases are not rare.
- g. The guṇa-strengthening (except of a final u-vowel: 1203 a) 15 only in the rarest cases an accompaniment of secondary derivation. Exceptions are dvayá and trayá and náva (1209 i), bheşajá and devá (1209 j), dróṇa (1223 g), çekhara (1226 a).
- 1205. Accent. a. The derivatives with initial vrddhi-strengthening always have their accent on either the first or the last syllable And usually it is laid, as between these two situations, in such a way as to be furthest removed from the accent of the primitive; yet, not rarely, it is merely drawn down upon the suffix from the final of the latter; much less often, it remains upon an initial syllable without change. Only in the case of one or two suffixes is the distinction between initial and final accent connected with any difference in the meaning and use of the derivatives (see below, suffix eya. 1216.
- b. No other general rules as to accent can be given. Usually the suffix takes the tone, or else this remains where it was in the primitive; quite rarely, it is thrown back to the initial syllable (as in derivation with initial vṛddhi); and in a single case (tā: 1237) it is drawn down to the syllable preceding the suffix.
- 1206. Meaning. a. The greatemass of secondary suffixes are adjective-making: they form from nouns adjectives indicating appurtenance or relation, of the most indefinite and varied character. But as a matter of course, this indefiniteness often undergoes specialization: so, particularly, into designation of procedure or descent, so that distinctive patronymic and metronymic and gentile words are the result; or, again, into the designation of possession. Moreover, while the masculines and feminines of such adjectives are employed as appellatives, the neuter is also widely used as an abstract, denoting the quality expressed attributively by the adjective, and neuter abstracts are with the same suffixes made from adjectives. There are also special suffixes (very few) by which abstracts are made directly. from adjective or noun.
- b. A few suffixes make no change in the part of speech of the primitive, but either change its degree (diminution and comparison; or make other modifications, or leave its meaning not sensibly altered
- 1207. The suffixes will be taken up below in the following order. First, the general adjective-making suffixes, beginning with those of most frequent use (a, ya and its connections, i, ka; then, those of specific possessive value (in, vant and mant, and their connections); then, the abstract-making ones (tā and tva, and their connections); then, the suffixes of comparison etc.; and finally, those by which derivatives are made only or almost only from particles.

a. For convenience of reference, a list of them in their order as treated is here added:

a	1208-9	maya	1225	tva, tvatā	1239
ya	1210-13	ra, ira, etc.	1226	tvana	1240
iya	1214	la, lu		tara, tama	1242
iya	1215	va, vala, vaya,		ra, ma	1242
еуа, еууа	1216	vya	1228		<i>"</i>
en ya	1217	ça	1229	titha	"
āyya	1218	in	1230	taya	1245
āyana	1219	min	1231		, 220
āyī	1220	vin	1232		,,
i, aki	1221	vant	1233	na	n
ka, aka, ika	1222	van	1234	tana, tna	,,
na, āna, īn	a,	mant	1235		
ina, ena	1223	tā	1237	kaţa	,,
ma, ima, mr	na 1224	tāti, tāt		vana, ãla))

- 1208. 項 a. With this suffix are made an immensely large class of derivatives, from nouns or from adjectives having a noun-value. Such derivatives are primarily and especially adjectives, denoting having a relation or connection of the most various kind) with that denoted by the more primitive word. But they are also freely used substantively: the masculine and feminine as appellatives, the neuter, especially and frequently, as abstract. Often they have a patronymic or gentile value.
- a. The regular and greatly prevailing formation is that which is accompanied with vrddhi-strengthening of the first syllable of the primitive word, simple or compound. Examples of this formation are:
- b. From primitives ending in consonants with the usual shift of accout, ayasa of metal (ayas), manasa relating to the mind (manas), sāumanasá friendliness (sumánas), brāhmaņá priest (bráhman), hāimavatá from the Himalaya (himávant), āngirasá of the Angiras family (angiras); hastina elephantine (hastin), märuta pertaining to the Maruts (marut); - with accent thrown forward from the final upon the suffix, çārada autumnal, vāirāja relating to the virāj, pausņa belonging to Pushan; gairikeita son of Girikshit; - with accent unchanged, mānusa descendant of Manus.
- c. The suffix is added (as above instanced) to the middle stem-form of stems in vant; it is added to the weakest in maghona and vartraghna; the ending in remains unchanged; an usually does the same, but some-

times loses its a, as in pāuṣṇá, trāivṛṣṇá, dāçarājňá; and sometimes its n, as in brāhmá, āukṣá, bārhatsāma.

- d. From primitives in r: jāftra victorious (jetr or jétr conqueror), tvāṣṭrá relating to Tváshtar, sāvitrá descendant of the sun (savitri), āúdbhetra, pāitra.
- e. From primitives in u: usually with guņa-strengthening of the u, as vāsavá relating to the Vásus, ārtavá concerning the seasons (rtu), dānavá child of Dānu (dānu), sāindhavá from the Indus (síndhu),—but sometimes without, as mādhva full of sweets (mādhu), pārçvá side (párçu rib), pāidvá belonging to Pedú, tānva of the body (tanú), yādva of Yádu.
- f. From primitives in i and ī, which vowels are supplanted by the added suffux: pārthiva earthly (pṛthivi), sārasvatā of the Sárasvatī, āindrāgnā belonging to Indra and Agni (indrāgnī); pānkta five-fold (panktī), nāirṛtā belonging to Nirṛti, pārthuraçmā of Pṛthuraçmi, pācupatā of Pacupātī.
- g. From primitives in ā, which in like manner disappears: yāmunā of the Yamūnā, sāraghā honey etc. (saraghā bee), kānīnā natural chill (kanīnā qirl).
- h. A large number (more than all the rest together) from primitives in a, of which the final is replaced by the suffix: for example, with a the usual shift of accent, āmitrá inimical (amítra enemy), vāruṇā of Vāruṇa, vāiçvadevā belonging to all the gods (viçvādeva), nāirhastā handlessness (nīrhasta), vāiyaçvā descendant of Vyūçva; gắrdabha asining (gardabhā), dāíva divine (devā), mādhyamdina mēridional (madhyamdina), pāūtra grandchild (putra son), sāūbhaga good forluce (subhāga), vādhryaçva of Vadhryaçvā's race; with unchanged accent (comparatively few), vāsantā vernal (vasantā spring), māitrā Mītrās. ātithigvā of Atithigvā's race, dāīvodāsa Dīvodāsa's. In a few instances, ya is replaced by the suffix: thus, sāura, pāuṣā, yājňavalka.
- i. The derivatives of this last form are sometimes regarded as made by internal change, without added suffix. Considering, however, that other final vowels are supplanted by this suffix, that a disappears as stem-final also before various other suffixes of secondary derivation, and that no-examples of derivation without suffix are quotable from primitives of any other final than a, it seems far too violent to assume here a deviation from the whole course of Indo-European word-making.
 - j. Adjectives of this formation make their feminines in î (see 332 a)
- vrddhi-change of the initial syllable are not numerous, and are in considerable part, doubtless, of inorganic make, results of the transfer to an a-declension of words of other finals.

- a. A number of examples of stems in a made by transfer were noticed above (399). The cases of such transition occur most frequently in composition (1315): thus, further, apa- (for ap or ap water), -rca, -nara, etc.; from stems in an, -aha, -vrsa, etc., but also -ahna and -vrsna and vrsana; from stems in i, -angula, -ratra, etc.; from the weakest forms of anc-stems (407) ucca, nīca, parāca, etc.
- b. Also occurring especially in composition, yet likewise as simple words often enough to have an independent aspect, are derivatives in a from nouns in as (rarely is, us): thus, for example, tamasá, rajasá, payasá, brahmavarcasá, sarvavedasá, deväinasá, parusá, tryäyusá, and probably mánusa.
- c. Similar derivatives from adjectives in in are reckoned by the grammarians as made with the suffix ina: thus, malina polluted, paramesthina etc. (see 441 b).
- d. A number of words formed with the so-called suffix anta are evident transfers from stems in ant. A few of them are found even from the earliest period: thus, panta draught, cvanta (?), vasanta spring, hemanta winter, veçanta etc. tank, jīvantī a certain healing plant; and others occur later, as jayanta, taranta, madhumanta, etc. They are said to be accented on the final.
- e. From añc-stems (407) are made a few nouns ending in k-a: thus, antka, apāka, upāka, pratīka, parāka, etc.
- f. From stems in r, hotrá, netrá, nestrá, potrá, praçāstrá, etc., irom titles of priests; also dhātrá, bhrātrá, etc.
- g. Other scattering cases are: savidyutá, avyusá, vírudha, kákůda, kakubhá, açúsa, bhūmyá, sakhyá, ádhipatya, jāspatyá, aratvá, pāndvà.
- h. The Vedic gerundives in tva (tua), made by addition of a to abstract noun-stems in tu, have been already (966 a) fully given.
- i. Trayé and dvayé come with guna-strengthening from numeral stems; nava new in like manner from nu now; and antara apparently from antar.
- .j. Bhesajá medicine is from bhisáj healer, with guṇa-change; and probably devá heavenly, divine, god, in like manner from div sky, heaven (there is no "root div shine" in the language).
- 1210. U ya. With this suffix are made a very large class of words, both in the old language and later.
- a. The derivatives in ya exhibit a great and perplexing variety of form, connection, and application; and the relations of the suffix to others containing a ya-element—iya, Iya, eya, Eyya, eyya, enya—are also in part obscure and difficult. In the great majority of instances in the oldest language, the ya when it follows a consonant is dissyllable in

metrical value, or is to be read as ia. Thus, in RV., 266 words (excluding compounds) have ia, and only 75 have ya always; 46 are to be read now with ia and now with ya, but many of these have ya only in isolated cases. As might be expected, the value is more frequent after a heavy syllable: thus, in RV., there are 188 examples of ia and 27 of ya after such a syllable, and 78 of ia and 96 of ya after a light syllable (the circumflexed yà - that is to say, fa - being, as is pointed out below. 1212,1, more liable to the resolution than ya or ya). It must be left for further researches to decide whether in the ya are not included more than one suffix, with different accent, and different quantity of the i-clement. or with an a added to a final i of the primitive. It is also matter for question whether there is a primary as well as a secondary suffix ya: the suffix at least comes to be used as if primary, in the formation of gerundives and in that of action-nouns: but it is quite impossible to separate the derivatives into two such classes, and it has seemed preferable therefore to treat them all together here.

- b. The derivatives made with ya may be first divided into those which do and those which do not show an accompanying vrddhincrement of the initial syllable.
- c. Adjectives in ya, of both these divisions, make their feminines regularly in yā. But in a number of cases, a feminine in ī is made either alone or beside one in yā: e. g. cāturmāsī, āgniveçī, çāṇḍilī, ārī (and āryā), dāívī (and dāívyā), sāumī (and sāumyā); dhīrī, çīrṣaṇī, svarī, eţc.
- 1211. Derivatives in π ya with initial vṛddhi-strengthening follow quite closely, in form and meaning, the analogy of those in π a (above, 1208). They are, however, decidedly less common than the latter (in Veda, about three fifths as many).
- a. Examples are with the usual shift of accent, dāívya durme (devá), pálitya grayness (palitá), grāívya cervical (grīvā), ártvijya priestly office (rtvíj), gárhapatya householder's (grhápati), jánarájya kingship (janaráj), sáingrāmajitya victory in battle (saingrāmajīt), sāuvaçvya wealth in horses (sváçva), áupadraṣṭrya wilness (upadraṣṭr); ādityā Aditya (áditi), sāumyā relating to sóma, ātithyā hopitality (átithi), prājāpatyā belonging to Prajāpati, vāimanasyā mindlessness (vímanas), sāhadevya descendant of Sahādeva; with accent thrown forward from the final upon the ending, lāukyā of the world (lokā), kāvyā of the Kavi-race, ārtvyā descendant of Ritú, vāyavyā belonging to the wind (vāyū), rāivatyā wealth (revánt); with unchanged accent (very few), ādhipatya lordship (ādhipati), çrāiṣṭhya excellence (çrēṣṭha), vāiçya belonging to the third caste (víç people), pāúmsyā manliness (púms).

- b. The AV. has once nāirbādhya, with circumflexed final; if not au error, it is doubtless made through nāirbādha; vāiṣṇavyāù (VS. i. 12) appears to be dual fem. of vāiṣṇavī.
- 1212. Derivatives in \overline{u} ya without initial vrddhistrengthening are usually adjectives, much less often (neuter, or, in \overline{u}) yā, feminine) abstract nouns. They are made from every variety of primitive, and are very numerous (in Veda, three or four times as many as the preceding class).
- a. The general mass of these words may be best divided according to their accent, into: 1. Words retaining the accent of the primitive; 2. Words with retracted accent; 3. Words with acute yá (iá); 4. Words with circumflexed yà (ia). Finally may be considered the words, gerundives and action-nouns, which have the aspect of primary derivatives.
- 1. b. Examples of derivatives in ya retaining the accent of their primitives are: áçvya equine (áçva), áñgya of the limhs (áñga), múkhya foremost (múkha mouth), ávya ovine (ávi), gávya bovine (gó), víçya of the people (víç), dúrya of the door (dúr), nárya manly (ní), vígnya virile (vígan), svarájya autocracy (svaráj), suvírya wealth in retuiners (suvíra), víçvájanya of all men, víçvádevya of all the gods (víçvádeva), mayűraçepya peacock-tailed.
- c. In the last words, and in a few others, the ya appears to be used (like ka, 1222 h: cf. 1212 m) as a suffix simply helping to make a possessive compound: and so further suhastya (beside the equivalent suhasta), madhuhastya, daçamāsya, micradhānya, anyodarya, samānodarya.
- 2. d. Examples with retraction of the accent to the first syllable (as in derivation with vṛddhi-increment) are: káṇṭhya guttural (kaṇṭhá), skándhya humeral (skandhá), vrátya of a ceremony (vratá), méghya in the clouds (meghá), pítrya of the Fathers (pitṛ), prátijanya adverse (pratijaná). Hiranyáya of gold (híranya), is anomalous both in drawing the accent forward and in retaining the final a of the primitive; and gavyáya and avyáya (also ávyaya) are to be compared with it as to formation.
- 3. e. Examples with acute accent on the suffix are divya heavenly (div), satya true (sant), vyāghrya tiqvine (vyāghra), kavya wise (kavi), grāmya of the village (grāma), somya relating to the soma anenasya sinlessness (anenas), adaksinya not fit for daksina.
- 4. f. Of derivatives ending in circumflexed yn (which in the Veda are considerably more numerous than all the three preceding classes together), examples are as follows:

- g. From consonant-stems: viçyà of the clan (RV.: viç), hrdyà of the heart (hrd), vidyutyà of the lightning (vidyut), rājanyà of the royal class (rājan), doṣaṇyà of the arm (doṣan), çīrṣaṇyà of the head (çīrṣan), karmaṇyà active (karman), dhanvanyà of the plain (dhanvan), namasyà reverend (namas), tvacasyà cuticular (tvacas), barhisyà of barhis, āyuṣyà giving life (āyus), bhasadyà of the buttochs (bhasad), prācyà eastern (prānc), etc. Of exceptional formation is aryamyà intimate (aryaman), with which doubtless belong sātmya (sātman) and sākṣya (sākṣin).
- h. From u-stems: hanavyà of the jaws (hánu), vāyavya belonging to Vāyú, paçavyà relating to cattle (paçú), iṣavyà relating to arrows (iṣu), madhavyà of the sweet (mádhu), apsavyà of the waters (apsú loc.), rajjavyà of rope (rájju); çaravyà f. arrow (çáru, do.); and there may be added nāvyà navigable (especially in fem., nāvyà navigable stream nāú boat). The RV. has prāçavyà to be partaken of (pra + Vaç), without any corresponding noun prāçu; and also ūrjavyà rich in now ishment (ūrj), without any intermediate ūrju.
- i. Under this head belong, as was pointed out above (864), the so-called gerundives in tavya, as made by the addition of ya to the infinitive noun in tu. They are wholly wanting in the oldest language, and hardly found in later Vedic, although still later tavya wins the value of a primary suffix, and makes numerous verbal derivatives.
- j. From i- and I-stems hardly any examples are to be quoted \ \text{VS} has dundubhyà from dundubhí.
- k. From a-stems: svargya heavenly (svargá), devatyà relating to a deity (devátā), prapathyà guiding (prapathá), budhnyà fundamental (budhná), jaghanyà hindmost (jaghána), varunyà Váruna vīryà might (vīrá), udaryà abdominal (udára), utsyà of the foundam (útsa); and from ā-stems, urvaryà of cultivated land (urvárā), svāhyà relating to the exclamation sváhā.
- 1. The circumflexed ya is more generally resolved (into ia) than the other forms of the suffix: thus, in RV. it is never to be read as ya attached a heavy syllable ending with a consonant; and even after a light one is becomes ia in more than three quarters of the examples.
- m. There are a few cases in which ya appears to be used to help make a compound with governing preposition (next chapter, 1310 cl 1212 c): thus, apikakṣyā about the arm-pit, upapakṣyā upon the sides udāpyā up-stream; and perhaps upatṛnyā lying in the grass (occurs oil in voc). But, with other accent, anvāntrya through the entrails, upa māsya in each month, abhinabhyā up to the clouds, antaḥparçavy. between the ribs, adhigartya on the chariot seat; of unknown accent, adm hastya, anupṛṣṭhya, anunāsikya, anuvançya.
 - 1213. The derivatives in U ya as to which it may b

questioned whether they are not, at least in part, primary derivatives from the beginning, are especially the gerundives, together with action-nouns coincident with these in form; in the later language, the gerundive-formation (above, 963) comes to be practically a primary one.

- a. In RV. occur about forty instances of gerundives in ya, of tolerably accordant form: the root usually unstrengthened (but cétya, bhávya, -hávya, márjya, yódhya; also -mádya, -vácya, bhāvyà); the accent on the radical syllable when the word is simple, or compounded with prepositions: thus, praçásya, upasádya, vihávya (but usually on the final after the negative prefix: thus, anāpyá, anapavriyá) exceptions are only bhāvyá and the doubtful ākāyya, the ya resolved into ia in the very great majority of occurrences; a final short vowel followed by t (in-ítya, -kṛtya, -çrútya, -stútya, and the reduplicated carkṛtya, beside carkṛti: not in návya and -hávya), and ā changed to e (in -deya only). If regarded as secondary, they might be made with ya, in accordance with other formations by this suffix, in part from the root-noun, as anukṛt-ya, in part from derivatives in a, as bhāvyá (from bhāva).
- b. The AV. has a somewhat smaller number (about twenty-five) of words of a like formation; but also a considerable group (fifteen) of derivatives in yh with the same value: thus, for example, ādyh entable, kāryh to be done, samāpyh to be obtained, atitāryh to be overpassed, nīvibhāryh to be carried in the apron, prathamavāsyh to be first worn. These seem more markedly of secondary origin: and especially such forms as parivargyh to be avoided, avimokyh not to be gotten rid of, where the guttural reversion clearly indicates primitives in ga and ka (216 h).
- c. Throughout the older language are of common occurrence neuter abstract nouns of the same make with the former of these classes. They are rarely found except in composition (in AV., only citya and stéya as simple), and are often used in the dative, after the manner of a dative infinitive. Examples are: brahmajyéya, vasudéya, bhāgadhéya, pūrvapéya, çataséya, abhibhūya, devahūya, mantraçrūtya, kapūrvapéya, vṛtratūrya, hotrvūrya, ahihātya, sattrasádya, çīrṣabhídya, brahmacárya, nṛṣāhya. Of exceptional form are rtódya (yvad and sahaçéyya (yçī); of exceptional accent, sadhástutya. And AV has one example, raṇyā, with circumflexed final.
- d. Closely akin with these, in meaning and use, is a smaller class of feminines in yā: thus, kṛtyā, vidyā, ityā, agnicityā, vajajityā, muṣṭihatyā, devayajyā, etc.
- e. There remain, of course, a considerable number of less classifiable words, both nouns and adjectives, of which a few from the older language may be mentioned, without discussion of their relations: thus, surya (with

fem. sūryā), ájya, púṣya, nábhya; yújya, gṛ́dhya, írya, aryá and árya, márya, mádhya.

The suffixes apparently most nearly akin with ya may best be next taken up.

- 1214. ¿u iya. This suffix is virtually identical with the preceding, being but another written form of the same thing. It is used only after two consonants, where the direct addition of u ya would create a combination of difficult utterance. It has the same variety of accent with ya. Thus:
- a. With accent iya (= ia or yà): for example, abhriya (also abhriyà) from the clouds (abhrá), kṣatriya having authority (kṣatrā), yajñiya reverend (yajñá), hotriya libational (hótrā), amitriya inimical (amitra).
- b. With accent iyá (= iá or yá): for example, agriyá (also agríya) foremost (ágra), indriyá Indra's (later, sense: indra), kşetriyá of the field (kşétra).
- c. With accent on the primitive: crótriya learned (crótra), rtviya (also rtvíya) in season (rtú).
- 1215. 50 Iya. This suffix also is apparently by origin a ya (Ia) of which the first element has maintained its long quantity by the interposition of a euphonic y. It is accented always on the i.
- a. In RV. occur, of general adjectives, only arjikiya and grhamedhiya, and examples in the later Vedic are very few e. g. parvatiya mountainous (AV., beside RV. parvatya). In the Brahmanas are found a number of adjectives, some of them from phrases (first words of verses and the like) thus, anyaraṣṭriya, pahcavātiya, mārjāliya, kayaçubhīya, svāduṣkilīya, āpohiṣṭhīya, etc.
- b. It was pointed out above (965) that derivative adjectives in iya from action-nonns in ana begin in later Veda and in Brahmana to be used gerundivally, and are a recognized formation as gerundives in the classical language. But adjectives in aniya without gerundive character are also common.
- c. Derivatives in īya with initial vṛddhi are sometimes made in the later language: e. g. pārvatīya, pāitāputrīya, āparapaksīya, vāirakīya.
- d. The pronominal possessives madiya etc. (518 a) do not occur either in Veda or in Brähmana, but the ordinals dvitiya etc. (467 b, c with fractionals tṛtīya and turīya: 488 a) are found from the earliest period
- e. The po-sessives bhagavadīya and bhavadīya, with the final of the primitive made sonant, have probably had their form determined by the pronominal possessives in -dīya.

- 1216. At eya. With this suffix, accompanied by vrddhiincrement of an initial syllable, are made adjectives, often
 having a patronymic or metronymic value. Their neuter
 is sometimes used as abstract noun. The accent rests
 usually on the final in adjectives of descent, and on the
 first syllable in others.
- a. Examples are: ārşeyā descendant of a sage (ţsi), jānaçruteyā son of Janaçruti, sārameyā of Sarámā's race, çātavaneyā Çatavani's descendant, rāthajiteyā son of Rathajit; āsneya of the blood (asán), vāsteya of the bladder (vastí), pāūruseya coming from man (pūrusa), paitrsvaseya of a paternal aunt (pitrsvasr), etc.
- b. A more than usual proportion of derivatives in eya come from primitives in i or i; and probably the suffix first gained its form by addition of ya to a gunated inthough afterward used independently.
- e. The gerundive etc. derivatives in ya (above, 1213) from E-roots end in éya; and, besides such, RV. etc. have sabhéya from sabhá, and didrkséya worth seeing, apparently from the desiderative noun didrksá, after their analogy. M. has once adhyeya as gerund of vi.
- d. Derivatives in the so-called suffix ineya—as bhāgineya, jyārethineya, kānisthineya—are doubtless made upon proximate derivatives in ini (fem.).
- e. In eyya (i. e. eyia) end, besides the neuter abstract sahaçeyya (above, 1213c), the adjective of gerundival meaning stuneyya (with acristic s added to the root), and gapatheyya curse-bringing (or accursed), from qapatha.
- 1217. This suffix is doubtless secondary in origin, made by the addition U ya to derivatives in a nasuffix; but, like others of similar origin, it is applied in some measure independently, chiefly in the older language, where it has nearly the value of the later anilya (above, 1215b), as making gerundival adjectives.
- a. The y of this suffix is almost always to be read as vowel, and the accent is (except in warenya) on the e: thus, -énia.
- b. The gerundives have been all given above, under the different conjugations to which they attach themselves (966b, 1019b, 1038). The RV has also two non-gerundival adjectives, vīrénya manly (vīrá), and kīrténya. famous (kīrtí), and TS. has anabhiçastenyá (abhíçasti); vijenyà (RV.) is a word of doubtful connection; çikşenya instructive is found in a Sūtra; prāvraenya of the rainy season occurs later.

- 1218. হাতে ayya. With this suffix are made gerundival adjectives almost only in RV. They have been noticed above (966 c). The ending is everywhere to be read syss.
- a. A few adjectives without gerundival value, and neuter abstracts, also occur; thus, bahupāyya protecting many, nṛpāyya man-guarding; kundapāyya, and purumāyya, proper names; pūrvapāyya first drink, mahayāyya enjoyment; and rasāyya nervous, and uttamāyya summit, contain no verbai root. Alāyya is doubtful; also ākāyya, which its accent refers to a different formation, along with prahāyya (AV.: Vhi) messenger, and pravāyya (AV.) of doubtful value.
- 1219. thu systa. In the Brahmanas and later, patronymics made by this suffix are not rare. They come from stems in \$\mathbf{q}\$ a, and have vrddhi-strengthening of the first syllable, and accent on the final.
- a. In RV., the only example of this formation is kāṇvāyana (voc káṇva); AV. has in metrical parts dākṣāyaṇá and the fem. rāmāyanī; and āmuṣyāyaṇá son of so-and-so (516) in its prose; ÇB. has rājastambāyana beside -bāyaná. The RV. name ukṣaṇyāyana is of a different make, elsewhere unknown.
- 1220. द्यारी ayı. Only a very few words are made with this suffix, namely agnayı (agni) Agni's wife vrakapayı wife of Vrishi-kapı; and later pütakratayı, and manayı Manu's wife (but manavî ÇR)
- a. They seem to be feminines of a derivative a made with vriddhiincrement of the final 1 of the primitive.
- 1221. 31. Derivatives made with this suffix are patronymics from nouns in a. The accent rests on the initial syllable, which has the vrddhi-strengthening.
- a. In RV. are found half-a-dozen patronymics in i: for example, agniveqi, paŭrukutsi, pratardani, saĥvarani; AV. has but one, prahradi; in the Brahmanas they are more common: thus, in AB., sauyavasi, janamtapi, aruni, janaki, etc. A single word of other value sarathi charioteer (saratham)—is found from RV. down.
- b. The words made with the so-called suffix aki—as vāiyāsaki descendent of Vyāsa—are doubtless properly derivatives in i from others in ka or aka. That the secondary suffix ika is probably made by addition of ka to a derivative in i is pointed out below (1222).
- c. RV. has tapusi, apparently from tapus with a secondary i added, and the n. pr. quesn't; bhuwanti is found in B., and jivanti later.
- 1222. This is doubtless originally one of the class of suffixes forming adjectives of appurtenance. And

that value it still has in actual use; yet only in a small minority of occurrences. It has been, on the one hand, specialized into an element forming diminutives; and, on the other hand, and much more widely, attenuated into an element without definable value, added to a great many nouns and adjectives to make others of the same meaning—this last is, even in the Veda, and still more in the later language, its chief office.

- a. Hence, ka easily associates itself with the finals of derivatives to which it is attached and comes to seem along with them an integral suffix, and is further used as such. Of this origin are doubtless, as was seen above (1180, 1181), the so-called primary suffixes uka and aka; and likewise the secondary suffix ika (below, j).
- p. The accent of derivatives in ka varies—apparently without rule, save that the words most plainly of diminutive character have the tone usually on the suffix.
- c. Examples (from the older language) of words in which the suffix has an adjective-making value are: ántaka (ánta) end-making, bálhika (bálhi) of Balkh, āṇḍtka (āṇḍá) egg-bearing, sūctka (sūct) stinging, urvāruká fruit of the gourd (urvāru), paryāyiká (paryāyá) strophic; from numerals, ekaká, dvaká, triká, aṣṭaka; trtīyaka of the third day; from pronoun-stems, asmāka ours, yuṣmāka yours, māmaka mine (b16b): from prepositions, ántika near, ánuka following, ávakā a plant (later adhika, utka); and, with accent retracted to the initial syllable (besides áṣṭaka and trtīyaka, already given), rūpaka (rūpá) with form, bábhruka (babhrú brown) a certain lizard. Bhāvatka your worship's has an anomalous initial vṛddhi.
- d. Of words in which a diminutive meaning is more or less probable: açvaká nag, kaninaka and kumāraká boy, kaninaká or kaninikā girl, pādaká little foot, putraká little son, rājaká princeling, çakuntaká birdling. Sometimes a contemptuous meaning is conveyed by such a diminutive: for formations with this value from pronominal stems, see above, 521; other examples are anyaká (KV.), álakam (RV.: from álam), and even the verb-form yāmaki (for yāmi: KB.).
- e. The derivatives in ka with unchanged meaning are made from primitives of every variety of form, simple and compound, and have the same variety of accent as the adjective derivatives (with which they are at bottom identical). Thus:
- f. From simple nouns and adjectives: astaka home, nasika nostril, maksika fig., avika eses, işuka arrow, düraka distant, sarvaka all, dhenuka (dhenu) coso, nagnaka (nagna) naked, baddhaka (baddha) captive, abhimiataraka by no means different, anastamitaké before

sunset, vamrakå ant, arbhakå small, çiçukå young, anīyaska finer, ejatkå trembling, abhimādyatkå intoxicated, patayisnukå flying. Such derivatives in the later language are innumerable; from almost any given noun or adjective may be made an equivalent, ending in ka or kā (according to the gender).

g. From compound primitives: svalpaká very small, vímanyuka removing wrath, viksinatká destroying, pravartamanaká moving forward, viksinaká destroyed.

h. In the Brāhmanas and later, ka is often added to a possessive adjective compound (1807), sometimes redundantly, but usually in order to obtain a more manageable stem for inflection: thus, anaksika eyeless, atvākka skinless, arstāska without seed, vyasthaka boneless, saçiraska along with the head, ekagāyatrīka containing a single gāyatrī-verse, grhītāvasatīvarīka one who has taken yesterday's water, sapatnīka with his spouse, bahuhastika having many elephants, sadīksopasātka with dīkṣā and upasad, āhitasamitka with his fuel laid on, abhinavavayaska of youthful age, angusthamātraka of thumb size.

- i. The vowel by which the ka is preceded has often an irregular character; and especially, a feminine in ikā is so common beside a masculine in aka as to be its regular correspondent (as is the case with the so-called primary aka: above, 1181). In RV. are found beside one another only iyattaká and iyattiká; but AV. has several examples.
- j. Two suffixes made up of ka and a preceding vowel namely, aka and ika are given by the grammarians as independent secondary suffixes, requiring initial vrddhi-strengthening of the primitive. Both of them are doubtless originally made by addition of ka to a final i or a, though coming to be used independently.
- k. Of vrddhi-derivatives in aka no examples have been noted from the older language (unless māmaká mine is to be so regarded); and they are not common in the later: thus, āvaçyaka necessary; vārddhaka old age, rāmanīyaka delightfulness.
- l. Of vrddhi-derivatives in ika, the Veda furnishes a very few cases: väsantika vernal, värşika of the rainy season, hāímantika wintry (none of them in RV.); AV. has kāirātikā of the Kirātas, apparent fem. to a masc. kāirātaka, which is not found till later. Examples from a more recent period (when they become abundant) are: vāidika relating to the Vedas, dhārmika religious, āhnika daily, vāinayika well-behaved, dāuvārika doorkeeper, nāiyāyika versed in the Nyāya.
- m. Before the suffix ka, some finals show a form which is characteristic of external rather than internal combination. A final sonant mute, of course, becomes surd, and an aspirate loses its aspiration (117a, 114) cf. -upasatka, -samitka, above, h. So also a palatal becomes gutural (as before t etc.: 217): e. g. -srukka, -rukka, -tvakka, anṛkka. A s remains after ā, and becomes ş after an alterant vowel (180): e. g. sadyaska, jyotişka, dirghāyuşka. But the other sibilants take the form

they would have in composition: thus, adikka (dig), satka, -vitka, tvitka (şaş etc.). Anāçīrka (TS.: āçis) is anomalous; and so is parutka (Apast.), if it comes from parus.

- 1223. Several suffixes, partly of rare occurrence and questionable character, contain a n as consonantal element, and may be grouped together here.
 - a. A few derivatives in ana in RV, were given above (1175a).
- b. With ani (which is perhaps the corresponding feminine) are made a small number of words, chiefly wife-names: thus, indrani, varunani (these, with uçīnarāņī, purukútsānī, mudgalánī, ūrjánī, are found in RV.), rudrānī, mātulānī maternal uncle's wife, carvānī, bhavānī, icānānī, çakrānī, upādhyāyānī, mṛḍānī, brahmānī; and yavānī.
- c. The feminines in nī and knī from masculine stems in ta have been already noticed above (1176d). From pati master, husband the feminine is pátnī, both as independent word, spouse, and as final of an adjective compound: thus, devapatnī having a god for husband, sindhupatnī having the Indus as master. And the feminine of parusa rough is in the older language sometimes parusnī.
- d. With ina are made a full series of adjective derivatives from the words with final ane (407 ff.); they are accented usually upon the penult, but sometimes on the final; and the same word has sometimes both accents: for example, apacina, nicina, pracina, arvacina and arvacīná, praticína and praticiná, samiciná. Besides these, a number of other adjectives, earlier and later: examples are samvatsarina yearly, prāvrsiņa of the rainy season, vievajanīna of all people, jāātakulina of known family, adhvanīna traveller (adhvan way), āçvīna day's jurney on horseback (açva horse). RV. has once makina mine.
- e. With ena is made samidhena (f. -ni), from samidh, with initial strengthening.
 - f. As to a few words in ina, compare 1209 c.
- g. The adjectives made with simple na fall partly under another head (below, 1245 f); here may be noted curana heroic (?), phalguna, cmacruna, dadruna, and, with vrddhi-strengthening, straina woman's (its correlative, paumsna, occurs late) and cyautna inciting. If drona comes from dru wood, it has the anomaly of a guna-strengthening.
- Certain suffixes containing a H m may be similarly grouped.
- a. With ima are made a small number of adjectives from nouns in tra: thus, khanitrima made by digging, kritrima artificial, dattrima, paktrima, pūtrima; in other finals, kuttima, ganima, talima, tulima, pākima, udgārima, vyāyogima, samvyūhima, nirvedhima, āsangima, all late. In agrima (RV.) foremost the ma has perhaps the ordinal value.
- b. The uses of simple ma in forming superlatives (474) and ordinals (487 d, e) have been already noticed, and the words thus made specified.

- c. A few neuter abstracts end in mna: thus, dyumná brightness, nṛmṇá manliness; and, from particles, nimná depth and sumná welfare. The suffix comes perhaps from man with an added a.
 - d. For the words showing a final min, see below, 1231.
- 1225. All mays. With this suffix are formed adjectives signifying made or composed or consisting of, also abounding in, that which is denoted by the primitive.
- a. The accent is always on the má, and the feminine is regularly and usually in máyi. In the oldest language (V.), final as remains unchanged before the suffix: thus, manasmáya, nabhasmáya, ayasmáya; but d is treated as in external combination: thus, mṛnmáya; and in the Brāhmaṇas and later, finals in general have the latter treatment: e. g. tejomáya, adomáya, āpomáya, jyotirmaya, yajurmáya, etanmáya, asṛūmaya, vāūmáya, ammaya, prāvṛṇmaya. RV. has açmanmáya (later açmamaya). In hiraṇmáya (B. and later) the primitive (hiraṇya) is peculiarly mutilated. RV. has sūmáya of good make, and kimmáya made of what?
- b. A very few examples of a feminine in ya occur in the later language.
- 1226. Fra. A few derivative adjectives are made with this suffix. Accent and treatment of the primitive are various.
- a. With simple addition of ra are made, for example: pānsurā dusty, -çrīra (also -çlīla) in açrīrā ugly, dhūmrā dusky (dhūmā smoke), madhura (late) sweet. In an example or two, there appears to be accompanying initial strengthening: thus, āgnīdhra of the fire-kindler (agnīdh), çānkurā stake-like (çankú); and in çekhara (also çikhara), a guņa-strengthening.
- b. With an inorganic vowel before the ending are made, for example, meddhira wise, rathirá in a chariot; karmára smith; dantura (late) tusked acchera (? MS.), crāmaņera, samgamanera.
- c. The use of ra in forming a few words of comparative meaning was noticed above (474), and the words so made were given.
- 1227.

 ☐ la. This and the preceding suffix are really but two forms of the same. In some words they exchange with one another, and ☐ la is usually, but not always, the later form in use.
- a. Examples are: bahulá abundant, madhulá (later madhura) and madhüla weet, bhīmala fearful, jīvalá lively, açıllá (and açıīrā) weetched; with ā, vācāla talkative (late); with i, phenila foamy (late:

phéna); with u, vātula, and vātūla windy (late: váta); and mātula maternal unole is a somewhat irregular formation from mātr mother.

- b. In the later language are found a few adjectives in lu, always preceded by ā; examples are: kṛpālu and dayālu compassionate, īrṣ-yālu jealous, uṣṇālu heated, çayālu and svapnālu sleepy, lajjālu modest, lālālu drooling, çraddhālu trusting, krodhālu passionate. One or two such derivatives having a primary aspect were noticed at 1192 b.
- 1228. A small number of adjectives have this ending (accented, added to an unaltered primitive).
- a. Examples are: arnavá billowy, keçavá hairy; rāsnāvá girded; añjivá slippery, çantimá tranquillizing, çraddhivá credible, amaniva jewelless, rājīva striped.
- b. There are a very few adjectives in vala and vaya which may be noticed here: thus, kṛṣīvalá peasant (kṛṣi ploughing), ūrṇāvalá wooly, rajasvala, ūrjasvala, payasvala, çādvala, naḍvala, çikhāvala, dantāvala; druváya wooden dish, caturvaya fourfold.
- c. With vya are made two or three words from names of relationship, thus, pitrvya paternal uncle, bhratrvya nephew, enemy.
- 1229. I ca. A very few adjectives appear to be made by an added ending of this form.
- a. Thus, romaçá or lomaçá hairy, étaça (also etaçá) variegated, arvaça or árvaça hasting, babhlüçá or babhruçá and kapiça brownish. kṛṣṇaça blackish, yuvaçá youthful, bāliça childish, karkaça harsh, karmaça (?) n. pr.; and giriça, váriça (?), vṛkṣaça are doubtiess of the same character (not containing the root çī). The character of harīmaçá, káçmaça, kalaça is doubtful.
- b. Many of the adjective derivatives already treated have sometimes a possessive value, the general meaning of being concerned with, having relation to being specialized into that of being possession of. But there are also a few distinctively possessive suffixes; and some of these, on account of the unlimited freedom of using them and the frequency of their occurrence, are very conspicuous parts of the general system of derivation. These will be next considered.
- 1230. ᢋ in. Possessive adjectives of this ending may be formed almost unlimitedly from stems in য় or য় ā, and are sometimes (but very rarely) made from stems with other finals.
- a. A final vowel disappears before the suffix. The accent is on the suffix. As to the inflection of these adjectives, see above, 438 ff. They are to be counted by hundreds in the older language, and are equally or more numerous in the later.

- b. Examples from a-stems are: acvin possessing horses, dhanin wealthy, pakain winged, balin strong, bhagin fortunate, vairin wielding the thunderbolt, cikhandin crested, hastin possessing hands, acdacing of sixteen, gardabhanadin having an ass's voice, brahmavarcasin of eminent sanctity, sadhudevin having luck at play, kücidarthin having crrands everywhither;—from a-stems, maniain wise, cikhin crested, rtayin pious.
- c. Derivatives from other stems are very few in comparison: thus, from i-stems, atithin(?), abhimatin, aroin, açanin, ürmin, kālanemin, khādin, -pāṇin, marīcin, maufijin, māulin, -yonin, venin, saṁdhin, samṛddhin, surabhin (of those found only at the end of a possessive compound the character is doubtful, sigce case-forms of i- and in-stems are not seldom exchanged); from u-stems, gurvin, catagvin (?), veṇavin (with guna of the u); from stems in an, varmin, karmin, carmin, -chadmin, janmin, dhanvin, -dharmin, nāmin, brahmin, yakṣmin, çarmin, and çvanin; in as, retin rich in seed, and probably varcin n. pr.; also (perhaps through stems in -sa) çayasin and sahasin, manasin, -vayasin; isolated are parisrajin garlanded, and hiraṇin (hirāṇya).
- d. It was pointed out above (1183) that derivatives in in have assumed on a large scale the aspect and value of primary derivatives, with the significance of present participles, especially at the end of compounds. The properly secondary character of the whole formation is shown, on the on hand, by the frequent use in the same manner of words bearing an unmistakably secondary form, as praçnín, garbhín, jūrnín, dhūmín, snānin, homin, matsarín, paripanthín, pravepanín, samgatin; and, on the other hand, by the occurrence of reverted palatals (218) before the in, which could only be as in replaced a: thus, arkín, -bhangín, -sangín, -rokín.
- e. In a few cases, there appears before the in a y preceded by an ā of inorganic character: thus, dhanvāyín, tantrāyin, çvetāyin, sṛkāyín, ātatāyín, pratihitāyín, marāyín, ṛtāyin, svadhāyín (\STB. -vín). The y in all such words is evidently the inserted y after ā (258 a), and to assume for them a suffix yin is quite needless.
- f. The accentuation pravrájin, prasyándin, in the concluding pārt of ÇB., is doubtless false; and the same is to be suspected for çákī, sárī, írī (RV. each once).
- g. A very few words in in have not suffered the possessive specialization. Such are vanin tree, hermit, kapotin dovelike, andin scrotum-like (cf. 1233f.).
- 1231. मिन् min. With this suffix are made an extremely small number of possessive adjectives.
- a. In the old language, the words in min have the aspect of derivatives in in from nouns in ma, although in two or three cases — ismin

and rgmin in RV., vägmin in ÇB.—no such nouns are found in actual use beside them. In the later language, min is used as independent element in a very few words: thus, gomin possessing cattle, svämin (Sūtras and later) master, lord (sva own), kakudmin humped.

b. The two words rgmin and vagmin show not only reversion but also sonantizing of an original palatal.

- 1232. बिन vin. The adjectives made with this suffix are also not numerous. They have the same meanings with those in उन in. The accent is on the suffix.
- a. The RV. has ten adjectives in vin; they become rather more common later. Though for them may be suspected a similar origin to those in yin and min (above), signs of it are much less clearly traceable.
- b. The great majority have vin added after as: e. g. namasvín reverential, tapasvín heated, tejasvín brilliant, yaçasvín beautiful, and so retasvín, enasvín, harasvín, etc.; and çatasvín, çrotasvín, rūpasvin have an inserted s, by analogy with them. Most others have ā (sometimes, by lengthening): thus, giāvín, medhāvín, māyāvín, sabhāvín, aṣṭrāvín obedient to the goad, dvayāvín double-minded, ubhayāvín possessing of both kinds, dhanvāvin, tandrāvin, āmayāvín, ātatāvín. More rarely, vin is added after another consonant than s: thus. vāgvín, dhṛṣadvín, ātmanvín, kumudvin, sragvin, yajvin, ajvin. The doubtful word vyaçnuvín (VS., once: TB. vyáçniya) appears to add the ending (or in, with euphonic v) to a present tense-stem.
- c. An external form of combination is seen only in vagvin and dhrsadvin (both Vedic), with the common reversion of a palatal in sragvin.
- 1233. वस् vant. Very numerous possessive adjectives are made by this suffix, from noun-stems of every form, both in the earlier language and in the later.
- a. The accent generally remains upon the primitive, without change; but an accent resting on a stem-final, if this be anything but a or a, is in the majority of cases thrown forward upon the suffix. As to inflection, formation of feminine, etc., see 452 ff.
- b. A final vowel oftenest a, very rarely u is in many words lengthened in the older language (247) before this ending, as in composition. Nouns in an more often retain the n.
- c. Examples of the normal formation are: with unchanged accent, kequant hairy, putravant having a son, prajananavant procreative, pundarikavant rich in lotuses, hiranyavant rich in gold, apūpavant having cakes, rājanyavant allied with a kshatriya, prajavant having progeny, trņāvant wooly, dakaiņāvant rich in sacrificial gifts; sakhivant having friends, saptaraivant accompanied by the seven sages; çacīvant powerful; tāviaīvant vehement, patnīvant with spouse, dhivant devoted,

- dyávāpṛthivivant (94 b) with heaven and earth; viṣṇuvant accompanied by Vishnu; háritvant golden, āvṛtvant hither turned, āqirvant mixed with milk, svàrvant splendid, çarádvant full of years, puinsvant having a male, páyasvant rich, támasvant dark, bráhmanvant accompanied with worship, rómanvant hairy (but slso romavant, lómavant, vṛtrahavant, etc.), kakubhvant containing a kakubh; with accent on the suffix, agnivánt having fire, rayivánt wealthy, nṛvánt manly, padvánt having fect, nasvánt with nose, āsanvánt having a mouth, çīrṣanvánt headed (also çīrṣavant).
 - d. With final stem-vowel lengthened: for example, açvavant (beside açvavant) possessing horses, sutavant having soma expressed, vişnyavant of virile force (about thirty such cases occur in V.); çaktīvant mighty, svadhitīvant having axes, ghṛṇīvant hot; viṣūvant dividing (viṣu apart).
 - e. Certain special irregularities are as follows: an inserted s in indrasvant, máhisvant; inserted n in vánanvant, búdhanvant, vádhanvant, gartanvánt, māhsanvánt; shortening of a final of the primitive in māyávant, yājyàvant, puronuvākyàvant, āmíkṣavant, sarasvativant; abbreviation in hiranvant; inserted ā in çavasāvant, sahasāvant, and the odd mahimāvant; anomalous accent in kṛçanávant (if from kṛçana peari); derivation from particles in antárvant pregnant, viṣūvánt (above, d).
 - f. Instead of the specialized meaning of possessing, the more general one of like to, resembling is seen in a number of words, especially in the derivatives from pronominal stems, māvant like me etc. (517: add ivant, kivant). Other examples are indrasvant like Indra, nīḍavant nestlike, nilavant blackish, nṛvant manly, pṛṣadvant speckled, kṣāitavant princely; compare the later paravant dependent. It was pointed out above (1107) that the adverb of comparison in vat is the accusative neuter of a derivative of this class.
 - g. In a few words, vant has the aspect of forming primary derivatives: thus, vivásvant (or vívasvant) shining, also n. pr., anupadasvant, árvant, pípisvant(?), yahvant.
 - h. For the derivatives in vat from prepositions, which appear to have nothing to do with this suffix, see 1245j.
 - i. While this suffix is generally added to a primitive according to the rules of internal combination (see examples above, c), treatment also as in external combination begins already in RV., in pṛṣadvant (pṛṣat), and becomes more common later: thus, tapovant, tejovant, añgirovant (beside tápasvant etc.); vidyúdvant (beside vidyutvant), bṛhadvant, jagadvant, sadvant, etc.; triṣṭubvant (against kakúbhvant), samidvant, vimṛdvant; vāgvant (against ṛkvant); svarādvant; havyavādvant; ācīrvant.
 - j. None of the suffixes beginning with ${\bf v}$ show in the Veda resolution of ${\bf v}$ to ${\bf u}$.

1234. In van. The secondary derivatives in this suffix belong to the older language, and are a small number, of which extremely few have more than an occurrence or two.

a. They have the aspect of being produced under the joint influence of primary van and secondary vant. A final short vowel is usually lengthened before the suffix. The accent is various, but oftenest on the penult of the stem. The feminine (like that of the derivatives in primary van: 1169 f) is in vari.

b. The Vedic examples are: from a-stems, ṛṇāván or ṛṇaván, ṛtấ-van (and f. -varī), ṭghāvan, dhitávan, satyávan, sumnāvárī, and maghávan; from ā-stems, sūnṭtāvanī, svadhávan (and f. -varī); from i-stems, amatīván, arātīván, çruṣṭīván, muṣīván, and kṛṣīvan (only in the further derivative kārṣīvaṇa); dhivan; from consonant-stems, átharvan, samádvan, sáhovan (bad AV. variant to RV. sahávan); hārdvan (TA. also hārdivan). Somewhat anomalous are sahávan, indhanvan (for indhanavan²), and sanítvan (for sánitivan²). The onlye words of more than sporadic occurrence are ṛtávan, maghávan, átharvan.

e. Sáhovan (see b) is the only example of external combination with this suffix.

1235. मन mant. This is a twin-suffix to वत vant (above, 1233); their derivatives have the same value, and are to some extent exchangeable with one another. But possessives in मन mant are much less frequent (in the older language, about a third as many), and are only very rarely made from a-stems.

a. If the accent of the primitive word is on the final, it is in the great majority of instances (three quarters) thrown forward upon the added suffix; otherwise, it maintains its place unchanged. A final vowel before the suffix is in only a few cases made long. Examples are:

b. With the accent of the primitive unchanged: kanvamant, yavamant rich in barley, and vibhavamant u. pr. (these alone from a-stems, and the first only occurring once); avimant possessing sheep, açanimant bearing the thunderbolt, oʻsadhīmant rich in herbs, vaçīmant carrying an axe, vasumant possessing good thinys, madhumant rich in sweets, tvaṣtṛmant accompanied by Tvashtar, hoʻtṛmant provided with priests, ayuṣṭmant long-lived, jyoʻtiṣmant full of brightness;— ulkuṣimant accompanied with meteors, pilumant(?), prasumant having young shoots, gomant rich in kine, garútmant winged, vihuʻtmant with libation, kakuʻdmant humped, vidyuʻnmant (with irrigular assimilation of t: VS. has also kakuʻnmant) gleaming, virukmant shining, haviṣmant with libations, vipruṣmant with drops.

- c. With the accent thrown forward upon the ending: asimant with knives, againment having fire, isudhiment with a quiver, paqument possessing cattle, vsyument with wind, pitrment (AV. pitrment) accompanied by the Fathers, matriment having a mother; no long final vowels are found before the suffix in this division, and only once a consonant, in dasmat (RV., once).
- d. Protraction of a final vowel is seen in tvisimant, dhrájimant, hirimant; in jyótisimant is irregularly inserted an ī (after the analogy of tāvisimant); in quoismant, mahismant, an s; susumant (RV, once) appears to be primary.
- e. The adverb acumát appears to be related to adverbs in vát as the suffix mant to vant.
- f. By the side of derivatives made with internal combination appears vidyúnmant even in RV.; and other like cases occur later: thus, parisrúnmant, kakunmant, kaunmant, purorúnmant, vānmant, kakunmant, gudalinmant, yaçomant.
- 1236. It has been seen above (especially in connection with the suffixes a and ya) that the neuter of a derivative adjective is frequently used as an abstract noun. There are, however, two suffixes which have in the later language the specific office of making abstract nouns from adjectives and nouns; and these are found also, more sparingly used, in the oldest language, each having there one or avoother evidently related suffixes beside it.
- a. For derivatives of the same value made with the suffix iman, see above, 1168i-k.
- 1237. না tā. With this suffix are made feminine abstract nouns, denoting the quality of being so and so, from both adjectives and nouns.
- a. The form of the primitive is unchanged, and the accent is uniformly on the syllable preceding the suffix.
- b. Examples (from the older language) are: devătă divinity. virătă manliness, purușătă human nature, agnită firehood, apaçută cattle-lessness, bandhută relationship, vasută wealth; nagnătă nakedness, suvirătă wealth in retainers, anapatyâtă lack of descendants, agotă povertu in cattle, abrahmâtă lack of devotion, aprajâstă absence of progeny; also doubtless sunțtă (from sunăra), although the word is a few times used as an adjective (like çantăti and satyatăti: see next paragraph).
- c. Of special formation are mamata selfishness, treta triplicity, astita actuality. RV. has avirata, with exceptional accent. In ekapatnita is seen a shortened final vowel of the primitive. Janata has acquired a concrete meaning, people, folk; also gramata (once) villages collectively.
- 1238. ताति tati, तात tat. These suffixes are Vedic only, and the latter is limited to RV. Their relationship to the preceding is

evident, but opinions are at variance as to its nature. The accent is as in the derivatives with $t\bar{a}$.

- a. The quotable examples in tāti are: ariṣṭātāti uninjuredness, ayakṣmātāti freedom from disease, gṛbhītātāti the heing seized, jyeṣ-thātāti supremacy, devātāti divinity, vasūtāti wealth, çāmtāti goodfortune, sarvātāti completeness; and, with exceptional accent, āstatāti home, and dākṣatāti cleverness; çivatāti and çubhatāti occur (once sach) in the later language. Two words in tāti are used adjectively (inorganically, by apposition?): çāmtāti (RV., twice; and AV. xix. 44. 1, in manuscripts), and satyatāti (RV., once: voc.).
- b. The words in tat (apparently made by abbreviation from tati) occur in only one or two case-forms; they were all mentioned above (383 k. 2).
- 1239. ढ़ tva. With this suffix are made neuter nouns, of the same value as the feminines in ता tā (above, 1237).
- a. The neuter abstracts in twa are in the older language considerably more common than the feminines in $t\bar{a}$, although themselves also not very numerous. The accent is without exception on the suffix.
- b. Examples (from the older language) are: amṛtatvá immortality, devatvá divinity, subhagatvá good-fortune, ahamuttaratvá struygle for precedency, queitvá purity, patitvá husbandship, taranitvá energy, dīrghāyutvá long life, çatrutvá enmily, bhrātṛtvá brotherhood, vṛṣatvá virility, sātmatvá soulfulness, maghavattvá liberality, rakṣastvá sorcery. In anāgāstvá and -prajāstvá there is a longthening of a final syllable of the primitive; and in sāuprajāstvá (AV., once) this appears to be accompanied by initial vṛddhi (sāubhagatvá is doubtless frem sāibhaga, not subhága); and in these and pratyanastvá there is an apparent insertion of s. In sadhanitvá (RV.), vasatīvaritvá (TS.), rohinitvá (TB.), there is shortening of final ieminine ī before the sufix. Of peculiar formation are astitva actuality and sahatva union. The apparent feminine datives yūthatvāyāi and gaṇatvāyāi (KS.) are doubtless false forms.
 - c. Besides the usual guttural reversions in samyaktva, sayuktva, re have external combination in samittva (-idh-) and pūrvavāṭtva -vah-).
 - d. In isitatvátā (RV., once) incitedness, and puruṣatvátā (RV., wice) human quality, appears to be a combination of the two equivalent inflates type and the
 - e. The v of tva is to be read in Veda as u only once (rakeastua).
 - 1240. An twans. The derivatives made with this suffix are, like those in twa, neuter abstracts. They occur almost only in RV., and, except in a single instance (martyatvaná), have beside them equivalent derivatives in twa. The accent is on the final, and the twa is never resolved into tus.

- a. The words are: kavitvaná, janitvaná, patitvaná (also JB.), martyatvaná, mahitvaná, vasutvaná, vrsatvaná, sakhitvaná.
- 1241. A few suffixes make no change in the character as part of speech of the primitive to which they are added, but either are merely formal appendages, leaving the value of the word what it was before, or make a change of degree, or introduce some other modification of meaning.
- 1242. The suffixes of comparison and ordinal suffixes have for the most part been treated already, and need only a reference here.
- a. At tara and AH tama are the usual secondary suffixes of adjective comparison: respecting their use as such, see above, 471-473, respecting the use of tama as ordinal etc. suffix, see 487-8; respecting that of their accusatives as adverbial suffixes to prepositions etc., see 1111e.
- b. In vrtratara and purutama (RV.) the accent is anonalous; in mṛḍayattama, it is drawn forward to the final of the participle, as often in composition (1309); çaçvattama (RV.) has the ordinal accent, samvatsaratama (ÇB.) is an ordinal; divātara (RV., once: an error?) is an ordinary adjective, of the day; surabhistama and tuvistama insert a s; kārotara and kāulitara are probably vrddhi-derivatives in a. In vatsatara (f. -ri) weanling, açvatara mule, and dhenustari cowe losing ther milk, the application of the suffix is peculiar and obscure; so also in rathamtara, name of a certain sūman.
- c. Tra and I ma, like tara and tama, have a comparative and superlative value; and the latter of them forms ordinals: see above, 474, 487.
- d. If the, like tame and me, forms ordinals from a few numerals: see 487c; also (with fem. in -thi) from tati, kati, yati, iti: thus tatithé so-many-eth etc.
- e. Apparently by false analogy with tatithá etc. (above, d), the quasi-ordinals tāvatitha, yāvatitha, bahutitha are made, as if with a suffix titha (also katititha, late, for katithá); and, it is said, from other words meaning a number of collection, as gana, pūga, saingha; but none such are quotable.
- 1243. Of diminutive suffixes there are none in Sanskrit with clearly developed meaning and use. The occasional employment of ka, in a somewhat indistinct way, to make diminutives, has been noticed above (1222).
- 1244. Of the ordinary adjective-making suffixes, given above some occasionally make adjectives from adjectives, with slight or imperceptible modification of value. The only one used to any considerable extent in this way is ka: as to which, see 1222.

1245. A few suffixes are used to make derivatives from certain limited and special classes of words, as numerals and particles. Thus:

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- a. AU taya makes a few adjectives meaning of so many divisions or kinds (used in the neuter as collectives), from numerals: thus, ékataya (MS.), dvitaya, tritaya, cátustaya (AV.), sattaya (KB.: with external combination), saptátaya (CB.), astātaya (AB.), dácataya (RV.), bahútaya (TS.). Their fem. is in -yī.
- b. Tu tya makes a class of adjectives from particles: e. g. nítya own, nístya foreign, amátya companion, etc. As the examples show, the accent of the primitive is retained. The fem. is in -tyā.
- c. The other quotable examples are: apatya, avistya, sanutya, antastya, anyatastya-, tatastya, kutastya, atratya, tatratya, yatratya, kutratya, ihatya, upatya, adhitya, pratastya, daksinatya (instead of which, the regular form, is generally found daksinatya, apparently a further vrddhi-derivative from it: as if belonging to the southerners), and paçcattya and paurastya (of a similar character: these three last ere said by the grammarians to be accented on the final, as is proper for vrddhi-derivatives); aptya and aptya perhaps contain the same suffix. In antastya and pratastya is seen external combination.
- $\boldsymbol{d}.$ The \boldsymbol{y} of \boldsymbol{tya} is in RV. always to be read as i after a heavy syllable.
- e. and tritá, also muhūrtá moment, and apparently avatá well (for water).
- f. With A na are made purăna ancient, visuna various, and perhaps samana like.
- g. With AA tana or (in a few cases) A tna are made adjectives from adverbs, nearly always of time: e. g. pratná ancient, nútana or nútna present, sanātána or sanátna lasting, divātana of the day, evāstana of tomorrow, hyastana of yesterday. The accent is various. The feminine is in ní.
- h. The other quotable examples are: agretana, adyatana, adhunatána, idantana, idanīmtana, etarhitana, ciramtana, tadānīmtana, dogātana, purātana, prāktana, prātastána, sadātana, sāyamtāna; from adverbs of place, adhastana, arvāktana, uparitana, kutastana; with tna, parastāttna, purastāttna. A further vṛddhiderivativa, with equivalent meaning, nāutana (cf. above, c), occurs late. In PB. is once found tvattana belonging to thee.
- i. Besides the obvious cases, of an assimilated final m before this suffix, we have external combination in pratastana.
- j. And wat makes from particles of direction the feminine nouns mentioned above (363 k, 1).
 - k. At kata, properly a noun in composition, is reckoned by the

grammarians as a suffix, in utkata, nikata, prakata, vikata (RV., once, voc.), and samkata (all said to be accented on the final).

 A suffix vana is perhaps to be seen in nivaná, pravana; and āla in antarāla.

m. Occasional derivatives made with the ordinary suffixes of primary and secondary derivation from numerals and particles have been noted above: thus, see ana (1150n), ti (1157h), ant (1172a), u (1178i), a (1200i), ka (1222c), mna (1224c), maya (1225a), vant (1233e).

CHAPTER XVIII.

FORMATION OF COMPOUND STEMS.

- 1246. The frequent combination of declinable stems with one another to form compounds which then are treated as if simple, in respect to accent, inflection, and construction, is a conspicuous feature of the language, from its earliest period.
 - a. There is, however, a marked difference between the earlier and the later language as regards the length and intricacy of the combinations allowed. In Veda and Brāhmaṇa, it is quite rare that more than two stems are compounded together—except that to some much used and familiar compound, as to an integral word, a further element is sometimes added. But the later the period, and, especially, the more elaborate the style, the more a cumbrous and difficult aggregate of elements, abnegating the advantages of an inflective language, takes the place of the due syntactical union of formed words into sentences.
 - 1247. Sanskrit compounds fall into three principal classes:
 - I. a. Copulative or aggregative compounds, of which the members are syntically coordinate: a joining together into one of words which in an uncompounded condition would be connected by the conjunction and (rarely or).

- b. Examples are indravarunau Indra and Varuna, satyanrtė truth and falsehood, krtakrtam done and undone, devagandharvamanusoragarāksasās gods and Gandharvas and men and scrpents and demons.
- c. The members of such a compound may obviously be of any numher, two or more than two. No compound of any other class can contain more than two members - of which, however, either or both may be compound, or decompound (below, 1248).
- II. d. Determinative compounds, of which the former member is syntactically dependent on the latter, as its determining or qualifying adjunct: being either, 1. a noun or pronoun) limiting it in a case-relation, or, 2. an adjective or adverb describing it. And, according as it is the one or the other, are to be distinguished the two sub-classes. A. Dependent compounds; and B. Descriptive com-Their difference is not an absolute one.
 - e. Examples are: of dependent compounds, amitrasenā army of nemies, padodaka water for the feet, ayurda life-giving, hastakrta made with the hands; of descriptive compounds, maharsi great sage, priyasakhi dear friend, amitra enemy, sukrta well done.
 - f. These two classes are of primary value, they have undergone no unifying modification in the process of composition; their character as parts of speech is determined by their final member, and they re capable of being resolved into equivalent phrases by giving the roper independent form and formal means of connection to each aember. That is not the case with the remaining class, which accorlingly is more fundamentally distinct from them than they are from ne another.
 - III. g. Secondary adjective compounds, the value of which is not given by a simple resolution into their component parts, but which, though having as final member a noun, are themselves adjectives These, again, are of two sub-classes: A. Possessive compounds, which are nouncompounds of the preceding class, with the idea of possessing added; turning them from nouns into adjectives; B. Compounds in which the second member is a noun syntactically dependent on the first: namely, 1. Prepositional compounds, of a governing preposition and following noun;

- 2. Participial compounds (only Vedic), of a present participle and its following object.
- h. The sub-class B. is comparatively small, and its second division (participial compounds) is hardly met with even in the later Vedic.
- i. Examples are: vīrasena possessing a hero-army, prajākāma having desire of progeny, tigmāçrāga sharphorned, hāritasraj wearing green garlands; atimātrā excessive; yāvayāddvesas driving away enemies.
- j. The adjective compounds are, like simple adjectives, liable to be used, especially in the neuter, as abstract and collective nouns, and in the accusative as adverbs; and out of these uses have grown apparent special classes of compounds, reckoned and named as such by the Hindu grammarians. The relation of the classification given above to that presented in the native grammar, and widely adopted from the latter by the European grammars, will be made clear as we go on to treat the classes in detail
- 1248. A compound may, like a simple word, become a member in another compound, and this in yet another—and so on, without definite limit. The analysis of any compound, of whatever length (unless it be a copulative, must be made by a succession of bisections.
- a. Thus, the dependent compound pūrvajanmakṛta done in a previous existence is first divisible into kṛta and the descriptive pūrvajanman, then this into its elements; the dependent sakalanītiçāstratattvajān knowing the essence of all books of behavior has first the root-stem jūa (for Vjūā) knowing separated from the rest, which is again dependent, then this is divided into tattva essence and the remainder, which is descriptive, this, again, divides into sakala all and nītiçāstra books of behavior, of which the latter is a dependent compound and the former a possessive (sa and kalā having its parts together).
- 1249. a. The final of a stem is combined with the initial of another stem in composition according to the general rules for external combination: they have been given, with their exceptions, in chap. III., above.
- b. If a stem has a distinction of strong and weak forms. it regularly enters into composition as prior member in its weak form; or, if it has a triple distinction (311), in its middle form.

- c. That is, especially, stems in r or ar, at or ant, ac or anc, etc, show in composition the forms in r, at, ac, etc.; while those in an and in usually (exceptions sometimes occur, as vṛṣaṇaçvá, vṛṣaṇ-vasú) lose their final n, and are combined as if a and i were their proper finals.
- d. As in secondary derivation (1203 d), so also as prior member of a compound, a stem sometimes shortens its final long vowel (usually \(\bar{\text{1}}\), rarely \(\bar{\text{a}}\)); thus, in V., rodasipr\(\bar{\text{a}}\), pṛthiviṣṭh\(\bar{\text{a}}\), pṛthiviṣ\(\delta\), dh\(\bar{\text{arasyatikṛta}}\), sen\(\bar{\text{a}}\)-ing\(\bar{\text{amidhenipraisa}}\), in B., pṛthivi-d\(\bar{\text{a}}\), -loh\(\bar{\text{a}}\), sarasyatikṛta, sen\(\bar{\text{a-ingramanyau}}\); in S., garbhinipr\(\bar{\text{ayaccitta}}\), s\(\bar{\text{amidhenipraisa}}\), vas-ativaripariharana, ek\(\bar{\text{adaccinilinga}}\), prapharvid\(\bar{\text{d}}\), devatalakṣana, devatapradh\(\bar{\text{anatva}}\), iter, devakinandana, lakṣmivardhana, ku-m\(\bar{\text{arisyatca}}\)
- e. Occasionally, a stem is used as prior member of a compound which does not appear, or not in that form, as an independent word: examples are mahā great (apparently used independently in V. in accusative), tuvi mighty (V.), dvi tico.
- f. Not infrequently, the final member of a compound assumes a special form: see below, 1315.
- 1250. But a case-form in the prior member of a compound is by no means rare, from the earliest period of the language. Thus
- •a. Quite often, an accusative, especially before a root-stem, or a derivative in a of equivalent meaning for example, pataingá going by flight, dhanamijayá winning wealth, abhayamkará causing absence of danger, puştimbhará bringing prosperity, vacamīnkhayá inciting the voice; but ilso cometimes before words of other form, as áçvamişti horse-destring, cubhamyávan going in splendor, subhāgamkárana making happy, bhayamkartr ouiser of fear. In a few cases, by analogy with these, a word receives an accusative form to which it has no right: thus, hṛdamsani, makṣūmgama, vasumdhara, ātmambhari.
- b. Much more rarely, an instrumental: for example, girāvṛdh increasng by praise, vācāstena stealing by incantation, krātvāmagha gladly hestowing, bhāsāketu bright with light, vidmanāpas active with wisdom
- c. In a ven few instances, a dative: thus, naresthá serving a man, asméhiti errand to us, and perhaps kiyedhā and mahevfdh.
- d. Not seldom, a locative; and this also especially with a root-stem or a-derivative: for example, agregá going at the head, diviksít dwelling in the sky, vanesáh prevailing in the wood, aŭgesthá existing in the limbs, prostheçayá lying on a couch, sutékara active with the soma, divicara moving in the sky, āréçatru having enemies far removed, sumnáāpi near in favor. máderaghu hasting in excitement, yudnisthira firm in battle, antevāsin dwelling near; apsujá born in the waters. httsvás hurling at hearts.
 - e. Least often, a genitive: thus, rāyaskama desirous of wealth.

akasyavid knowing no one. But the older language has a few example of the putting together of a genitive with its governing noun, each member of the combination keeping its own accent: see below, 1267 d.

- f. Ablative forms are to be seen in balātkāra violence and balātkṛta, and perhaps in parātpriya. And a stem in reometimes appears to a copulative compound in its nominative form: thus, pitāputrāu father and son, hotāpotārāu the invoker and purifier. Anyonya one another is a fused phase, of nominative and oblique case.
- g. In a very few words, plural meaning is signified by plural form thus, apsujá etc. (in derivation, also, apsu is used as a stem), hṛtsvār, nṛṇḥpraṇetra conducting men, rujaskara causing pains, (and dual) hanukampa trembling of the two jaws.
- h. Much more often, of words having gender-forms, the feminine is used in composition, when the distinctive feminine sense is to be conveyed e.g. gopīnātha master of the shepherdesses, dāsīputra son of a female slave, mṛgīdṛç gazelle-eyed, praṇītāpraṇáyana vessel for consecrated scater.
- 1251. The accent of compounds is very various, and liable to considerable irregularity even within the limits of the same formation, and it must be left to be pointed out in detail below. All possible varieties are found to occur. Thus:
- a. Each member of the compound retains its own separate accent. This is the most anomalous and infrequent method. It appears in certain Vedicopulative compounds chiefly composed of the names of distinctive (so-called devatā-dvandvas: 1255 ff.), and in a small number of aggregations, artly containing a genitive case-form as prior member (1267 d).
- b. The accent of the compound is that of its prior member. This is especially the case in the great class of possessive compounds, but also in determinatives having the participle in ta or na as final member, in the e beginning with the negative a er an, and in other less numerous and important classes.
- c. The accent of the compound is that of the final member. This is not on so large a scale the case as the preceding, but it is negertheless just common, being found in many compounds having a verbal noun or a justice as final member, in compounds beginning with the numerals dvi and the or the prefixes su and dus, and elsewhere in not infrequent exceptions
- d. The compound takes an accent of its own, independent of that of either of its obstituents, on its final syllable (not always, of course, to be distinguish d from the preceding case). This method is largely toll well especially, by the regular copulatives, and by the great mass of dependent and descriptive noun-compounds, by most possessives beginning with the negative prifix; and by others.
- e. The compound has an a cent which is altered from that of one of its members. This is everywhere an exceptional and sporadically occurring

case, and the instances of it, noted below under each formation, do not require to be assembled here. Examples are: medhásāti (médha), tilámiçra (tíla), khādihasta (khādí), yāvayáddveṣas (yāváyant); çakadhúma (dhūmá), amṛta (mṛtá), suvíra (vīrá), tuvigrīva (grīvá). A few words—as víçva, púrva, and sometimes sárva—take usually a changed accent as prior members of compounds.

I Copulative Compounds.

- 1252. Two or more nouns much less often adjectives, and, in an instance or two, adverbs having a coördinate construction, as if connected by a conjunction, usually and, are sometimes combined into compounds.
- a. This is the class to which the Hindu grammarians give the name of dvandva pair, couple; a dvandva of adjectives, however, is not recognized by them.
- b. Compounds in which the relation of the two members is alternative instead of copulative, though only exceptional, are not very rare: examples are nyūnādhika defective or redundant, jayaparājāya victory or defeat, krīţotpanna purchased or on hand. kāṣṭhaloṣṭasama like a log or clod, pakṣimṛgatā the condition of being hird or beast, trinţadvinţa numbering twenty or thirty. catuṣpañcakṛtvas four or five times. dvyekāntara different by one or two. A less murked modification of the copulative idea is seen in such instances as priyasatya agreeable though true, prārthitadurlabha sought after but hard to obtain; or in qrāntagata arrived uceary
- 1253. The noun-copulatives fall, as regards their inflective form, into two classes:
- 1. a. The compound has the gender and declension of its final member, and is in number a dual or a plural, according to its logical value, as denoting two or more than two individual things.
- b. Examples are prānāpānāú inspiration and expiration, vrīhiyavāú rice and barley, rksāmė veise and chant, kapotolūkāú dove and owl, candrādityāu moon and sun. hastyaçvāu the elephant and horse, ajāvāyas goats and sheep, devāsurās the gods and demons, atharvāngirāsas the itharvans and ingirases, sambādhatandryās anxieties and fatigues, vidyākarmānī knowledge and action, hastyaçvās elephants and horses; of more than two members no examples quotable from the older language, çayyāsanabhogās lying, sitting, and eating, brāhmaņakṣatriyavitçūdrās a Brahman. Kshatriya. Vaiçya, and Çūdra,

rogaçokaparītāpabandhanavyasanāni disease, pain, grief, captivity, and misfortune.

- c. The compound, without regard to the number dcnoted, or to the gender of its constituents, becomes a neuter singular collective.
- d. Examples are: işţāpūrtám what is offered and bestowed, ahorātrám a day and night, kṛtākṛtám the done and undone, bhūtabhayyam past and future, keçaçmaçrú hair and beard, oṣadhivanaspatí plants and trees, candratārakám moon and stars, ahinakulam snahe and ichneumon, çirogrīvam head and neck, yūkāmakṣikamatkuṇam lice, flies, and bugs.
- 1254. a. That a stem in r as prior member sometimes takes $r_{\rm IS}$ nominative form, in \bar{a} , was noticed above, 1250 f.
- b. A stem as final member is sometimes changed to an a-form to make a neuter collective: thus, chattropānaham an umbrella and a shoc
- o. The grammarians give rules as to the order of the elements composing a copulative compound: thus, that a more important, a briefer, a vowel-initial member should stand first; and that one ending in a should be placed last. Violations of them all, however, are not infrequent.
- 1255. In the oldest language 'RV', copulative compounds such as appear later are quite rare, the class being chiefly represented by dual combinations of the names of divinities and other personages and of personified natural objects.
- a. In these combinations, each name has regularly and usually the dual form, and its own accent, but, in the very rare instances only three occurrences out of more than three hundred; in which other cases than the nom.-acc.-voc. are formed, the final member only is inflected.
- b. Examples are indrāsomā, indrāvisņu, indrābihaspāti, agnisomāu, turvāçāyādū, dyāvāpṛthivi, uṣāsānāktā (and, with intervening words, nāktā ... uṣāsā), sūryāmāsā. The only plural is indramarutas (xor.). The cases of other than nominative form are mitrāváruņābhyām and mitrāváruņayos (also mitrāyor váruņayoḥ), and indrāváruņayos (cach once only)
- c. From dyávāpṛthiví is made the very peculiar genitive diváspṛthivyós (i times: AV. has dyávāpṛthivibhyām and dyávāpṛthivyós).
- d. In one compound, parjányavátā, the first member (RV, once) does not have the dual ending along with the double accent (indranasatyā, vo., is doubtful as to accent). In several, the double accent is wanting, while yet the double designation of number is present thus, indrapūṣṇós (acside índrapūṣáṇā), somāpūṣábhyām (somāpūṣaṇā occurs only as voc.), vātāparjanyā, sūryācandramásā, and indragni (with indragníbhyām and indragnyós): somārudrāu is accented only

- in CB. And in one, indravāyú, form and accent are both accordant with the usages of the later language.
- e. Of other copulatives, like those made later, the RV. has the plural ajāváyas, the duals rksāmé, satyānrté, sāçanānaçané; also the neuter collective iṣṭāpūrtám, and the substitutively used neuter of a copulative adjective, nīlalohitám. Further, the neuter plurals ahorātrāni nycthemera, and ukthārkā praises and songs, of which the final members as independent words are not neuter. No one of these words has more than a single occurrence.
- 1256. In the later Vedic (AV.), the usage is much more nearly accordant with that of the classical language, save that the class of neuter singular collectives is almost wanting.
- a. The words with double dual form are only a small minority (a quarter, instead of three quarters, as in RV.); and half of them have only a single accent, on the flual thus, besides those in RV., bhavārudrāu, bhavāçarvāu; agnāviṣṇū, voc., is of anomalous form. The whole number of copulatives is more than double that in RV
- b. The only proper nonter collectives, composed of two nouns, are keçaçmaçrú hair and heard, āñjanābhyañjanám salve and ointment, and kaçipūpabarhaṇám mat and pillow, unified because of the virtual unity of the two objects specified. Neuter singulars, used in a similar collective way, of adjective compounds, are (besides those in RV.) kṛtākṛtám what is done and undone (instead of what is done and what is undone), cittākūtam thought and desire, bhadrapāpám good and evil, bhūtabhavyám past and future.
- 1257. Copulative compounds composed of adjectives which retain their adjective character are made in the same manner, but are in comparison rare.
- a. Examples are çuklakṛṣṇa light and dark, sthalajāudaka terrestrial and aquatic, dāntarājatasāuvarṇa of wory and silver and gold
 used distributively; and vṛttapīna round and plump, çāntānukūla
 tranquil and propitious, hṛṣitasragrajohīna wearing fresh garlands and
 free from dust, niṣekādiçmaçānānta heginning with conception and
 ending with burial, used cumulatively. nā 'tiçītoṣṇa not over cold or
 hot, used alternatively; kṣaṇadṛṣṭanaṣṭa seen for a moment and then
 lost, cintitopasthita at hand as soon as thought of, in more pregnant
 sense.
- b. In the Veda, the only examples noted are the cumulative nīlalohitā and iṣṭāpūrtā etc., used in the neut, sing as collectives (as pointed out above), with tāmradhūmrā dark tawny; and the distributive dakṣiṇasavyā right and left, saptamāṣṭamā seventh and eighth, and bhadrapāpā good and bad (beside the corresponding neut, collective). Such combinations as satyānṛtē truth and falsehood, priyāpriyāṇi things

agreeable and disagreeable, where each component is used substantively, are of course, not to be separated from the ordinary noun-compounds.

- c. A special case is that of the compound adjectives of direction: as uttarapūrva north-east, prāgdakṣiṇa south-east, dakṣiṇapaçcima south-toest, etc.: compare 1291 b.
- 1258. In accentuated texts, the copulative compounds $_{\mbox{\scriptsize have}}$ uniformly the accent (acute) on the final of the stem.
- a. Exceptions are a case or two in AV., where doubtless the reading is false: thus, vătăparjanyà (once: beside -nyáyos), devamanusyàs (once: §B. -syá), brahmarājanyàbhyām (also VS.); further, vāko-pavākyà (§B.), açanāyápipāse (§B.).
- 1259. An example or two are met with of adverbial copulatives thus, anardivi day by day, sayampratar at evening and in the morning. They have the accent of their prior member. Later occur also bahyantar, pratyagdakaina, pratyagudak.
- 1260. Repeated words. In all ages of the language, nouns and pronouns and adjectives and particles are not infrequently repeated, to give an intensive, or a distributive, or a repetitional meaning
- a. Though these are not properly copulative compounds, there is no better connection in which to notice them than here. They are, as the older language shows, a sort of compound, of which the prior member has its own independent accent, and the other is without accent hence they are most suitably and properly written (as in the Vedre pada-texts) as compounds. Thus: jahy éṣām váram-varam slay of them each best mundivé-dive or dyávi-dyavi from day to day; ángād-angāl lómno-lomnah párvani-parvani from every limb, from every hair, in each junt prá-pra yajňapatim tira make the master of the sacrifice live on and one bhúyo-bhūyaḥ çváḥ-çvaḥ further and further, tomorrow and again temorrow; ékayāi-'kayā with in each case one; vayám-vayam our iny selves.
- b. Exceptional and rare cases are those of a personal verb-form repeated: thus, pibā-piba (RV.), yājasva-yajasva (ζB.), vėda-veda (^o QB); and of two words repeated: thus, yāvad vā-yāvad vā (CB.).
 yatamé vā-yatame vā (ζB.).
- c. In a few instances, a word is found used twice in succession without that loss of accent the second time which makes the repetition a virtual composite: thus, nú nú (RV.), sám sám (AV.), ihé 'há (AV.), anáyā- 'náyā (ÇB.), stuhí stuhí (RV., acc. to pada-text).
- d. The class of combinations here described is called by the native grammarians amredita added unto (?).
- 1261. Finally may be noticed in passing the compound numerals, ékādaça 11, dvāvincati 22, tricata 103, catuhsahasra 1001, and so on (476 ff), as a special and primitive class of copulatives. They are accented on the prior member.

II. Determinative Compounds.

- 1262. A noun or adjective is often combined into a compound with a preceding determining or qualifying word—a noun, or adjective, or adverb. Such a compound is conveniently called determinative.
- 1263. This is the class of compounds which is of most general and frequent occurrence in all branches of Indo-European language. Its two principal divisions have been already pointed out: thus, A. Dependent compounds, in which the prior member is a substantive word (noun or pronoun or substantively used adjective), standing to the other member in the relation of a case dependent on it; and B. Descriptive compounds, in which the prior member is an adjective, or other word having the value of an adjective, qualifying a noun; or else an adverb or its equivalent, qualifying an adjective. Each of these divisions then falls into two sub-divisions, according as the final member, and therefore the whole compound, is a noun or an adjective.
- a. The whole class of determinatives is called by the Hindu grammarians tatpurusa the term is a specimen of the class, meaning, his man; and the second division, the descriptives, has the special name of karmadhāraya (of obscure application, the literal sense is something like office-hearing). After their example, the two divisions are in European usage widely known by these two names respectively.

A. Dependent Compounds.

- 1264. Dependent Noun-compounds. In this division, the case-relation of the prior member to the other may be of any kind; but, in accordance with the usual relations of one noun to another, it is oftenest genitive, and least often accusative.
- a. Examples are: of genitive relation, devasená army of gods, yamadūtá Yama's messenger, jivaloká the world of the living, indra-

dhanús Indra's bow, brahmagaví the Brahman's cow, vişagirí poison-mount, mitralābha acquisition of friends, mūrkhaçatāni hundreds of fools, vīrasenasuta Vīrasena's son, rājendra chief of kings, asmatputrās our sons, tadvacas his words;—of dative, pādodaka water for the feet, māsanicaya accumulation for a month;—of instrumental, atmasādrçya likeness with self, dhānyārtha woulth acquired by grain, dharmapatnī lawful spouse, pitrbandhú paternal relation;—of ablatīve, apsaraḥsambhava descent from a nymph, madviyoga separation from me, cāurabhaya fear of a thief;—of locative, jalakrīḍā sport in the water, grāmavāsa abode in the village, puruṣānṛta untruth about a man,—of accusative, nagaragamana going to the city.

- 1265. Dependent Adjective-compounds. In this division, only a very small proportion of the compounds have an ordinary adjective as final member; but usually a participle, or a derivative of agency with the value of a participle. The prior member stands in any case-relation which is possible in the independent construction of such words.
- a. Examples are: of locative relation, sthalipakva cooked in a pot, açvakovida knowing in horses, vayahsama alike in age, yudhisthira steadfast in battle, tanucubhra beautiful in body, - of instrumental, matrsadrça like his mother; - of dative, gohita good for cattle - of ablative, bhavadanya other than you, garbhastama eighth from birth dreyetara other than visible (i. e. invisible); - of genitive, bharatacrestha best of the Bharatas, dvijottama foremost of Brahmans: - with participial words, in accusative relation, vedavid Veda-knowing, annadá fondeating, tanūpana body-protecting, satyavadin truth-speaking, pattragata committed to paper (lit. gone to a leaf); - in instrumental, madhupu cleansing with honey, svayamkrta self-made, indragupta protected by Indra, vidyāhīna deserted by (i. o. destitute of) knowledge, — in locative, hrdayavidh pierced in the heart, rtvij sacrificing in due season divicara moving in the sky; - in ablative, rajyabhrasta fallen from the kingdom, vrkabhīta afraid of a wolf; - in dative, çaraņāgata come for refuge.
- 1266. We take up now some of the principal groups of compounds falling under these two heads, in order to notice their specialities of formation and use, their relative frequency, their accentuation, and so on-
- 1267. Compounds having as final member ordinary nouns (such namely, as do not distinctly exhibit the character of verbal nouns, of action or agency) are quite common. They are regularly and usually accented on the final syllable, without reference to the accent of either constituent. Examples were given above (1264 a).

- a. A principal exception with regard to accent is pati master, lord (and its feminine patnī), compounds with which usually retain the accent of the prior member: thus, prajāpati, vasupati, atithipati, gopati, grhāpatnī, etc. etc. (compare the verbal nouns in ti, below, 1274) But in a few words pati retains its own accent: thus, vicpati, rayipati, paqupāti, vasupātnī, etc., and the more general rule is followed in apsarāpati and vrājapati (AV.), and nadipati (VS.), citpati (MS; elsewhere citpati).
- b. Other exceptions are sporadic only: for example, janarájan, devavárman, hiranyatéjas, pṛtanāháva, godhūma and çakadhūma (but dhūmá); vācástena.
- c. The appearance of a case-form in such compounds is rare examples are divodasa, vācāstena, uccālncravas, uccālnchas, dūrebhās (the three last in possessive application).
- d. A number of compounds are accented on both members thus, cácīpáti, sádaspáti, bṛhaspáti, vánaspáti, ráthaspáti, jāspáti (also jāspāti), nárācánsa, tánūnáptr, tánūnápāt tanú as independent word), cúnaḥcépa. And (B. has a long list of metronymes having the anomalons accentuation kāútsīpútra, gárgīpútra, etc
- 1268. The compounds having an ordinary adjective as final member are as already noticed comparatively few.
- a. So far as can be gathered from the scanty examples occurring in the older language, they retain the accent of the prior member thus gávisthira (AV gavísthira), tanúçubhra, máderaghu, yajhádhira, sámavipra, tilámicra (but tíla); but kṛṣṭapacyá rypening in culticated soil.
- 1269. The adjective dependent compounds having as final member the bare root—or, if it end in a short vowel, generally with an added t—are very numerous in all periods of the language, as has been already repeatedly noticed (thus, 383 f-h, 1147). They are accented on the root.
- a. In a very few instances, the accent of words having apparently or conjecturally this origin is otherwise laid, thus, áňsatra, ánarviç, svávrj, pratyáksadrç, púramdhi, óṣadhi, áramiş, uçádagh, vatsápa, ábda.
- b. Before a final root-stem appears not very seldom a case-form, for example, patamgá, girāvýdh, dhiyājúr, akanayādrúh, hṛdispṛç, divispṛç, vanesáh, divisad, angesthá, hṛtsvás, pṛtsutúr, apsujá.
- c. The root-stem has sometimes a middle or passive value for example, manoyúj yoked (yohing themselves) by the will, hrdayāvídh pierced to the heart, manuja born of Manu
- 1270. Compounds made with verbal derivatives in a both of action and of agency, are numerous, and take the accent usually on their final syllable (as in the case of compounds with verbal prefixes: 1148 m).

- a. Examples are hastagrābhá hand-grasping, devavandá godpraising, haviradá devouring the offering, bhuvanacyavá shaking the world, vrātyabruvá calling one's self a vrātya; akṣaparājayá failare at play, vaṣaṭkārá utterance of vaṣaṭ, gopoṣá prosperity in cattle, angajvará pain in the limbs.
- b. In a few instances, the accent is (as in compounds with ordinary adjectives above, 1268) that of the prior member: thus, marúdvrdha, sutékara, divícara (and other more questionable words). And dúgha milking, yielding is so accented as final: thus, madhudúgha, kāmadúgha,
- o. Case-forms are especially frequent in the prior members of compounds with adjective derivatives in a showing guna-strengthening of the root thus, for example, abhayamkará, yudhimgamá, dhanamjayá, puramadará, viçvambhará, divākará, talpeçayá, divistambhá.
- 1271. Compounds with verbal nouns and adjectives in an agrevery numerous, and have the accent always on the radical syllable (as in the case of compounds with verbal prefixes: 1150 e).
- a. Examples are keçavárdhana hair-increasing, āyuşpratáfana life-lengthening, tanūpána body-protecting; devahėdana hatred of the gods, pumsúvana giving birth to males
- b. A very few apparent exceptions as regards accent are really cases where the derivative has lost its verbal character—thus, yamasādaná Yama realm. āchádvidhāna means of protection.
- c. An accusative-form is sometimes found before a derivative in ana thus, sarūpampáraņa, ayakṣmamkáraṇa, subhāgamkáraṇa, vanamkárana.
- 1272. a. The action-nouns in ya (1213 are not infrequent in composition as final member, and retain their own proper accent (as in combination with prefixes) Sufficient examples were given above (1213.
- b. The same is true of the equivalent feminines in $y\vec{a}$ see above 1213 d.
- c. The gerundives in ya (1213) hardly occur in the older language in combination with other elements than prefixes. The two nivibharya and prathamaväsya (the latter a descriptive) have the accent of the independent words of the same form; balavijňāyá and áçvabudhya (*) are inconsistent with these and with one another.
- 1273. Compounds made with the passive participle in ta or na have the accent of their prior member (as do the combinations of the same words with prefixes: 1085 a).
- a. Examples are hastakṛta made with the hand, vīrājāta born of a hero, ghoṣabuddha a kakened by noise, prajāpatisṛṣṭa created by Prayāpati, devātta given by the gods, and, of participles combined with prefixe indraprasūta incited by Indra. bṛhaspātipranutta driven away by Brihaspati, ulkābhihata struck by a thunderbolt, vājravihata, samvat

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sarásammita commensurate with the year. AV. las the anomalous apsusamçita quickened by the waters.

- b. A number of exceptions occur, in which the final syllable of the compound has the accent: for example, agnitaptá, indrotá, pitrvittá, rathakritá, agnidagdhá (beside agnídagdha), kaviçastá (beside kavíçasta), kavipraçastá.
- c. One or two special usages may be noticed. The participle gata, yone to, as final of a con pound, is used in a loose way in the later language to express relation of various kinds, thur, jagatīgata existing in the world, twadgata belonging to thee, sakhīgata relating to a friend, citragata in a picture, putragatam sneham affection toward a son, ite. The participle bhūta been, become is used in comjustion with a noun as haidly more than a grammatical device to give it an adjective form; thus, idam tamobhūtam this creation, being darkness (existing in the condition of darkness); tām latnabhūtām lokasya her, being the pearl of the world; keetrabhūtā smṛtā nārī bijabhūtah snṛṭah pumān a noman is regarded as a field; a man, as sced, and so on
- d. The other participles only schlom occur as finals of compounds thus, prāsakārmukabībhrat bearing jacelin and how, açāstravidvāns not knowing the text-books, arjunadarçīvāns having seen Arjuna, apriyaçansivāns announcing what is disagreeable, gāutamabruvānā calling himself Gautama
- 1274. Compounds with derivatives in ti have (like combinations with the prefixes: 1157e) the accent of the prior member.
- a. Examples are dhánasáti uvnnny of wealth, sómapíti somadenkiny, deválúti invocation of the yods, námaukti utterance of homage, havyádáti presentation of offerings, and so tokásati, deváhiti, rudráhūti, sūktókti, svagákṛti, díviṣti.
- b. In nemádhiti, medhásāti, vanádhiti (all RV), the accent of the prior member is changed from penult to final.
- c. Where the verbal character of the derivative is lost, the seneral rule of final account (1267) is followed thus, devaheti weapon of the gods, devabumati favor of the gods, brahmaciti Brahman-pile. Also in sarvafyāni entire ruin, the accent is that of compounds with ordinary nouns.
- 1275. Compounds with a derivative in in as final member have as in all other cases) the accent on the in.
- a. Thus, ukthaçansin psalm-singing, vratacārin cow-performing, rṣabhadāyin bullock-giving, satyavādin truth-speaking, cronipratodin thigh-pounding.
- 1276. There is a group of compounds with derivatives in i, having the accent on the penult or radical syllable.
- a. Thus, pathirákai road protecting, havirmáthi sacrefice-disturbing, atmadúai soul-harming, pa. hiaádi sitting in the puth, sahobhári strength-

bearing, vasuváni winning good-things, dhanasáni gaining wealth, manomúsi mind-stealing, phalagráni setting fruit; and, from reduplicated root, urucákri making room. Compounds with -sáni and -váni are especially frequent in Veda and Brāhmana; as independent words, nouns, these are accented saní and vaní. In many cases, the words are not found in independent use. Combinations with prefixes do not occur in sufficient number to establish a distinct rule, but they appear to be oftenest accented on the suffix (1155 f).

b. From phan are made in composition -ghni and -ghni, with accent on the ending: thus, sahasraghni, ahighni, evaghni; -dhi from pha (1155 g) has the accent in its numerous compounds: thus, isudhi, garbhadhi, puechadhi.

1277. Compounds with derivatives in van have (like combinations with prefixes: 1169 c) the accent of the final member: namely, on the radical syllable.

a. Thus, somapavan soma-drinking, baladavan strength-grongs, pāpakṛtvan evil-doing, bahusūvan much-yielding, talpaçīvan lying on a couch, rathayāvan going in a chariot, druṣādvan sitting on a tree agretvārī f going at the head. The accent of the obscure words matariçvan and mātarībhvan is anomalous

b. The few compounds with fluid man appear to follow the same role as those with van, thus, svādukṣádman sharing out sweets, āçuhéman steed-impelling

1278. Compounds with other derivatives, of rare or sporadic occurrence may be briefly noticed: thus, in u, rāṣṭradipsú, devapīyú, govindú, vanargú (*) compare 1178e; — in nu or ţnu, lokakṛtnú, surupakṛtnú: compare 1198; — in tṛ, nṛpātṛ, mandhātṛ, haskartṛ (vasudhātaras, AV., is doubtiess a false reading). The derivatives in as are of infrequent occurrence in composition (as in combination with prefixes above, 1151k), and appear to be treated as ordinary nouns thus, yaṇṇavacas (but hiraṇyatējas, AV.)

B. Descriptive Compounds.

1279. In this division of the class of determinatives, the prior member stands to the other in no distinct case-relation, but qualifies it adjectively or adverbially, according as it the final member) is noun or adjective.

a. Examples are, nilotpalá blue lotus, sarvaguņa all good quality, priyasakha dear friend, maharsí great-sage, rajatapātrá sulver cup. ájūāta unknown, súkṛta well done, duṣkṛt ill-doing, puruṣṭutá much praised, púnarṇava renewed.

b. The prior member is not always an adjective before a noun or

an adverb before an adjective; other parts of speech are sometimes used adjectively and adverbially in that position.

c. The boundary between descriptive and dependent compounds is not an absolute one; in certain cases it is open to question, for instance, whether a prior noun, or adjective with noun-value, is used more in a case-relation, or adverbially.

d. Moreover, where the final member is a derivative having both noun and adjective value, it is not seldom doubtful whether an adjective compound is to be regarded as descriptive, made with final adjective, or possessive, made with final noun. Sometimes the accent of the word determines its character in this respect, but not always.

- e. A satisfactorily simple and perspicuous classification of the descriptive compounds is not practicable; we cannot hold apart throughout the compounds of noun and of adjective value, but may better group both together, as they appear with prefixed elements of various kinds.
- 1280. The simplest case is that in which a noun as final member is preceded by a qualifying adjective as prior member.
- a. In this combination, both noun and adjective may be of any kind, verbal or otherwise. The accent is as in the corresponding class of dependent noun-compounds 1267) on the final syllable.
- b. Thus, ajñātayakṣmā unknoun disease, mahādhanā great wealth, kṣipraçyenā swift huwk, kṛṣṇaçakunī black bud, dakṣiṇāgnī southern fire, urukṣitī wide abode, adharahanú lou er nuu, itarajanā other folks. sarvātmān whole soul, ekavīrā sole hero, ṣaptarṣī seven sages, tṛtīyasavanā third libation, ekonavinçatī a seore dumusked by one, jāgratsvapnā waking sleep. yavayatsakhā defending friend, apakṣīyamāṇapakṣā waning half.
- c. There are not a few exceptions as regards accent. Especially, compounds with vieva (in composition, accented vieva), which itself retains the accent: thus, vievadevās all the gods, vievamāņusa every man. For words in ti, see below, 1287 d. Sporadic cases are madhyamdina, vrākapi, both of which show an irregular shift of tone in the prior member; and a few others
- d. Instead of an adjective, the prior member is in a few cases a noun used appositionally, or with a quasi-adjective value. Thus, rājayakṣmā king-disease, brahmarṣi prinst-sage rājarṣi king-sage, rājadanta king-tooth, devajana god-folk, duhitrjana daughter-persou, camīlatā creeper named çamī, muṣikākhyā the name "mouce", jaya-çabda the word "conquer", ujhitaçabda the word "deserted"; or, more laguratively, gṛhanaraka house-hell house which is a hell, çāpāgni curse-fire (consuming curse).
 - e. This group is of consequence, inasmuch as in possessive application

it is greatly extended, and forms a numerous class of appositional compounds: see below, 1298.

f. This whole subdivision, of nouns with preceding qualifying adjectives, is not uncommon; but it is greatly (in AV., for example, more than five times) exceeded in frequency by the sub-class of possessives of the same form: see below, 1298.

1281. The adverbial words which are most freely and commonly used as prior members of compounds, qualifying the final member, are the verbal prefixes and the words of direction related with them, and the inseparable prefixes, a or an, su, dus, etc. (1121). These are combined not only with adjectives, but also, in quasi-adjectival value, with nouns; and the two classes of combinations will best be treated together.

1282. Verbal adjectives and nouns with preceding adverbs. As the largest and most important class under this head might properly enough be regarded the derivatives with preceding verbal prefixes. These, however, have been here reckoned rather as derivatives from roots combined with prefixes (1141), and have been treated under the head of derivation, in the preceding chapter In taking up the others, we will begin with the participles.

1283. The participles belonging to the tense-systems — those in ant or at), mana, ana, vans — are only rarely compounded with any other adverbial element than the negative a or an, which then takes the accent.

a. Examples are: ánadant, ádadat, ánaçnant, ásravant, álubhyant, ádāsyant, ádītsant, ádevayant; ámanyamāna, áhiūsana, áchidyamāna; ádadivāns, ábibhīvāns, atasthāna; and with veil d prefixes, ánapasphurant, ánāgamieyant, ánabhyāgamieyant, ávirādhayant, ávicācalat, ápratīmanyūyamāna.

b. Exceptions in regard to accent are very few: arundhatí, ajáranti, acodánt (RV., once: doubtless a false reading, the simple participle is códant); AV. has anipádyamāna for RV. ánipadyamāna (and the published text has asamyánt, with a part of the manuscripts); (B 1 a akāmáyamāna.

c. Of other compounds than with the negative prefix have been noted in the Veda-punardīyamāna (in ápunard-) and súvidvāńs. In alalabhávant and jañjanābhávant RV., as in astamyánt and astamesyánt (AV), we have participles of a compound conjugation (1091), in which, as has been pointed out, the accent is as in combinations with the vertal prefixes.

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- 1284. The passive (or past) participle in ta or na is much more variously compounded; and in general (as in the case of the verbal prefixes: 1085a) the preceding adverbial element has the accent.
- a. Thus, with the negative a or an (by far the most common case) ákrta, ádabdha, árista, ánadhrsta, áparajita, ásamkhyata, ánahhvārūdha, aparimitasamrddha; — with su, sujata, suhuta, susamcita, svaramkṛta; - with dus, duccarita, durdhita and durhita, dúherta; - with other adverbial words, dánsujūta, návajāta, sanagruta, svayámkrta, tripratisthita: áramkrta and kakajákrta ate rather participles of a compound conjugation
- b. Exceptions in regard to account are with a or an, anaçastá, apracasta, and, with the accent of the participle retracted to the root, amrta, adrsta, acitta, ayuta myriad, aturta (beside áturta), asurta (beside surta); - with su (nearly half as numerous as the regular cases), subhutá, sūkta, supraçasta, svakta, sukrta and sujata (beside sukrta and sújāta), and a few others; with dus (quite as numerous as the regular caso), duritá (also dúrita), duruktá, duskrtá (also dúskrta), durbhūtá; with sa, sajātá; with other adverbe, amotá, aristutá, tuvijātá. prācīnopavītá, tadānīmdugdhá, prātardugdhá, etc., and the compounds with puru, purujātá, puruprajatá, purupraçastá, purustutá. ete., and with svayam, svayamkrtá etc. The proper name asadhá statds beside áşādha; and AV. has abhinná for RV. ábhinna.
- 1285. The gerundives occur almost only in combination with the negative prefix, and have usually the accent on the final syllable
- a. Examples are: anāpyá, anindyá, abudhyá, asahyá, ayodhyá, amokyá; advisenyá; ahnavāyyá; and, along with verbal prefixes, the cases are asamkhyeyá, apramrsyá, anapavrjyá, anatyudyá, anādhrsyá, avimokyá, anānukṛtyá (the accent of the simple word being samkhyéya etc.).
- b. Exceptions in regard to accent are anedya, adabhya, agohya, ájoşya, áyabhya. The two anavadharşyà and anativyadhyà (both Δ\.) belong to the ya-division (1213b) of gerundives, and have retained the accent of the simple word. And aghnya and aghnya o cur together
- e. The only compounds of these words with other adverbial elements in V are súyabhya (accented like its twin ayabhya) and prathamavāsya (which retains the final circumflex), and perhips ekavadyá
- d. The neuter nouns of the same form (1213c: except sadhastutya) retam their own accent after an adverbid prior member: thus, pūrvapāyya, pūrvapéya, amutrabhúya; and sahaçéyya And the negatived gerindives instanced above are espable of being viewed as possessive compounds with such nouns.
- e. Some of the other verbal derivatives which have rules of their own as to accent etc. may be next noticed

- 1286. The root-stem (pure root, or with t added after a short final vowel: 1147d) is very often combined with a preceding adverbial word, of various kinds; and in the combination it retains the accent
- a. Examples are: with inseparable prefixes, adruh not harming, asú not giving birth, arúc not shining; sukṛt well-doing, suçrút hearing well, duṣkṛt ill-doing, dūḍāç (199d) impious; sayúj joining together, samád conflict; sahajā born together, sahavāh carrying together; with other adverbs, amājūr growing old at home, uparispṛc touching upward punarbhū appearing again, prātaryūj harnessed early, sadyaḥkrī bonght the same day, sākamvṛdh growing up together, sadamdī ever-binding viṣūvṛt turning to both sides, vṛthāsāh easily overcoming; with adjectives used adverbially, uruvyāc wide-spreading, prathamajā first-born, cukrapṛc brightly adorned, dvijā twice born, trivṛt triple, svarāj self-ruling; with nouns used adverbially, çambhū beneficent, sūryaçvit shining like the sun, Içānakṛt acting as lord, svayambhū self-existent, and, with accusative case-form, patamgā going by flight.
- b. When, however, a root-stem is already in composition, whether with a verbal prefix or an element of other character, the further added negative itself takes the accent (as in case of an ordinary adjective; below 1288 a), thus, for example, ánākṣit not abiding, ánāvṛt not turning back ávidvis not showing hostility, áduskṛt not ill-doing, ánaçvadā not grerada horse, ápaçuhan not slaying cattle, (anāgās would be an exception it contained ygā which is very unlikely). Similar combinations with su seem to retain the radical accent: thus, supratúr, svābhú, svāyú). svāvṛj is an unsupported exception.
- c. A few other exceptions occur, mostly of doubtful character, a prátiprāç, sadhástha, ádhrigu, and the words having año as fined member (407 ff.: if this element is not, after all, a suffa.): compare 1269 a.
- 1287. Other verbal derivatives, requiring to be treated apart from the general body of adjectives, are few and of minor importance. Thus:
- a. The derivatives in a are in great part of doubtful character, because of the possibility of their being used with substantive value to make a possive compound. The last ambiguous, probably, are the derivatives from present-stems (1148j), which have the accent on the suffix: thus, asunva, apaçyá, akṣudhyá, avidasyá, anāmṛṇá, sadāpṛṇá, punarmanyá, and with them belong such cases as atṛpá, avṛdhá, araṁgamá, urukramá, evāvadá, satrāsahá, punaḥsará, puraḥsará; and the nouns sāyambhavá, sahacārá, prātaḥsāvá, mithoyodhá. Differently accented, on the other hand, although apparently of the same formation, are such as anapasphura, anavahvara (compare the compounds noticed at 1286 b) sadāvṛdha, sūbharva, nyagródha, puroḍāça, sadhamāda, sudūgha, supáca, suháva, and others. Words like adábha, durhāṇa, sukāra, suyāma, are probably possessives.

b. The derivatives in van keep in general the accent of the final member, on the root (compare 1169 c, 1277) thus, acupatvan and raghupátvan swift-flying, puroyávan going in front, sukřtvan welldoing; and sutarman and suvahman and raghuyaman are probably to be classed with them. But the negative prefix has the accent even before these: thus, áyajvan, árāvan, áprayutvan; and satyámadvan (if it be not possessive) has the accent of its prior member.

- c. A few words in i seem to have (as in dependent compounds 1276) the accent on the radical syllable thus, durgibhi, rjuváni, tuvisváni.
- d. The derivatives in ti are variously treated: the negative prefix has always the accent before them: as, acitti, abhūti, anāhūti; with su and dus, the compound is accented now on the prefix and now on the final, and in some words on either (sunīti and sunīti, dustuti and dustuti); with other elements, the accent of the prefix prevails thus, sahuti, sadhástuti, purohiti, pūrvapīti, pūrvyastuti.
- e. The derivatives in in have, as in general, the accent on the suffix thus pūrvāsin, bahucārin, sādhudevin, savāsin, kevalādin. But with the negative prefix, ánāmin, ávitārin.
- f. Other combinations are too various in treatment, or are represented by too few examples in accentuated texts, to justify the setting up of rules respecting them.
- 1288. Of the remaining combinations, those made with the inseparable prefixes form in some measure a class by themselves.
- 1. a. The negative prefix a or an, when it directly negatives the word to which it is added, has a very decided tendency to take the accent.
- b. We have seen above (1283) that it does so even in the case of present and perfect and future participles, although these in combination with a verbal prefix retain their own accent (1085: but there are exceptious, avadant, apacyant, etc. (B.), and also in the case of a root-stem, if this be already compounded with another element (1286b). And the same is true of its other combinations.
- c. Thus, with various adjective words: átandra, ádabhra, ádagum, ánrju, ádevayu, átrsnaj, átavyāns, ánāmin, ádvayāvin, ápracetas, ánapatyavant, ánupadasvant, apramāyuka, ámamri, áprajajňi, ávidīdhayu, ánagnidagdha, ákāmakarçana, ápaçcāddaghvan Further, with nouns, apati, akumara, abrahmana, avidya, açraddha. ávrātya.
- d. But there are a number of exceptions, in which the accent is on the final syllable, without regard to the original accommation of the final member: thus, for example acitrá, acrirá, aviprá, ayajñiyá. anasmāká, asthūrí, anāçu, ajarayu, anāmayitnu; and in amítra enemy. and avira unmanly, there is a retraction of the accent from the final syllable of the final member to its penult.

- 2. e. The prefixes su and dus have this tendency in a much less degree, and their compounds are very variously accounted, now on the prefix, now on the final syllable, now on the accented syllable of the final member; and occasionally on either of two syllables
- f. Thus, for example, súbhadra, súvipra, súpakva, súbrāhmaņa, súbhişaj; sutīrthá, suvasaná, suṣārathí, supāçá, sucitrá; suçéva, suhótṛ: suvíra is like avíra; durmitrá, duḥṣvápnya; and ducehúna (168b), with irregular retraction of accent (quná).
- 3. g. The compounds with sa are too few to furnish occasion for separate mention; and those with the interrogative prefix in its various forms are also extremely rare in the Veda: examples are kucará, katpayá, kábandha, kunannamá, kumārá, kúyava, kuṣáva.
- 1289. The verbal prefixes are sometimes used in a general adverbial way, qualifying a following adjective or noun.
- a. Examples of such combinations are not numerous in the Vect. Their accentuation is various, though the tone rests oftenest on the preposition. Thus adhipati over-lord, aparupa mis-form, pratiquatry opposition, prapada fore part of foot, pranapat great-grandehild, vipakva quite done, sampriya mutually dear; upajihvika sule tongue (with retraction of the accent of jihva); antardeça intermediate direction, pradiv forward heaven, prapitamaha (also prapitamaha) great-grandfathe, pratijana opponent, vyadhva mudway. These compounds are more exquent with possessive value (below, 1305)
- b. This use of the verbal prefixes is more common later, and some them have a regular value in such compounds. Thus, at idenotes excess as in atidura very far, atibhaya exceeding fear, atipurusa ((B)) that man, adhi, superiority, as in adhidanta upper tooth adhistrichiet woman abhi is intensive, as in abhinamra much inclining, abhinava span-ner abhirucira delightful; a signifies somewhat, as in akuţila somen hat erooked anīla bluish, upa denotes something accessory or secondary, as in upapurana additional Purana, pari, excess as in paridurbala very weak prati, opposition, as in pratipakṣa opposing side, pratipustaka copy, vi, variatlon or excess, as in vidura very far, vipaṇḍu greyish, vikṣudra respectively small, sam, completeness, as in sampakva quite vipe
- 1290. Other compounds with adverbial prior members are quite irrelaularly accented

Thus, the compounds with puru, on the final (compare the participles with puru, 1284b): as, purudasmá, purupriyá, puruçcandrá; the with púnar, on the prior member, as púnarnava, púnarmagha, púnaryuvan, púnarvasu (but punahsará etc.), those with satás, satiná. satyá, the same, as satómahant, satinámanyu, satyámugra; a ha combinations of nouns in tr and ana with adverbs akin with the profuse on the final syllable, as puraëtr, purahsthátr, upariçayaná, pratahsavaná; and miscellaneous cases are mithónvadyapa, háriçcandra, álpaçayu, sadhvaryá, yācchresthá and yavacchresthá, jyogāmayavin.

- 1291. One or two exceptional cases may be noted, as follows:
- a. An adjective is sometimes preceded by a noun standing toward it a quasi-adverbial relation expressive of comparison or likeness: e. g. qukababhru (VS.) parrot-brown. ürnämrdu (TB.) soft as u ool, pränapriya dear as life, kuçeçayavajomrdu soft as lotus-pollen, bakalina hidden like a heron, mattamātangagāmin mocing like a maddened elephant.
- b. An adjective is now and then qualified by another adjective: e. g. kṛṣṇāita darh-gray, dhūmrárohita grayish red: and compare the adjectives of intermediate direction, 1257 c
- c. The adjective pūrva is in the later language frequently used as that member of a compound in which its logical value is that of an adverb qualifying the other member (which is said to retain its own accent). Thus, lṛṣṭapūrva previously seen, parinītapūrva already married, aparijūā-apūrva not hefore known, somapitapūrva haring formerly drunk soma, trīpūrva formerly a woman.

III. Secondary Adjective Compounds.

- 1292. a. A compound having a noun as its final memner very often wins secondarily the value of an adjective, neign inflected in the three genders to agree with the noun which it qualifies, and used in all the constructions of an adjective.
- b. This class of compounds, as was pointed out above 1247. III.), falls into the two divisions of A. Possessives, having their adjective character given them by addition of the idea of possessing; and B. those in which the final member is syntactically dependent on or governed by the prior member.

A. Possessive Compounds.

- 1293. The possessives are noun-compounds of the preceding class, determinatives, of all its various subdivisions, to which is given an adjective inflection, and which take on an adjective meaning of a kind which is most conveniently and accurately defined by adding having or possessing to the meaning of the determinative.
 - a. Thus: the dependent survatejas sun s brightness becomes the

possessive súryatejas possessing the brightness of the sun; yajňakāmā desire of sacrifice becomes yajňákāma having desire of sacrifice; the descriptive brhadratha great chariot becomes the possessive brhádratha having great chariots; áhasta not hand becomes ahastá handless, durghandi ill savor becomes durgándhi of ill savor; and so on.

- b. A copulative compound is not convertible into an adjective directly, any more than is a simple noun, but requires, like the latter, a possessive suffix or other means: e. g. vägghastavant, doṣaguṇin, rajastamaska, açirogrīva, anṛgyajus. A very small number of exceptious, however, are found: thus, somendrá (TS.), stómapṛṣṭha (VS. TS.), hastyṛṣabha (ÇB.), dāsīniṣka (ChU.), and, later, cakramusala, sadānanda. sacerdānanda, sānkhyayoga (as n. pr.), balābala, bhūtabhāutika.
- c. The name given by the native grammarians to the possessive compounds is bahuvrihi: the word is an example of the class, meaning possessing much rice.
- d. The name "relative", instead of possessive, sometimes applied to this class, is an utter misnomer; since, though the meaning of such a four-pound (as of any attribute word) is easily cast into a relative form resessinal character lies in the possessive verb which has nevertheless to be added, or in the possessive case of the relative with must be used thus, mahākavi and āyurdā descriptive and dependent, are "relative" described in a great poet, and that is life-giving, but byhadratha, possessive who is a great poet, and that is life-giving, but byhadratha, possessive who has a great chariot, or whose is a great chariot.
- 1294. a. That a noun, simple or compound, should be added to also other houn, in an opposite way, with a value virtually attributive, and test such nouns should occasionally gain by frequent association and applied: an adjective form also, is natural enough and occurs in many language. the peculiarity of the Sanskrit formation lies in two things. Liest that such use should have become a perfectly regular and indefinitely exture a one in the case of compounded words, so that any compound with a refinal may be turned without alteration into an adjective, while to a simple norm must be added an adjective-making suffix in order to adopt it adjective use: for example, that while hasta must become hastin est bāhu must become bāhumant, hiranyahasta and mahābahu cha 2from noun to adjective value with no added ending. And second, the the relation of the qualified nonn to the compound should have come to be so generally that of possession, not of likeness, nor of appurtenance, and f any other relation which is as naturally involved in such a construction that we may only say, for example, mahābāhuḥ puruṣaḥ man with great arms, and not also mahābāhur maņih jeuel for a great aem of mahābāhavah çākhāh branches like great arms.
- b. There are, however, in the older language a few derivative of pertive compounds which imply the relation of appurtenance rather than that of possession, and which are with probability to be viewed as survivals of a state of things antecedent to the specialization of the general class is

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possessive (compare the similar exceptions under possessive suffixes, 1230 g, 1233 f). Examples are: viçvănara of or for all men, belonging to all land so viçvăkṛṣṭi, -carṣaṇi, -kṣiṭi, -gotra, -manus, -āyu, and sar-vāpaçu, saptāmānuṣa), viçvāçārada of every autum, vipathā for bad rouds, dvirājā [battle] of two kings, açvapṛṣṭha carried on horsebach, vīrāpastya abiding with heroes, pūrṇāmāsa at full moon, adevaka for no divinity, bahudevata or -tyā for many divinities, aparisamvatsara not lasting a full year, ekādaçakapāla for eliren dishes, somendrā for Soma and Indra. And the compounds with final member in ana mentioned at 1296 b are probably of the same character. But also in the later language, some of the so-called dvigu-compounds (1313) belong with these: so dvigu itself, as meaning north two cows, dvināu bought for two ships; also occasional vases like devāsura [saṃgrāma] of the gods and demons, narahaya of man and horse, cakramusala nith discus of club, gurutalpa violating the teacher's bed.

1205. The possessive compound is distinguished from its substrate, the determinative, generally by a difference of accent. This difference is not of the same nature in all the divisions of the class; but oftenest, the possessive has as a compound the natural accent of its prior member as in most of the examples given above;

- 1296. Possessively used dependent compounds, or possessive dependents, are very much less common than those corresponding to the other division of determinatives
- a. Further examples are mayūraroman having the plumes of peacocks, agnitejas having the brightness of piec, jūātimukha wearing the aspect of relatives, pātikāma disiring a husband, hastipāda having an Jephant's feet, rājanyābandhu having kshatriyas for relatives.
- b. The accent is, as in the examples given, regularly that of the prior member, and exceptions are rare and of doubtful character. A few compounds with derivatives in ann have the accent of the final member e.g. indrapana serving as drink for Indra. devasadana serving as sea for the gods, rayisthana being source of wealth, but they contain a implication of possession, and are possibly in character, as in accent, de gendent (but compare 1294b). Also a few in as, as nreaksas menbeholding, nryahas menbearing, ksetrasadhas field-prospering, are probably to be judged in the same way.
- 1207. Possessively used descriptive compounds, or possessive descriptives, are extremely numerous and every variety of character; and some kinds of combination which are rare in proper descriptive use are very commons possessives.
 - a. They will be taken up below in order, according to the cha

acter of the prior member — whether the noun-final be preceded by a qualifying adjective, or noun, or adverb.

- 1298. Possessive compounds in which a noun is preceded by a qualifying ordinary adjective are (as pointed out above, 1280 f very much more common than descriptives of the same form.
- a. They regularly and usually have the accent of their prior member thus, anyarupa of other form, ugrabāhu having powerful arms, jīvaputra having living sons, dirghaçmaçru longhearded, brhacchravas of great renown, bhurimula many-rooted, mahavadha bearing a great weapon, viçvarupa having all forms, çukravarna of bright color, çivabhimarçana of propitious touch, satyasamdha of true promises, sarvanga whole-limbed, svayaças having own glory, haritasraj wearing yellon garlands.
- b. Exceptions, however, in regard to accent are not rare (a seventh or eighth of the whole number, perhaps). Thus, the accent is sometimes that of the final member; especially with derivatives in as. as tuviradhas. purupéças, prthupákṣas, and others in which (as above, 1296b) determinative character may be suspected; thus, urujráyas beside urujrí, uruvyácas beside uruvyác, and so on, but also with those of other fluals, as rjuhásta, citikáksa etc., krsnakárna, citradýcika, tuvicúsma, rjukrátu, prthupárcu, puruvártman, raghuyáman, vidupátman. In a very few cases, the accent is retracted from the final se the first syllable of the second member; thus, anhubheda, tuvigriva, puruvíra, pururúpa, çitibáhu (also çitibáhú). The largest class is that of compounds which take the accent upon their final syllable (in part, of course, not distinguishable from those which retain the accent of the final member) for example, bahvanná, nilanakhá, puruputrá, viçvanga, svapati, tuviprati, preniparni t., darçataçri, putirajju, asitajňú, prthugmán, bahuprajás.
- c. The adjective víçva all, as prior member of a compound (and a'-) in derivation), changes its accent regularly to viçvá; sárva whole, all, does the same in a few cases.
- 1299. Possessive compounds with a participle spreeding and qualifying the final noun-member are numerous, although such a compound with simple descriptive value is almost unknown. The accent is, with few exceptions, that of the prior member
- a. The participle is oftenest the passive one, in ta or na. [Thus chinnapakṣa with severed wing, dhṛtarāṣṭra of firmly held royalty hatamāṭr whose mother is slain, iddhāgni whose fire is kindled, uttanāhasta with outstretched hand, prāyatadakṣiṇa having presented sacrificial gifts, and, with prefixed negative, āriṣṭavīra whose men are unharmed ataptatanu of unhurned substance. ānabhimlātavarṇa of untarnished color. Exceptions in regard to accent are very few there have been noticed only paryastākṣā, vyastakeçī f, achinnaparṇā.

- b. Examples occur of a present participle in the same situation. In about half the (accentuated) instances, it gives its own accent to the compound: thus, dyutádyāman, dhṛṣádvarṇa etc., cucádratha, rúçadvatsa etc., bhrājajjanman etc., samyádvira, stanáyadama, sádhadiṣṭi; in the others, the accent is drawn forward to the final syllable of the participle (as in the compounds with governing participle, below, 1309) thus, dravátpāṇi etc. (dravát also occur as adverb), rapçádūdhan, svanádratha, arcáddhūma, bhandádiṣṭi, krandádiṣṭi. With these last agrees in form jarádaṣṭi attaining old age, long-lived, but its make-up, in view of its meaning, is anomalous.
- c. The RV. has two compounds with the perfect middle participle as prior member: thus, yuyujānāsapti uith harnessed coursers (perhaps rather haring harnessed their coursers), and dadrçānāpavi (with regular accent, instead of dadrçāna, as elsewhere irregularly in this participle) uith conspicuous wheel-rims.
- d. Of a nearly participal character is the prior element in qrutkarna (RV.) of listening ear; and with this are perhaps accordant didyagni and stharacman (RV, each once)
- 1300. Possessive compounds having a numeral as prior member are very common, and for the most part follow the same rule of accent which is followed by compounds with other adjectives: excepted are those beginning with dvi and tri, which accent in general the final member.
- a. Examples with other numerals than dvi and tri are. ékacakra, ékaçīrşan, ékapad, cáturanga, cátuṣpakṣa, páncanguri, páncaudana, sádaçva, ṣáṭpad, saptájihva, saptámātṛ, aṣṭápad, aṣṭáputra, navapad, navadvāra, dáçaçakha, dáçaçīrṣan, dvádaçāra, trinçádara, çatáparvan, çatádant, sahásranāman, sahásramūla.
- b. Exceptions in regard to accent are but few, and have the tone on he final syllable, whatever may be that belonging originally to the final member; they are mostly stems in final a, used by substitution for others in an, i, or a consonant, thus, caturakṣā etc. (akṣān or ākṣī 431), ṣaḍahā etc. (āhan or āhar, 430 a), daçavṛṣā etc. (vṛṣan), ekarātrā etc. (rātrī or rātrī), ekarcā etc. (ṛc); but also a few others, as ṣaḍyogā, aṣṭāyogā, çatārghā, sahasrarghā, ekaparā(?).
- c. The compounds with dvi and tri for the most part have the accent of their final member thus, for example, dvijánman, dvidhára, dvibándhu, dvivartaní, dvipád; tritántu, trinábhi, triçóka, trivárutha, tricakrá, triçīrṣán, tripád. A number of words, however, follow the general analogy, and accent the numeral thus, for example, dvípakṣa, dvíçavas, dvyāsya, tríṣandhi, tryàra, tryāçir, and sometimes dvípad and trípad in AV. As in the other numeral compounds, as substituted stem in a is apt to take the accent on the final, thus, dvivṛṣá ad trivṛṣá, dvirājá, dvirātrá, tryāyuṣá, tridivá; and a few of other

character with tri follow the same rule: thus, trikaçá, trināká, tri bandhú, tryudhán, tribarhís, etc.

- d. The nouter, or also the feminine, of numeral compounds is oftenused substantively, with a collective or abstract value, and the accent 1 then regularly on the final syllable; see below, 1312.
- 1301. Possessive compounds having as prior member a nom which has a quasi-adjective value in qualifying the final member are very frequent, and show certain specialities of usage.
- a. Least peculiar is a noun of material as prior member (hardly to be reckoned as possessive dependents, because the relation of material is no regularly expressed by a case: 295): thus, hiranyahasta gold-handed hiranyasraj with golden garlands, ayahsthuna having brazen supports rajatanabhi of silver navel.
- 1302. Especially common is the use of a noun as prior member to qualify the other appositionally, or by way of equivalence the occasional occurrence of determinatives of this character has been noticed above, 1280 d). These may conveniently be called apprositional possessives. Their accent is that of the prior member like the ordinary possessive descriptives.
- a. Examples are: âçvaparņa horse-winged, or having horses as ungs (said of a chariot), bhūmigṛha having the earth as house, îndrasaklın having Indra for friend, agninotṛ having Igu as priest, gandharvāpātīn having a Gandharva for spouse, çūrāputra having hero-sons, jarāmṛṭyu having old age as mode of death, living till old age, agnivabas fire-shod tadanta ending with that, cāracakṣus using spies for eyes, viṣṇuçarmanāman named Vishnuçarman; and, with pronoun instead of no netvādūta having thee as messenger, tādapas having this for work. I setions in regard to aecent occur here, as in the more regular description tormation, thus, agnijihvā, vṛṣaṇaçvā, dhūmaçikhā, pavīnasā, asaunāma, tatkūla, etc.
- b. Not infrequently, a substantively used adjective is the fluid member in such a compound: thus, indrajvestha having Indra as chief, manalisastha having the mind as sixth, somagreetha of which some is hist, ekapará of which the ace is highest (1), asthibhuyas having bone as the larger part, chiefly of bone, abhirūpabhuyistha chiefly composed of northy persons, daçāvara having ten as the lowest number, cintapara having meditation as highest object or occupation, devoted to meditation nihyvāsa-parama nuch addicted to sighing.
- c. Certain words are of especial frequency in the compounds here described, and have in part won a poculiar application. Thus
- d. With ādi hegiming or ādika or ādya first are made compounds signlying the person or thing specified along with others, such a person of thing et cetera. For example, devā indrādayah the gods having India is first, i. e. the gods Indra etc., marīcyādīn munīn Marici and the other

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sages, sväyambhuvädyäh saptäi 'te manavah those seven Munus, Sväyambhuva etc., agnistomädikän the sacrifices Agnishtoma and soon. Or the qualified noun is omitted, as in annapänendhanädini food, druh, fuel, etc., dänadharmädikam caratu bhavan let your houor practice liberality, religious vites, and the like. The particles evam and iti are also sometimes used by substitution as prior members, thus, evamådi vacanam words to this and the like effect; ato 'hain bravini kartavyah samcayo nityam ityädi hence I say "accumulation is ever to be made" etc.

- e. Used in much the same way, but less often, is prabhrti beginning: thus, viçvāvasuprabhrtibhir gandharvānh udh ble Gandharvas Viçvāvasu etc.; especially adverbilly, in measurements of space and time as tatprabhrti or tatahprabhrti thenceformard.
- f. Words meaning foregoer, predecessor, and the like—namely, pūrva, pūrvaka, puraḥṣara, puraṣkṛta, purogama—are often employed in a similar manner, and especially adverbially, but for the most part to denote accompaniment, rather than anter-denot, of that which is designated by the prior member of the compound e. s. smitapurvam with a smile, anāmayapraṣnapūrvakam with inquives after health pitāmahapurogama accompanied by the tereat Father.
- g. The noun matra measure stands as final of a compound which is used adjectively or in the substantive neater to signify a limit that is not exceeded, and obtains thus the virtual value of mere, only thus, jalamatrena variayan living by water only (in by that which has vector for its measure or limit), garbhaeyutimatrena by merely issuing from the womb, pranayatrikamatrah syat het him he one possessing what does not exceed the preservation of life; uktamatre tu vacane hut the rords being merely uttered
- h. The noun artha object, purpose is used at the end of a compound, in the adverbial accusative neuter, to signify for the sake of or the like thus, yajñasiddhyartham in order to the accomplishment of the sacrifice litt in a manner having the accomplishment of the sacrifice as its object, damayantyartham for Damayantes sake (with Damayante as object)
- i. Other examples are ābhā, kalpa, in the sense of like, approaching, thus, hemābha gold-like, mṛtakalpa nearly dead, pratipannakalpa almost accomplished; vidhā, in the sense of kind, sort: thus, tvadvidha of thy sort, pūruṣavidha of hunan kind. prāya, in the sense of mostly, often, and the like: thus, duḥkhapraya full of pan tṛṇaprāya abounding in grass, 'nirgamanaprāya often going out, antara (in substantive neuter), in the sense of other thus, deçārtara another region (lit. that which has a difference of region), jaumantarāni other existences, çākhāntare in another text.
- 1303. In appositional possessive compounds, the second member, if it designates a part of the body, sometimes logically signifies that part to which what is designated by the prior member belongs, that or or in which it is.

- a. Thus, ghṛtápṛṣṭha butter-backed, madhujihva honey-tongued, niṣkágrīva and manigrīva necklace-necked, pātrahasta vessel-handad, vājrabāhu lightning-armed, āsṛūmukha blood-faced, kīlālodhan meaduddered, vājajaṭhara sacrifice-bellied, vāṣpakanṭha with tears in the throat, çraddhāmanas with faith in the heart; with irregular accent, dhūmākṣī f. smoke-eyed, açrumukhī f. tear-faced, and khādihasta ring-handed (khādí). In the later language, such compounds are not infrequent with words meaning hand: thus, çastrapāṇi having a sword in the hand, laguḍahasta carrying a staff.
- 1304. Of possessive compounds having an adverbial element as prior member, the most numerous by far are those made with the inseparable prefixes. Their accent is various. Thus:
- a. In compounds with the negative prefix a or an (in which the latter logically negatives the imported idea of possession), the accent is prevailingly on the final syllable, without regard to the original accent of the final member. For example: anantá having no end, abalá not possessing strength, arathá without chariot, acraddhá faithless, amaní nithout ornament, acatrú without a foe, avarmán not cuirassed, adánt toothless, apád footless, atejás without brightness, anārambhaṇá not to be gotten hold of, apratimāná incomparable, aducchuná bringing no harm, apakṣapuccha without sides or tail.
- b. But a number of examples (few in proportion to those alread) justanced) have the prefix accented (like the simple descriptives: 1288 at thus, aksiti indestructible, agu kincless, agopā without shepherd, ajīvana lifeless, anāpi without friends, aciçvī f. without young, amṛtyu deuthless, abrahman without priest, avyacas without extension, ahavis without oblation, and a few others; AV. has aprajas, but (B. aprajas. A vij few have the accent on the penult namely, acesas, ajāni, and avira (with retraction, from vīrā), apútra (do, from putrā), and AV. his abhrātī, but RV. abhrātī.
- c. In compounds with the prefixes of praise and dispraise, 8u and dus, the accent is in the great majority of cases that of the flual member thus, sukálpa of easy make, subhága well portioned, sunákṣatra of propitious star, suputrá having excellent sons, sugopā well-shepherded sukīrtí of good fame, sugándhi fragrant, subāhú well-armed, suyámtu of easy control, sukrátu of good capacity, suhárd good-hearted, susráj well-garlanded, suvárman well-currassed, suvásas well-clad, suprániti well guiding; durbhága ill-portioned, durdýcīka of eril aspect, durdhára hard to restrain, durgándhi ill-savored, durādhi of eril designs, durdhártu hard to restrain, duṣṭárītu hard to excel, duratyétu hard to eros durdhúr ill-yoked, durnáman ill-named, durvásas ill-clad.
- d. There are, however, a not inconsiderable number of instances in which the accent of these compounds is upon the final syllable: thus, suciprá well-lipped, svapatyá of good progeny, susamkácá of good aspect, svangurí well-fingered, svisú having good arrows, supivás well fatted.

and compounds with derivatives in ana, as suvijāāná of easy discernment, sūpasarpaņá of easy approach, duçeyavaná hard to shake; and AV has suphalá and subandhú against RV. suphála and subándhu. Like avíra, suvíra shows retraction of accent. Only dúrāçir has the tone on the prefix.

- e. On the whole, the distinction by accent of possessive from determinative is less clearly shown in the words made with 80 and dus than in any other body of compounds.
- f. The associative prefix 8a or (less often) sahá is treated like an adjective element, and itself takes the accent in a possessive compound thus, sákratu of joint will, sánāman of like name, sárūpa of similar form, sáyoni having a common origin, sávācas of asseuting words, sátoka having progeny along, with one's progeny, sábráhmana together with the Brahmans, sámūla with the root, sántardeça with the intermediate directions; sahágopa with the shepherd, sahávatsa accompanied by one's young, sahápatnī having her husburd with her, sahápūruṣa along with our men.
- 8. In RV. (save in a doubtful case or two), only saha in such compounds gives the meaning of having with one, accompanied by; and, since saha governs the instrumental, the words beginning with it might be of the prepositional class (below 1310). But in AV both sa and saha have this value (as illustrated by examples given above), and in the later language, the combinations with sa are much the more numerous.
- h. There are a few exceptions, in which the accent is that of the final member: thus, sajóṣa, sajóṣas, sadṛça, sapráthas, sabádhas, samanyú and AV, shows the accent on the final s Hable in sāngá (ÇB, sắnga) and the substantivized (1312) savidyutá.
- i. Possessive compounds with the exclamatory profixes ka etc. are too few in the older language to furnish ground for any rule as to accent; kabandha is perhaps an example of such
- 1305. Possessive compounds in which a verbal prefix is used as prior member with adjective value, qualifying a noun as final member, are found even in the oldest language, and are rather more common later (compare the descriptive compounds, above, 1289; and the prepositional, below, 1310. They usually have the accent of the prefix.
- a. Most common are those made with pra, vi, and sam: thus, for example, prámahas having exceeding night, prácravas uidely famed; vígriva of ury neck, vyánga hai ing limbs au ay er gone, limbless, víjāni uifeless, víparva and víparus jointless, výádhvan of uide mays, vímanas both of wide mind and mindless, vívācas of discordant speech; sámpatnī having one's hushand along, sámmanas of accordant mind, sámsahasra accompanied by a thousand, sámokas of joint abode. Examples of others are átyürmi surging over, ádhivastra having a garment on, ádhyardha with a half over, ádhyakşa overseir, ápodaka uithout uiter, abhírūpa

of adapted character, avatoka that has aborted, amanas of favorable mind, udojas of exalted power, nimanyu of assuaged fury, nimaya free from guile, nirhasta handless.

- b. In a comparatively small number of cases, the accent is otherwise, and generally on the final: thus, avakeçá, upamanyú, viçaphá, viçikhá (AV. víçikha), vikarná, sammātŕ, etc.; in an instance or two, that of the final member: thus, samçíçvarī having a common young.
- 1306. Possessive compounds with an ordinary adverb as prior member are also found in every period of the language. They usually have the accent which belongs to the adverb as independent word
- a. Examples are: ántyūti bringing near help, avódeva calling down the gods, itáūti helping on this side, ihácitta with mind directed hithir dakṣiṇatáskaparda wearing the braid on the right side, nánādharman of various character, purudhápratīka of manifold aspect, viçvátomukha with faces on all sides, sadyáūti of immediate aid, víṣurūpa of rairois form, smádūdhan with wider, adhástāllakṣman with mark below, ekatomukha with face on one side, táthāvidha of such sort.
- b. An instance or two of irregular accent are met with thus, puroratha whose chariot is foremost, evamkratú so-minded.
- 1307. a. It was pointed out in the preceding chapter 1222 h that the indifferent suffix ka is often added to a pure possessive compound, to help the conversion of the compounded stem into an adjective, especially, where the final of the stem is less usual or manageable in adjective inflection.
- b. Also, the compound possessive stem occisionally takes furthe a possessive-making suffix thus yaçobhagín, suçiprin, varavarnin, derghasütrin, punyavägbuddhikarnin, sutásomavant, tädrgrupavant, trayodaçadvīpavant, nārakapālakundalavant, amṛtabuddhimaut.
- c. The frequent changes which are undergone by the final of a stead occurring at the end of a compound are noticed further on (1315)
- 1308. The possessive compounds are not always used in the later language with the simple value of qualifying adjective, often they have a pregnant sense, and become the equivalents of dependent clauses; or the having which is implied in them obtains vultually the value of our having as sign of past time
 - a. Thus, for example, prāptayāuvana possessing attained adolescence, i.e. having arcived at adolescence, anadhigataçãstra with unstudied book i.e. who has neglected study. kṛtaprayatna possessing performed effort i.e. on whom effort is expended, añguliyakadarçanāvasana having the sight of the ring as termination, i.e. destined to end on sight of the ring uddhṛtaviṣādaçalyah having an extracted despair-arrow, i.e. when I stall have extracted the barb of despair, crutavistāraḥ kriyatam let him bo made with heard details i.e. let him be informed of the details—dṛṣṭaviryo me rāmaḥ Rama has seen my prowess, bhagnabhāṇdo dvijo yatha bid

the Brahman that broke the pots, uktanrtam rsim yatha like a sugthat has spoken falsely.

B. Compounds with Governed Final Member.

- 1309. Participial Compounds. This group of compounds, in which the prior member is a present participle and the final member its object, is a small one 'toward thirty examples and exclusively Vedic indeed, almost limited to the oldest Vedic (of the Rig-Veda). The accent is on the final syllable of the participle, whatever may have been the latter's accent as an independent word.
- a. Examples are: vidádvasu winning good things, ksayádvīra governing (ksáyant) heroes, taráddvesas overcoming (tárant) fors, ābharádvasu bringing good things, codayánmati meiling (codáyant) devotion, mandayátsakha rejoieng friends, dhárayátkavi sustaining suges, manhayádrayi bestowing nealth
- b. In sādādyoni sitting in the lap (sādat quite anomalous), for sīdat or sādat), and spṛḥayādvarṇa emulous of color, the case-relation of the final member is other than accusative. In patayān mandayātsakham (RV. 1. 4. 7), patayāt, with accent changed accordingly, represents patayātsakham, the final member being understood from the following word Vicādaçva is to be inferred from its derivative vāfdadaçvi. Of this formation appear to be jamādagni, pratādvastive vāfdadaçvi. Of this formation appear to be jamādagni, pratādvastive vāfdadaçvi. Of this formation appear to be jamādagni, pratādvastive (1299 c) that yuyujāmāsapti is capable of being understood as a unique compound of like character, with a perfect instead of present participle, sādhadāṣti, on a control of its accent, is probably possessive.
- 1310. Prepositional Compounds. By this name may be conveniently called those combinations in which the prior member is a particle having true prepositional value, and the final member is a noun governed by it. Such combinations, though few in number as compared with other classes of compounds, are not rare, either in the earlier language or in the later. Their accent is so various that no rule can be set up respecting it.
- a. Examples are atyavi passing through the wool, atiratra overmight, atimatra exceeding measure, adhiratha lying on the chariot, adhigava belonging to the cow, adhaspada under the fiel, adhoaksa below
 the arle; anupatha following the road, anuparva following the one preceding, one after another, anusatya in accordance with truth, anukula
 down stream, etc.; antaspatha (with anomalous), changed accent of antar),
 within the way, antardava within the flame(2), antarhasta in the hand,
 antigrha near the house; apiprana accompanying the heath (prana), apivrata concerned with the ceremony, apigarvara buildering on night, apikarna next the ear; abhijnu reaching to the knee, abhivira and abhisatvan
 accroming heroes; apathi on the road, adeva yong to the gods, sparasa

reaching old age, ādvādaçá up to twelve; upakakṣā reaching to the armpits, upottamā next to last, penultimate; upāribudhna above the bottom,
upārimartya rising above mortals; tirojanā beyond people; niḥsālā out
of the house; paripād (about the fret) snare, parihastā about the hand
bracelet; parōkṣa out of sight, parōmātra beyond measure, parogavyūtí
beyond the fields, paraḥsahasrā (pāraḥsahasra, (B.) above a thousand,
purokṣā in front of the eyes, pratidoṣā toward evening, pratilomā
against the grain, pratikūla up stream, pratyākṣa before the eyes; bahipparidhī outside the enclosure; vipathi outside the road; samakṣā elose
to the eyes, in sight.

- b. Compounds of this character are in the later language especially common with adhit thus, adhyātma relating to the soul or self, adhiyajňa relating to the sacrifice, etc.
- c. A suffixal a is sometimes added to a final consonant, as in upanasa on the wagon, avyuna until daybreak. In a few instances, the suffix ya is taken (see above, 1212 m), and in one word the suffix in: thus, partpanthin besetting the path.
- d. The prepositional compounds are especially hable to adverbial use below, 1313 b.

Adjective Compounds as Nouns and as Adverbs.

- 1311. Compound adjectives, like simple ones, are freely used substantively as abstracts and collectives, especially in the neuter less often in the feminine; and they are also much used adverbally, especially in the accusative neuter.
- a. The matter is entitled to special notice only because certain forms of combination have become of special frequency in these uses, and because the Hindu grammarians have made out of them distinct classes of compounds, with separate names. There is nothing in the older language which by its own merits would call for particular remark under this head.
- 1312. The substantively used compounds having a numeral as prior member, along with, in part, the adjective compounds themselves, are treated by the Hindus as a separate class, called dvigu
- a. The name is a sample of the class, and means of two cous, so to be used in the sense of worth two cows; as also pañcagu bought for five cous, dvināu worth two ships, páñcakapāla made in five cups. and so on
- b. Vedic examples of numeral abstracts and collectives are dvirajá [combut] of two kings, triyugá three ages, triyojaná space of three leagues, tridivá the triple heaven. pañcayojaná space of five leagues, sadaha sir days' time, daçāngulā ten fingers' breadth, and, with suffix ya, sahasráhnyá thousand days' journey. Others, not numeral, but essentially of the sum character, are, for example: anamitrá freedom from enemies, nikilbisá freedom from guilt. savidyutá thunderstorm, vínrdaya heartlessness, and

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santdaya heartiness, sudiva prosperity by day, sumrga and suçakuna prosperity with beasts and birds. Feminines of like use are not quotable from RV. or AV.; later occur such as triçati three hundred, (481), trilokī the three worlds, pancamūlī aggregate of five roots.

- c. As the examples show, the accent of words thus used is various; but it is more provailingly on the final syllable than in the adjective compounds in their ordinary use.
- 1313. Those adverbially used accusatives of secondary adjective compounds which have an indeclinable or particle as prior member are reckoned by the Hindu grammarians as a separate class of compounds, and called by the name avyayibhāva.
- a. This term is a derivative from the compound verb (1094) made up of avyaya uninflected and γ bhū, and means conversion to an indeclinable.
- b. The prepositional compounds (1310) are especially frequent in this use: thus, for example, anuavadham by one's own will, abhipurvam and parovaram in succession, ādvādaçam up to twelve, pratidosam at evening, samakṣam in sight. Instances given by the grammarians are: adhihari upon Hari, uparājam with the king, upanadam or upanadi near the river, pratyagni toward the fire, pratiniçam every night, nirmakṣikam with freedom from flies.
- c. A large and important class is made up of words having a relative adverb, especially yathā, as prior member. Thus, for example, yathāvaçám as one chooses (váça will), yathākṛtám as done [before], according to usage, yathānāmá by name, yathabhāgám according to several portion, yathānāgám and yathāparú limb by limb, yatrakāmam whither one will, yāvanmātrám in some measure. yāvajjīvám as long as one lives, yāvatsábandhu according to the number of relations.
- d. These compounds are not common in the old language; RV. has with yathā only four of them, AV. only ten; and no such compound is used adjectively except yācchreṣṭhá RV., yāvacchreṣṭhá AV. as good as possible. (B. has yathākārín, yathācārín, yáthākāma, yáthākratu as adjectives (followed in each case by a correlative táthā). The adjective use in the later language also is quite rare as compared with the adverbial.
- e. Other cases than the accusative occasionally occur: thus, instrumental, as yathāsamkhyena, yathāçaktyā, yathepsayā, yathāpratiguņāis; and ablative, as yathāucityāt.
- f. A class of adverbs of frequent occurrence is made with sa: e. g. sakopam angrily, sādaram respectfully, sasmitam with a smile, saviçeşam especially.
- g. Other adverbial compounds of equivalent character occur earlier, and are common later: for example, rtekarmám without work, nānārathám on different chariots, ubhayadyús two days in succession, citrapadakramam with wonderful progress. pradānapūrvam with accompaniment of a gift; etc.

Anomalous Compounds.

- 1314. As in every language, compounds are now and then met with which are of anomalous character, as exhibiting combinations of elements not usually put together, or not after such a method, or for such a purpose. Some of these, especially of those occurring in the old language, may well be noticed here.
- a. Compounds having a particle as final members as, aprati having no equal, tuviprati mightily opposing, atatha refusing, vitatha false, yathatatha at it really is, susaha prosperity in companionship, aniha and anamutra having no here and no yonder, etc.
- b. Agglomerations of two or more elements out of phrases: thus, ahampūrvá eager to be first, ahamuttará contest for preëminence, mamasatya contest for possession, itihāsá legend (iti hā "sa thus, indeed, it was) naghamārá and naghāriṣá not, surely, dying or coming to harm, kuvítsa some unknown person, tadídartha having just that as aim, kūcidarthín having errands in every direction, kācitkará doing all sorts of thing kuhacidvíd wherever found, akutaccidbhaya out of all danger, yadbhavisya What-is-to-be, etc.
- o. Agglomerations in which the prior member retains a syntactic form as, anyonya and paraspara one another, avaraspara inverted.
- d. Aggregations with the natural order inverted: e. g. pitāmahá and tatāmahá grandfather, putrahata with his sons slain, jānvākná and -jānvakta with bended knee, dantajāta provided with teeth, somāpahṛta deprived of soma, pañktírādhas having groups of gifts, gojara old bull. agrajihvá, agranāsikā, etc. tip of the tongue, of the nose, etc. Compare also 1291 c.
- e. Aggregations of particles were pointed out above (1111a), also (1122e) cases in which ná and má are used in composition.
- f. In late Sanskrit (perhaps after the false analogy of combinations like tad anu, viewed as tadanu, with tad as stem instead of neuter accusative), a preposition is sometimes compounded as final member with the noun governed by it: e. g. vṛkṣādhas or vṛkṣādhastāt under the tree, dantāntah between the teeth, bhavanopari on top of the house satyavinā without truth.

Stem-finals altered in Composition.

- 1315. Transfers to an a-form of declension from other less common finals, which are not rare in independent use, are especially common in the final members of compounds. Thus:
- a. A stem in an often drops its final consonant (compare 429 a, 437) examples are akşa, adhva, arva, astha, aha, takşa, brahma, murdha, rāja, loma, vrṣa, çva, saktha, sāma.

- b. An i or ī is changed to a: examples are angula, anjala, açra, kukṣa, khāra, nada, nābha, bhūma, rātra, sakha.
- c. An a is added after a final consonant, and sometimes after an u-vowel or a diphthong (compare 399): examples are rea, tvaca; uda, pada, çarada; apa; dhura, pura; ahna, açmana, ūdhna, rājňa; anasa, ayasa, āyuṣa, urasa, enasa, tamasa, manasa, yajuṣa, rajasa, rahasa, varcasa, vedasa, çreyasa, sarasa; bhruva, diva, gava, gāva, nāva.
- d. More sporadic and anomalous cases are such as: apanna-da (-dant), pañca-şa (-ṣaṣ), ajāika-pa (-pad), çata-bhiṣā (-bhiṣaj), vipaç-ci (-cit), yathā-pura (-puras).

Loose Construction with Compounds.

- 1316. In the looseness of unlimited and fortuitous combination, especially in the later language, it is by no means rare that a word in composition has an independent word in the sentence depending upon or qualifying it alone, rather than the compound of which it forms a part.
- a. Examples are: rāyāskāmo viçvāpsnyasya (RV.) desirous of all-enjoyable wealth; anhor urucākrih (RV.) causing relief from distress; mehādhané árbhe (RV.) in great contest and in small; svānām çrāişthyakāmah (AÇS.) desiring superiority over his fellows; brāhmaṇān chrutaçīlavṛttasampannān ekena vā (AGS.) Brahmans endowed with learning, character, and behavior, or with one [of the three]; cittapramāthinī bālā devānām api (MBh.) a girl disturbing the minds even of the gods; vasiṣthavacanād ṛṣyaçṛñgasya co 'bhayoh (R.) at the words of both Vasishtha and Rishyacringa; sītādravyāpaharane çastrānām āusadhasya ca (M.) in case of stealing ploughing implements or weapons or medicament; jyotiṣām madhyacārī (H.) moving in the midst of the stars; dārupātram ca mṛnmayam (M.) a wooden and an earthen vessel; syandane dattadṛṣṭih (Ç.) with eye fixed on the chariot, tasminn ullambitamṛṭaḥ (KSS.) dead and hanging upon it.

APPENDIX.

A. The following text is given (as proposed above, 3) in order to illustrate by an example the variety of Sanskrit type in use. It is given twice over, and a transliteration into European letters follows. The text is a fable extracted from the first book of the Hitopadeça.

The Hunter, Deer, Boar, and Jackal.

श्वासीत्कस्याणकरकवास्तव्यो भैरवो नाम व्याधः। स चै-कदा मांसलुब्धः सन्धनुरादाय विन्ध्यारवीमध्यं गतः। तच तेन मृग एकी व्यापादितः। मृगमादाय गच्छता तेन घोराक्नृतिः सूकरो हष्टः। ततस्तेन मृगं भूमौ निधाय सूकरः शरेण हतः। सूकरेणायागत्य प्रलयघनघोरगर्जनं कृत्वा स व्याधो मुष्कदेशे हतम्छचदुम इव पपात। यतः।

जलमियं विषं शस्त्रं शुद्धाधी पतनं गिरेः। निमित्तं किंचिदासाद्य देही प्राशिविमुच्यते॥

श्वनान्तरे दीर्घरावो नाम जसुकः परिश्रमन्नाहारार्थी तान्मृ-तान्मृगव्याधसूकरानपश्यत् । श्वालोक्याचिन्तयदसौ । श्रहो भाग्यम् । महङ्गीज्यं समुपस्थितम् । श्रथवा ।

> षाचिमितानि दुःवानि यथैवायानि देहिनाम् । सुवान्यपि तथा मन्ये दैवमनातिरिष्यते॥

भवतु । एषां मांसैमीसचयं समधिकं भोजनं में भविष्यति । ततः प्रथमवृशुः चायां तावदिमानि खादूनि मांसानि विहाय कोदण्डाटनीलपं खायुवन्यं खाः दामीत्मुक्ता तथाकरोत् । ततिष्ठित्ते खायुवन्ये द्रुतमुत्पतितेन धनुष्यं हिंद भिन्नः स दोर्घरावः पञ्चलं गतः । चतो ४ इं त्रवीमि ।

> कर्तवः संचयो नित्यं कर्तवो नातिसंचयः। चित्रसंचयदोषेण धनुषा जम्बुको इतः॥

म्रासीत्कल्याणकरकवास्तव्यो भैरवो नाम व्याधः। स चैकरा मांसलुब्धः सन्धनुराराय विन्ध्यारवीमध्यं गतः। तत्र तेन मृग एको व्यापारितः। मृगमाराय गच्हता तेन घोराकृतिः सूकरो दृष्टः। ततस्तेन मृगं भूमौ निधाय सूकरः श्रेण इतः। सूकरेणाप्यागत्य प्रलयधनघोरगर्जनं कृता स व्याधो मुष्करेशे कृतिम्हिन्नदुम इव प्रवात। यतः।

जलमग्निं विषं शस्त्रं सुद्धाधी पतनं गिरेः। निमित्तं किंचिरासाय रेही प्राणैर्विमुच्यते॥ अत्रान्तरे रीर्घरावो नाम जम्बुकः परिश्रमहास्तारार्थी तान्मृता-न्मगव्याधसूक्रानपम्यत्। ग्रालोक्याचिन्तयर्सौ। ग्रस्तो भाग्यम्। महद्गोत्रयं समुपस्थितम्। ग्रथवा।

> श्वचिन्तितानि दुःखानि यथैवायान्ति देहिनाम्। सुखान्यपि तथा मन्ये देवमत्रातिरिच्यते॥

भवतु । एषां मांर्ममासत्रयं समिधकं भोजनं मे भविष्यति । ततः प्रथमक्षुभुतायां तायदिमानि स्वादृनि मांसानि विद्याय कोदयडाटनीलग्नं स्वादुबन्धं खादामीत्युक्त्या तयाकरोत् । ततिष्ठिचे स्वायुबन्धे द्वतमुत्पतितेन धनुषा द्वृदि भिचः स दीर्घरावः पञ्चस्यं गतः । श्रती उद्दं श्रवीमि ।

कर्तव्यः संचयो नित्यं कर्तव्यो नातिसंचयः। ऋतिसंचयदोषेण धनुषा जम्स्रको हतः॥

āsīt kalyāṇakaṭakāvāstavyo bhāiravo nāma vyādhaḥ. sa cāi 'kadā māṅsalubdhaḥ san dhanur ādāya vindhyāṭavīmadhyaṁ gataḥ. tatra tena mṛga eko vyāpāditaḥ. mṛgam ādāya gacchatā tena ghorākṛtiḥ sūkaro dṛṣṭaḥ. tatas tena mṛgaṁ bhūmāu nidhāya sūkaraḥ çareṇa hataḥ. sūkareṇā 'py āgatya pralayaghanaghoragarjanaṁ kṛtvā sa vyādho muṣkadeçe hatac chinnadruma iva papāta. yatah:

jalam agnim vişam çastram kşudvyādhī patanam gireņ, nimittam kimcid āsādya dehi praņāir vimucyate. atrāntare dīrgharāvo nāma jambukaņ paribhramann āhārārthī tān mṛtān mṛgavyādhasūkarān apaçyat. ālokyā 'cintayad asāu: aho bhāgyam. mahad bhojyam samupasthitam. athava:

acintităni duhkhāni yathāi 'vā "yānti dehinām,

sukhāny api tathā manye dāivam atrā 'tiricyate.

bhavatu; eşām mānsāir māsatrayam samadhikam bhojanam me bhavişvati. tatah prathamabubhukṣāyām tāvad imāni svāduni mānsāni vihāya kodaņḍāṭanīlagnam snāyubandham khādāmī 'ty uktvā tathā 'karot. tataç chinne snāyubandhe drutam utpatitena dhanuṣā hṛdi bhinnaḥ sa dīrgharāvaḥ pañcatvam gataḥ, ato 'ham bravīmi:

kartavyah samcayo nityam kartavyo nā 'tisamcayah; atisamcayadoşena dhanuşā jambuko hatah.

B. The following text is given in order to illustrate by a sufficient example the usual method of marking accent, as described above (87). In the manuscripts, the accent-signs are almost invariably added in red ink. The text is a hymn extracted from the tenth or last book of the Rig-Veda; it is regarded by the tradition as uttered by Vac voice (i. e. the Word or Logos.

Hymn (X. 125) from the Rig-Veda.

खुरं कृद्रोभृविमुनिश्चराम्य्रुमीदृत्ये कृत विश्चद्रेवैः।
खुरं मित्रावर्रणोमा बिभम्य्र्र्सिन्द्रामी खुरुम्खिनोमा ॥ १ ॥
खुरं मोममार्न्स विभम्य्र्रं वष्टारमृत पृयणं गर्मम् ।
खुरं रोधामि द्रविणां कृविष्मते मुद्राव्ये्ड्रं यर्जमानाय मुन्वते ॥ २ ॥
खुरं राष्ट्री मुंगमेनी वर्मूना चिकितुषी प्रथमा यृत्तियोनाम् ।
ता मी देवा व्यद्धुः पुर्त्रा भूरिस्थात्रा भूर्यविकायेत्तीम् ॥ ३ ॥
मया मो खर्ममिन् यो विष्य्यित् यः प्राणिति य ई भूणोत्युक्तम् ।
खुम्तवो मा त उप तियत्ति खुधि खेत श्रद्धित ते वदामि ॥ ३ ॥
खुरुमेव स्वयमिदं वदामि जुष्टं देविभिकृत मानुषिभः ।
य कामये तत्तेमुद्रं कृणोमि त ब्रुगाणं तमृष्टिं त मुम्याम् ॥ ५ ॥
खुरु कृदाय धनुम तेनीमि ब्रुगदिये शर्मवे कृत्वा ड ।

बुक् बनीय मुम्दे कृष्णोन्युक् खावांपृष्टिवी द्या विवेश ॥ ६ ॥ बुक् मुंबे पितरेमस्य मूर्धन्मम् योनिरृष्ट्वरेतः संमुद्धे । ततो वि तिष्ठे भुवनानु विश्वोताम् खा वृद्मेषोषं स्पृशामि ॥ ७ ॥ बुक्मेव वार्त इव प्र वीम्यारभमाणा भुवनानि विद्यो । पूरो दिवा पुर एना पृष्टिवीतावेती मिक्ना मं केमून ॥ ८ ॥

ahám rudrébhir vásubhiç carāmy ahám ādityāír utá viçvádevāiḥ, ahám mitrāváruṇo 'bhā bibharmy ahám indrāgnī ahám açvíno 'bhā. 1.

ahám sómam āhanásam bibharmy ahám tváştāram utá pūşáṇam bhágam, ahám dadhāmi dráviṇam havíṣmate suprāvyè yájamānāya sunvaté. 2.

ahim rāstrī samgamanī vasūnām cikitusī prathamā yajūiyānām, tām mā devā vy adadhuh purutrā bhūristhātrām bhūry āveçayantīm. 3.

máyā só ánnam atti yó vipáçyati yáḥ prắṇiti yá īṁ çṛṇóty uktám, amantávo mắṁ tá úpa kṣiyanti çrudhí çruta çraddhiváṁ te vadāmi. 4.

ahám evá svayám idám vadāmi jústam devébhir utá mắnusebhiņ, yám kāmáye tám-tam ugrám kṛṇomi tám brahmāṇam tám ṛṣim tám sumedhām. 5.

ahám rudráya dhánur á tanomi brahmadvíse cárave hántavá u, ahám jánāya samádam kṛṇomy ahám dyávāpṛthiví á viveça. 6. ahám suve pitáram asya mūrdhán máma yónir apsv àntáh samudré, táto ví tiṣṭhe bhúvaná 'nu víçvo 'tá 'mūm dyám varṣmánó 'pa spṛṣāmi. 7.

ahám evá väta iva prá vāmy ārábhamāṇā bhúvanāni víçvā, paró divā pará enā pṛthivyāí 'tāvatī mahinā sáṁ babhūva. 8.

C. On the next page is given, in systematic arrangement, a synopsis of all the modes and tenses recognized as normally to be made from every root in its primary conjugation, for the two common roots bhū be and kr make (only the precative middle and periphrastic future middle are bracketed, as never really occurring). Added, in each case, are the most important of the verbal nouns and adjectives, the only ones which it is needful to give as part of every verb-system.

Pple. AugmPret.	AugmPret. Middle: Indic. Opt.	Vkr make. Active: Indic. Opt. Impv.	Middle: Indic. Opt. Impv. Pple. AugmPret.	Indic. Opt. Impv. Pple. AugmPret.	Vbhu be.
kurvāņá ákurvi	kurvant ákaravam kurvé kurvíyá	karómi kuryám karávāņi	bháve bháveya bhávāi bhávamāna ábhave	bhávāmi bháveyam bhávāni bhávant ábhavam	Present-system.
cakrāņá kariģyámāņ ákŗģi Pass.pple kŗtá; — Infin. kártum; — Gerunds kŗtvā, -kŕtya.	cakré cakré	cakára	babhūvé babhūvāná	babhúva babhūváńs	Perfect-system
ák r și kártum; — Gerni	ákārṣam [kṛṣīyá]	kriyásam	[bhaviṣīyá] ábhaviṣi	bhūyásam ábhuvam	Aorist-4; stom
kariņyāmāņa 1ds kṛtvā, -kṛtya.	akarişyam akarişye karişyê	cakára kriyásam	bhavişyê bhavişy ám āṇa	bhavişyāmi bhavişyant ábhavişyam	l uture;«v«tom»
	[kartähe]	kartásmi	[bhavitāhe].	bhavitāsmi	tem,

SANSKRIT INDEX.

The references in both Indexes are to paragraphs. In this one, many abbreviations are used; but it is believed that they will be found self-explaining. For example, "pron." is pronunciation; "euph." points out anything relating to phonetic form or euphonic combination, "pres.", to present-system, "int." is intensive. "des." is desiderative, and so on. A prefixed hyphen denotes a suffix; one appended. a prefix

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ERRATA.

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p 147, 391, Plur. Loc. -- for [知识] read [知识]
265, 736, last l -- g bhávāntai -- bhávāntāi.
357 992c, l. 2 -- guhya -- gúhya.
401 1091a, l 3 -- g akkhalīkṛtya -- akkhalīkṛty。
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